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# THE MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW

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BY

CHARLES J. SISSON  
WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE

AND

H. G. ATKINS

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## SHAKESPEARE'S ENGLISH: AND HOW FAR IT CAN BE INVESTIGATED WITH THE HELP OF THE 'NEW ENGLISH DICTIONARY'

WHILE Shakespeare as a poet and dramatist has been an intensively cultivated field of research, the language of his plays and poems—his grammar and syntax, his pronunciation, his vocabulary and use of words—has not yet been fully explored. Franz's *Shakespeare Grammatik* is indeed a monument of German thoroughness, but Vietor's *Shakespeare's Pronunciation* is out of date, and the study of Shakespeare's vocabulary has hardly progressed beyond collection and arrangement of the material, such as we find in Bartlett's *Concordance* and Professor Onions's excellent *Shakespeare Glossary*. Yet a careful examination of Shakespeare's words, their origins, their relationships, their uses, would not only be of great value in itself, but would almost certainly throw light upon some of the difficult problems of the Shakespeare canon.

The fact that there is this neglected spot in the otherwise well-charted country of Shakespearean scholarship has already been pointed out by Professor George Gordon in his lively and stimulating pamphlet, *Shakespeare's English*, published as an S.P.E. tract in 1928. One could not wish for a more interesting guide-book, or for a better survey of the field. It led me to ask one of my post-graduate students, Miss Joy Morris, to examine the vocabulary of one of Shakespeare's plays on the lines suggested by Professor Gordon. The play chosen was *Love's Labour's Lost*, a play in which language is almost the main interest, and which has the additional advantage of having been edited (in the *Arden Shakespeare*) by that fine Elizabethan scholar H. C. Hart. The purpose of Miss Morris's thesis was to investigate Shakespeare's use of words in *Love's Labour's Lost*, and in particular the influence of the Renaissance upon his vocabulary. This implied hunting down all the more significant words and phrases of the play in the pages of the *New English Dictionary*.

It soon became evident, however, that for our particular purpose the *N.E.D.* was not a completely reliable guide. This statement is not meant to be regarded as an adverse criticism upon one of the greatest achievements of English scholarship. As Professor Gordon points out in his pamphlet, the *Dictionary* is based on selective reading; and its editors have unfortunately been unable to prepare and publish the complete

supplement for which they have collected a large store of additional material. But some account of the respects in which we found the *Dictionary* insufficient may be of service to other workers in the same field.

To begin with, the dates ascribed to the plays of Shakespeare are those arrived at by Victorian scholarship, and have not always stood the test of more recent investigations. This is particularly true of *Love's Labour's Lost*. In the *N.E.D.* it is dated 1588, while modern scholars place it in 1593 at earliest, and more probably in 1595. So all words or new uses of words that the *N.E.D.* records as making their first appearance in this play should be post-dated by five or six years. Shakespeare seems responsible for the first introduction into literature of the verb *humour* (*L.L.L.* iv, ii, 48) and the noun *import* (*L.L.L.* v, i, 93), but probably first in 1592 in *The Comedy of Errors* (iv, iv, 84) and in 1594 in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (iii, i, 55) respectively. On the other hand, Hooker (*Ecclesiastical Polity*, 1594) may be responsible for the noun *design* (*L.L.L.* iv, i, 84). *Pedantical* (*L.L.L.* v, ii, 408) Shakespeare may have found in a pamphlet by Gabriel Harvey, *An Advertisement for Papp-hatchet*, 1589, 'a little pedanticall Latin' (not cited in the *N.E.D.*). Puttenham, in his *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, was probably the first to apply the word *savage* to uncivilised races (*L.L.L.* iv, ii, 44).

With the justifiable exceptions of the malaprop *pollusion* (iv, ii, 44) and Moth's tra-la-la *Concolinel* (iii, i, 2) all the words in *Love's Labour's Lost* are recorded in the *N.E.D.* Not, however, all the compounds; but then the *N.E.D.* gives only a selection of the more important compounds in English. It includes, for example, *sudden-bold* (ii, i, 107) and *vapour-vow* (iv, iii, 67), but not *love-monger* (ii, i, 254), *twice-sod* (iv, ii, 21), *long-during* (iv, iii, 304), *tender-smelling* (v, ii, 559), *new-sad* (v, ii, 720), and *wholesome-profitable* (v, ii, 739). Perhaps the last of these should not have been omitted, as no other compound beginning with *wholesome* is given, and no example of the use of *wholesome* as an adverb. Two words occur in the play that are first cited in the *N.E.D.* under a later date. These are *placket* (iii, i, 175), of which the first example in the *N.E.D.* is from Munday, 1601; and the compound *pitch-balls* (iii, i, 188), the first citation of which is from Froude in 1879.

Shakespeare's genius as a manipulator of words is especially shown in his way of taking existing words and giving them new turns of meaning, and investing them with metaphorical significances. In its recording of these new uses of words by Shakespeare we sometimes found the *N.E.D.* defective or unreliable. Several new meanings that occur in *Love's*

*Labour's Lost* are first cited from plays by Shakespeare of undoubtedly later date. For example:

Word	New meaning	<i>L.L.L.</i>	<i>N.E.D.</i>
<i>Survey</i>	To see (generalised)	i, i, 238	<i>Macbeth</i> , 1605, i, ii, 31
<i>Attempt</i>	To endeavour to obtain	i, ii, 161	<i>Timon</i> , 1607, i, i, 126
<i>Soil</i>	Moral stain, fault	ii, i, 47	2 <i>Henry IV</i> , 1597, iv, v, 190
<i>Brow</i>	Countenance	iv, i, 17	1 <i>Henry IV</i> , 1597, iv, iii, 83
<i>Heroical</i>	Heroic (of persons)	iv, i, 64	<i>Henry V</i> , 1599, ii, iv, 59
<i>Strain</i>	Tendency	v, ii, 749	<i>Merry Wives</i> , 1600, ii, i, 91
<i>Smooth-faced</i>	Plausible	v, ii, 817	<i>King John</i> , 1596, ii, i, 573

It will be seen that most of these new meanings next occur in Shakespeare in the period of his principal historical plays. This may be some slight additional evidence that *Love's Labour's Lost* was composed not long before these, in 1595 at earliest. Shakespeare must have regarded the use of 'survey' in the general sense of 'to see' as affected or pedantic, since it occurs in Armado's letter in *Love's Labour's Lost* and in the bleeding sergeant's very bombastic speech in *Macbeth*.

Other new uses of words in *Love's Labour's Lost* are first recorded in the *N.E.D.* from later Elizabethan writers:

Word	New meaning	<i>L.L.L.</i>	<i>N.E.D.</i>
<i>Snuff</i> (verb)	Inhale (figurative)	iii, i, 13	H. Burton, 1629
<i>Corporal of the field</i>	Superior officer	iii, i, 178	Markham, 1622
<i>Entertainment</i>	Amusement	iv, iii, 370	Brinsley, 1612
<i>Phantasm</i>	Impostor	v, i, 18	Bacon, 1622
<i>Token</i>	Plague-spot	v, ii, 423	T. Johnson, 1634

The two following are first recorded from writers later than 1660:

Word	New meaning	<i>L.L.L.</i>	<i>N.E.D.</i>
<i>Pedlar</i>	Retailer (figurative)	v, ii, 317	Glanvill, 1681
<i>Butt</i>	Strike (figurative)	v, ii, 251	<i>Blackwood's Magazine</i> , 1832

It is clear that in his time Shakespeare was very modern in his choice of words. There is a large number of Elizabethan words in *Love's Labour's Lost*, words that had entered the language, as far as we can discover from the *N.E.D.*, later than the beginning of the sixteenth century. *Allusion*, *assist*, *audacious*, *conference*, *coppice*, *insinuation*, *pedant*, *phrase*, *preposterous*, *ridiculous*, are only a few from a very long list. It seemed to me, however, that many of these words, especially those of the type of *audacious*, were words that one might expect to be Middle English in origin. I therefore attempted to check the sufficiency of the *N.E.D.* records by an examination of the vocabulary of a few fifteenth-century works. It was very soon obvious that many words and uses that appear in the *N.E.D.* as Elizabethan had already been in existence in the language in Late Middle English. The selective reading on which the *N.E.D.* is based has been particularly selective as regards

the fifteenth century. This is not surprising, as many fifteenth-century works have been published and become accessible only in very recent years.

The works that I examined, and their approximate dates of composition, are the following:

Hammond, *English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey*, the extracts from works earlier than 1470.

Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, ed. MacCracken and Sherwood, E.E.T.S. 1400-48.

Metham, *Works*, ed. Craig, E.E.T.S. 1450.

Capgrave, *Lives of St Augustine and St Gilbert*, ed. Munro, E.E.T.S. 1450.

*Revelations of St Birgitta*, ed. Cumming, E.E.T.S. 1450.

The results may be tabulated as follows:

#### (1) WORDS NOT RECORDED IN THE N.E.D.

There are a good many of these, although none is of any real importance. They include: (A) Borrowings or coinages from French or Latin. Some of these look like experimental nonce-words. (B) Formations by means of prefixes or suffixes. Suffixes in particular were very freely used in the fifteenth century. Versifiers like Occleve exploited them as rhymes. In order to form abstract nouns, for example, writers had an almost indifferent choice from the native suffixes *-ness*, *-head*, and foreign suffixes like *-ance*, *-age*, *-ure*. Thus Metham uses *fearfulness* once or twice, and then, for the sake of variety, *fearfulhead*. (C) Compound words.

#### A.

*Affoil*, 'adorn with leaves'. c. 1440, *Translations from Charles of Orleans*, Hammond, p. 225, xiv, l. 13: 'Wherefore he doth affoyle the trees sere with grene.'

*Artunell*, 'belonging to the joints'. c. 1450, Metham, *Palmistry*, p. 113, l. 28: 'The lynes of euery joynt be cleped lynes artunell.'

*Domyny*, 'dominion'. c. 1450, Metham, *Days of the Moon*, p. 148, l. 8: 'The mone... schuld also in ther regyon haue more strength, qwere sche hath domyny.'

*Enaured*, 'gold-adorned'. 1440, *Palladius on Husbandry*, Hammond, p. 204, l. 67: 'If pite stonde enaured with science.'

*Esploy*, 'to put oneself forward'. 1440, *Palladius on Husbandry*, Hammond, p. 204, l. 58: 'Wul he for bothe alyue and dede esploye to saue vs here.'

*Exort*, 'ascendant'. c. 1450, Metham, *Amoryus and Cleopes*, l. 548: 'The qwyche in hys exorte off astrononeris hyghly myght be sene.'

*Fabryfy*, 'construct'. c. 1450, Metham, *Amoryus and Cleopes*, l. 198: 'To owre goddes ys fabryfyd a nwe tempyl.'

*Fecund*, 'to make abundant'. Ante 1448, Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, p. 487, l. 27: 'Ouyrflowyd with the flood of Nyle... her frutys to fecunde.' The adjective *fecund* is cited c. 1400 in the N.E.D.

*Florify*, 'flourish'. 1440, *Palladius on Husbandry*, Hammond, p. 205, l. 80: 'Ffor fruyt and rethoric to florifie.'

*Invident*, 'envious person'. 1440, *Palladius on Husbandry*, Hammond, p. 204, l. 16: 'That of his wood... noon invident may reprehende an ace.'

*Theatrine*, 'dramatist'. c. 1440, Burgh, *Letter to Lydgate*, Hammond, p. 189, l. 19: 'Terence ye mery and plesant theatryne.'

## B.

*Deceivous*, 'deceitful'. *Ante* 1448, Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, p. 709, l. 25: 'Disceyt disceyvous ful dissymulable.'

*Disposion*, 'regulation'. c. 1450, *Saint Birgitta*, p. 52, l. 33: 'Ayeynste pe prayseable disposcion of holy church.'

*Fearfulhead*, 'dreadfulness'. c. 1450, Metham, *Physiognomy*, p. 121, l. 30: 'Herrys herys... betokyn ferfulhed and pryde.'

*Foltishness*, 'folly'. c. 1450, Metham, *Palmistry*, p. 113, l. 26: 'Short nayles... be-token vyciousnes, euell taught, foltishnes.'

*Lecheroushead*, 'lustfulness'. c. 1450, Metham, *Physiognomy*, p. 128, l. 33: 'Yt sygnyfyith dysceyuabylnes... and leccherushed.'

*Nederlid*, 'lower lid', and *overlid*, 'upper lid'. c. 1450, Metham, *Physiognomy*, p. 124, ll. 10, 13: 'The ouerlyd off the eye, yff yt be bolnyd, yt sygnyfyith a gret sleper... The nedyr-lyd, yff yt be thyk and ful, yt sygnyfyith hastynes.'

*Orthographure*, 'orthography'. c. 1440, Shirley, *Table of Contents*, Hammond, p. 197, l. 70: 'As for fayllinge... of ye meter or ortografyure.'

*Renomance*, 'renown'. c. 1440, *Translations from Charles of Orleans*, Hammond, p. 227, l. 9: 'In tyme apast ther ran gret renomaunce of dido cresseid Alcest and Eleyne.'

*Unbounteousness*. c. 1450, Metham, *Physiognomy*, p. 134, l. 2: 'Chekys... replet with fatnes be-tokyn onbownteusnes and frowardnes.' The adjective *unbounteous* is cited Milton 1645 in *N.E.D.*

*Upfind*, 'discover'. 1440, *Palladius on Husbandry*, Hammond, p. 205, l. 85: 'What thynge engyne vpfynde or reson trie.'

## C.

*Hard-witted*, 'obstinate'. c. 1450, Metham, *Physiognomy*, p. 140, l. 12: 'Yt sygnyfyith a ryght hasty man and a hard-wyttyd.'

*Sooth-saw*, 'to speak the truth'. c. 1450, Metham, *Amoryus and Cleopes*, l. 1026: 'Longe to soth-sawe in this boke hath schadwyd the qwyght herys off sapyens.' The noun *sooth-saw* goes back to Old English.

*Strongheartedness*, 'courage'. c. 1450, Metham, *Physiognomy*, p. 122, l. 28: 'A ryght hed that is pleyn in the croune... betokynnyth wysdam, and manhed, and stronghartydnes.'

(2) WORDS NOT RECORDED BEFORE 1500 IN THE *N.E.D.*

Some of the examples are interesting and important. The following list will show not only how many words which the *N.E.D.* first cites from Elizabethan times really took shape in Late Middle English, but also how extensive is the contribution of the fifteenth century to the development of the English vocabulary. The Elizabethans, for example, must no longer be credited with *agitate*, *attenuate*, *centenary*, *collegiate*, *dignify*, *instep*, *interfere*, *matrimonial*, *mechanic*, *narrative*, *neophyte*, or even with *species* and the adjective *critic*. Shakespeare was not the first to use *uncomfortable*, *defunction*, or the adjective *gratulate*. Metham anticipated

Foxe with *evil-disposed*, and Capgrave Sir Thomas Browne with *approximate* and *approximation*. Even the learned word *cacemphaton* had been used by the author of *The Court of Sapience* a century before it was paraded by Puttenham. Fifteenth-century *dissimulable*, *eloquential*, and *rudish* make their next appearances in the eighteenth century, and Metham's *untaughtness* is first recorded in the *N.E.D.* in the nineteenth.

*Abhorrible*, 'detestable'. c. 1450, *Saint Birgitta*, p. 60, l. 31: 'All thynges at ar of God...ar bitter to him and abhorable.' *N.E.D.* Adams, 1633.

*Agitate*, 'drive away'. c. 1450, Metham, *Amoryus and Cleopes*, l. 1025: 'Onys withdrawe, agytat off the, precyus modyr, syndersys fro the eyn off the endyter.' *N.E.D.* James VI, 1586; this meaning not recorded.

*Approximate*. c. 1450, Capgrave, *Saint Augustine*, p. 3, l. 29: 'We vndirstand þat þat same langage...was mor approximat on-to þe Latyn tonge.' *N.E.D.* Sir Thomas Browne, 1646.

*Approximation*. 1451, Capgrave, *Saint Gilbert*, p. 64, l. 7: 'Swrech maner circumstauns of bodely aproximacion.' *N.E.D.* Sir Thomas Browne, 1646.

*Aquosity*, 'wateriness'. *Ante* 1448, Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, p. 497, l. 327: 'The streithe passage causyd aquosite.' *N.E.D.* Paynell, 1528.

*Attenuate*, 'made thin'. *Ante* 1448, Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, p. 497, l. 323: 'His vrine was remys, attenuat by resoun gendryd of frigidite.' *N.E.D.* Bacon, 1626; verb Palsgrave, 1530.

*Bowgy*, *bulgy*, 'round'. c. 1420, Occleve, *Roundel*, Hammond, p. 68, III, l. 5: 'Hir bowgy cheekes been as softe as clay.' *N.E.D.* *bulgy*, Dickens, 1848; *bowgy* not recorded.

*Cacemphaton*, 'ill-sounding expression'. c. 1470, *Court of Sapience*, Hammond, p. 266, l. 1904: 'Her termes gay of facound souerayne Cacephaton in noo poynt myght dysteyne.' *N.E.D.* Puttenham, 1589.

*Cementary*, 'masonry'. c. 1450, Metham, *Amoryus and Cleopes*, p. 7, l. 170: 'The nwe tempyl was jonyd of cementaryis.' *N.E.D.* Ferne, 1586.

*Centenary* (adj.). 1451, Capgrave, *Saint Gilbert*, p. 78, l. 17: 'Thenoumbir centenarie is applied as for a special reward both to prelates and to maydenes.' *N.E.D.* Fuller, 1647.

*Collegiate*, 'corporate'. c. 1450, Metham, *Amoryus and Cleopes*, p. 12, l. 311: 'And be the hye prouydens off yow, goddys colegyat.' *N.E.D.* 1514; with this meaning Bacon, 1625.

*Complainingly*. c. 1420, Occleve, *Dialogue with a Friend*, Hammond, p. 73, l. 772: 'Whanne I it spak I spake compleyningly.' *N.E.D.* Rawley, 1627.

*Confrairy*, 'religious brotherhood'. c. 1450, *The Lover's Mass*, Hammond, p. 212, l. 147: 'To all the holy fraternite and Confrary.' *N.E.D.* Berners, 1525.

*Critic*, 'critical'. c. 1450, Metham, *Days of the Moon*, p. 148, l. 2: 'Haly wyttnessy, the gret astrolegere, off days namyd cretyk.' *N.E.D.* Phaer, 1544.

*Crome*, 'curl'. c. 1450, Metham, *Physiognomy*, p. 121, l. 18: 'Herys that cromyn vpward...thei betokyn ferfulness.' *N.E.D.* *crome*, 'to hook', Phaer, 1558; the meaning 'curl' is not recorded.

*Curriishness*. c. 1440, *Translations from Charles of Orleans*, Hammond, p. 231, xx, l. 10: 'Daunger wacchith al nyght in his shert to spye me in a gery currisshenes.' *N.E.D.* Udall, 1542.

*Deceivableness*. c. 1450, Metham, *Palmistry*, p. 99, l. 16: 'Yef ther descende lynes fro the table-lyne to the mydlyne they signifie couetyse, flateri, dysseivablenes.' *N.E.D.* Tindale, 1526.

*Declinable*, 'apt to decline'. *Ante* 1448, Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, p. 709, l. 23: 'Worldly worship is...highnes declinable.' *N.E.D.* Palsgrave, 1530; this meaning is not recorded.

*Defunction*, 'conclusion'. c. 1450, Capgrave, *Saint Augustine*, p. 24, l. 12: 'His modir put moo wordis on-to þis diffunction.' *N.E.D.* Shakespeare, *Henry V*, 1599; this meaning is not recorded.

*Deprehend*, 'to catch up, surprise'. c. 1450, Metham, *Physiognomy*, p. 130, l. 34: 'Wayterrys to deprehend men off here speche, and in her talkyng to reporte euyl.' *N.E.D.* More, 1529.

*Dignify*, 'exalt'. c. 1423, Lydgate, *Title and Pedigree of Henry VI, Minor Poems*, p. 621, l. 304: 'Iubiter in þe Sagittary seven degres wher he is dignified.' *N.E.D.* *Pilgrimage of Perfection*, 1531.

*Dissimulable*. Ante 1448, Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, p. 709, l. 25: 'Disceyt disceyvous ful dissymulable.' *N.E.D.* Bailey, 1727.

*Dissolver*, 'solver'. c. 1450, Capgrave, *Saint Augustine*, p. 54, l. 9: 'Eke þe grettest dissoluer of qwestiones þat was leuand.' *N.E.D.* Bible, 1611.

*Disworshipful*. c. 1450, Metham, *Palmistry*, p. 89, l. 9: 'It signifieth a diswurshipfull ende.' *N.E.D.* Taverner, 1539.

*Eloquential*. c. 1440, Shirley, *Table of Contents*, Hammond, p. 195, l. 31: 'Of eloquencyale retorricyke in Englishe was neuer noon him lyke.' *N.E.D.* Ken, 1711.

*Enviousness*. c. 1450, Metham, *Physiognomy*, p. 133, l. 23: 'Yt sygnyffiyth lecherusnes and enuyusnes.' *N.E.D.* Norton, 1561.

*Fenman*, 'one who lives in the fens'. Ante 1448, Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, p. 804, l. 71: 'Þe turffman turff, þe fenman delvith flagges.' *N.E.D.* Holland, 1610.

*Gratulate*, 'to be rejoiced at'. 1471, Ripley, *Compend of Alchemy*, Hammond, p. 253, l. 4: 'Oh trynhede in deite, of hierarchycall Iubilleses the gratulat gloryfyca-tion.' *N.E.D.* Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*, 1603.

*Imaginator*. c. 1450, Metham, *Physiognomy*, p. 124, l. 2: 'Longe bererrys off malyce, . . . impacyent, and fals ymagynatourys.' *N.E.D.* Montagu, 1641.

*Indeficiently*, 'unfailingly'. c. 1450, Metham, *Amoryus and Cleopes*, l. 284: 'O hye Saturne . . . alle terrenal accionnys cyrcumseryuyst indeffycentye.' *N.E.D.* Preston, 1622.

*Insipient*, 'foolish'. c. 1445, Hardyng, *Chronicle*, Hammond, p. 234, l. 9: 'The Cobham Errytyke confeded with lollers incipient.' *N.E.D.* Roy, 1528.

*Instep*. c. 1450, Metham, *Physiognomy*, p. 139, l. 28: 'Feette, qwan thei be flat with a lowe instep.' *N.E.D.* Palsgrave, 1530.

*Interfere*, 'to interpose'. 1451, Capgrave, *Saint Gilbert*, p. 96, l. 11: 'If ony man had interfered wordes which wer not plesauns to God, . . . þei schuld gretly displese him.' *N.E.D.* (of horses) Palsgrave, 1530; *interfere with*, Nash, 1632; the meaning 'interpose' is not recorded.

*Interpolate*, 'intermittent'. Ante 1448, Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, p. 496, l. 283: 'His fevere was nat interpolat.' *N.E.D.* Boorde, 1547.

*Invection*, 'invective'. c. 1450, Capgrave, *Saint Augustine*, p. 13, l. 3: 'He had aspied þe grete cunnynng of Augustin and þe sotil inuecciones which he mad.' *N.E.D.* Davidson, 1590.

*Leprosity*, 'leprosy'. 1451, Capgrave, *Saint Gilbert*, p. 133, l. 27: 'This woman was infect with leprosite.' *N.E.D.* Eden, 1555.

*Matrimonial*. c. 1450, Capgrave, *Saint Augustine*, p. 6, l. 8: 'Iff 3e haue mynde of 3our tables matrimonial pat wer mad be-twix 3ou and 3our husbandis at 3our weddyng.' *N.E.D.* Du Wes, 1532.

*Mechanic*. c. 1450, Metham, *Amoryus and Cleopes*, l. 453: 'Qwere ys . . . Venus secretary, the qwyche in craftys mekanyk hath experyens?' *N.E.D.* *Complaint of Scotland*, 1549. The *N.E.D.* has a note that this adjective was introduced much later than *mechanical* (earliest citation also c. 1450).

*Narrative*. c. 1450, Capgrave, *Saint Augustine*, p. 31, l. 20: 'In which book many sotil þinggis ar touchid which long not to þis maner of wryting þat is cleped narratyf.' *N.E.D.* *Reg. Privy Council Scotland*, 1561.

*Neophite*. 1451, Capgrave, *Saint Gilbert*, p. 85, l. 20: 'Therfor pese neophites ar for to proue, þat Sathanas transfigur not him-self in-to an aungell of lith.' *N.E.D.* *Image of Hippocrates*, 1550.

*Pippie*, 'to blow gently'. c. 1450, Metham, *Amoryus and Cleopes*, l. 330: 'The pepylling wynde made hys flesch for to quake.' *N.E.D.* Skelton, 1529.

*Precipitation*. c. 1450, *Saint Birgitta*, p. 65, l. 33: 'After þe precypitacion of the fendes God . . . made man.' *N.E.D.* *Ord. Crysten Men*, 1502; but with this meaning Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, 1607.

*Proditory*, 'treacherous'. Ante 1448, Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, p. 709, l. 24: 'Wayne-glorious gladnes, flatery proditory.' *N.E.D.* Hoby, 1615.

*Provect*, 'send forward'. 1440, *Palladius on Husbandry*, Hammond, p. 205, l. 71: 'This kyngis dere vncul... hath god provect His werkis to conclude.' *N.E.D.* Gaulle, 1652.

*Rebeck*. Ante 1448, Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, p. 675, l. 24: 'He with his rebecke may sing ful offt ellas.' *N.E.D.* Hawes, 1509.

*Recurable*, 'able to cure'. Ante 1448, Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, p. 382, l. 26: 'Achilles swerde... the plat therof was softe and recureable.' *N.E.D.* Dod and Cleaver, 1608; the meaning 'able to cure' is not recorded.

*Refluent*. 1440, *Palladius on Husbandry*, Hammond, p. 204, l. 12: 'This word now refluent now flood, now in concord now violent and wood.' *N.E.D.* Garth, 1699.

*Resistent*. 1410, Walton, *Translation of Boethius*, Hammond, p. 42, l. 20: 'Where lawe of metir is noght resistent.' *N.E.D.* Watts, 1640; as noun Watson, 1600.

*Rudish*. c. 1440, *Translations from Charles of Orleans*, Hammond, p. 224, xiii, l. 14: 'Harke þe carfull matere and not arett my rewdisse speche mokyery.' *N.E.D.* Foote, 1774.

*Rupt*, 'broken'. c. 1470, *Court of Sapience*, Hammond, p. 260, l. 33: 'My natyf langage is... wyth nost sondry tonges myxt & rupte.' *N.E.D.* (verb), Ayliffe, 1726.

*Species*. c. 1450, Metham, *Physiognomy*, p. 140, l. 3: 'And off this... ther be thre spysys. The fyrste spyce ys qwan a man or a woman... to appere wyse and sadde. thei chonge ther natural pase.' *N.E.D.* Morwyng, 1559; with this meaning Hoby, 1561.

*Sullenness*. c. 1450, Metham, *Physiognomy*, p. 121, l. 31: 'Herrys herys, and yelw and softer... betokyn... solennes and crwelnes.' *N.E.D.* Sidney, 1580.

*Terrenal*. c. 1450, Metham, *Amoryus and Cleopes*, l. 284: 'Alle terrenal accionnys.' *N.E.D.* Philpot, 1555.

*Turfman*, 'turf-cutter'. Ante 1448, Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, p. 804, l. 71: 'Ic turffman turff, þe fienman delvith flagges.' *N.E.D.* 'devotee of the turf', *Sporting Magazine*, 1818.

*Uncomfortable*. 1410, Walton, *Translation of Boethius*, Hammond, p. 46, l. 287: 'This wrecchid lyf þat is uncomfortable.' *N.E.D.* Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, 1592.

*Unmad*. c. 1450, *Saint Birgitta*, p. 60, l. 1: 'Þer ar ij spirites, on vnmade and a-noþer made.' *N.E.D.* Foxe, 1570.

*Untaughtness*. c. 1450, Metham, *Physiognomy*, p. 122, l. 31: 'A forehed that ys narwgh be-fore betokynnyth bestyalte and ontaughtnes.' *N.E.D.* Clark, 1840.

*Unwieldiness*, 'infirmity'. c. 1440, *Translations from Charles of Orleans*, Hammond, p. 226, xv, l. 14: 'O false deth... had thou hir taken in vnweldynes.' *N.E.D.* Fenton, 1575.

*Venerean*. c. 1450, Metham, *Amoryus and Cleopes*, l. 1549: 'Nwe radyffiyd with the flame off ueneryan dysyre.' *N.E.D.* Rolland, 1550.

*Voluptuousness*. c. 1450, Metham, *Physiognomy*, p. 134, l. 10: 'Yche fulle face and fat face betokynnyth ferfullnes, voluptuousnes.' *N.E.D.* Fisher, 1508.

### Compound words.

*Evil-disposed*. c. 1450, Metham, *Physiognomy*, p. 137, l. 17: 'Thei haue smale handys and thei be pasyng euyl-dysposyd.' *N.E.D.* Foxe, 1563.

*Glassy-eyed*. Ante 1448, Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, p. 446, l. 31: 'This knave... glasy-eied, wol cleyme... out of a bolle to plukke out the lynynge.' *N.E.D.* Grahame, 1895; a *glasye eye*, Lydgate, c. 1420.

*Tut-mouth*. c. 1450, Metham, *Physiognomy*, p. 133, l. 24: 'A mowght with thyk lypys, rounde, stondyn owte, the qwyche men clepe a tutte-mought.' *N.E.D.* Polwart, 1585; *tut-mouthed*, Dunbar, 1500.

I have included in this list only words first cited in the *N.E.D.* from the sixteenth century at earliest. There are many other words in the works examined that are first recorded from late fifteenth-century

writers, particularly Caxton. Thus the earliest citation of *fantastical*, one of Shakespeare's favourite words, is from the *Digby Mysteries*, c. 1485. It occurs in Lydgate's *Minor Poems*, ante 1448, p. 488, l. 56, 'And mynde medleth in the memorial and fet his foode in the ffantastical'. *Intituled*, one of Armado's words, is not absolutely 'fire-new', as it is to be found in Capgrave's *Saint Augustine*, c. 1450, p. 12, l. 10, 'Pese bokes be intituled De Pulcro & Apto'. The first *N.E.D.* citation is from Caxton, 1490. *Football* is used in a simile by Occleve, c. 1420, Hammond, p. 68, III, l. 13, 'Hir comly body shape as a foot bal'. The earliest *N.E.D.* citation that refers to the ball and not to the game is from the *Book of St Albans*, 1486. *Sugar plate*, a mediæval sweetmeat, may have its earliest occurrence in literature, though not in household accounts, in Lydgate's *Letter to Gloucester*, ante 1448, Hammond, p. 150, l. 41, 'Nat sugre plate maad by thappotecarye'.

(3) NEW MEANINGS OF WORDS, OR NEW USES, NOT RECORDED IN  
THE *N.E.D.* UNTIL AFTER 1500.

The following list is a selection of the more interesting of these. The date in brackets after each word is that of the earliest *N.E.D.* citation of the word in any of its meanings.

*Cautel* (c. 1375), 'precaution'. 1451, Capgrave, *Saint Gilbert*, p. 140, l. 23: 'Moreouyr, to strength of pis mater and to a gretter cautel, fyve of poo breperin...we haue charged hem with grete opis.' *N.E.D.* Elyot, 1541.

*Clubbed* (c. 1386), 'viscid'. Ante 1448, Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, p. 503, l. 510: 'Myn ynke so clubbyd in my penne.' A meaning not recorded in the *N.E.D.*

*Confuse* (1362), 'blended'. c. 1450, Metham, *Physiognomy*, p. 143, l. 30: 'A coloure the qwyche ys nowdyr pale, ner qwyte, ner very red, but confusse.' *N.E.D.* *Meteors*, 1655.

*Defective* (1401) *in*, 'deficient in'. c. 1450, *Saint Birgitta*, p. 105, l. 33; 'Lewde and vnwyse and defectif in vertues.' *N.E.D.* Sandys, 1599.

*Detray* (c. 1475), 'subtract'. c. 1470, *Court of Sapience*, Hammond, p. 261, l. 64: 'And as hym lyst lete hym detray or adde.' *N.E.D.* Hawes, 1509.

*Earwig* (c. 1000), 'flatterer, parasite'. Ante 1448, Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, p. 455, l. 191: 'Suche false erwigges, suche covert losengeours.' *N.E.D.* Ford, 1633.

*Engross* (c. 1400), 'to add wholesale'. c. 1450, Capgrave, *Saint Augustine*, p. 2, l. 7: 'Octauiane engrossed ner al þe lordchip of þe world on-to þe empir of Rome.' *N.E.D.* Shakespeare, 1 *Henry IV*, c. 1596, but hardly in this particular meaning.

*Frigidity* (c. 1420), 'lack of natural heat in the body'. Ante 1448, Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, p. 497, l. 324: 'His vrine was remys, attenuat by resoun gendryd of ffrigidite.' *N.E.D.* Gouge, 1631.

*Inning* (c. 888), 'harvesting'. c. 1420, Occleve, *To Somer*, Hammond, p. 66, l. 15: 'The tyme of yeer was of our seed ynnynge.' *N.E.D.* MS., 1522.

*Intemperance* (ante 1450), 'lack of moderation'. c. 1450, *Saint Birgitta*, p. 3, l. 32: 'He steryth the to intemperance of all thy membres.' *N.E.D.* Boorde, 1547.

*Laborious* (1390), 'entailing labour'. Ante 1448, Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, p. 823, l. 41: 'The cart and the laborious plough.' *N.E.D.* Eden, 1555.

*Legible* (c. 1375), 'accessible to readers'. c. 1440, Burgh, *Letter to Lydgate*, Hammond, p. 189, l. 27: 'Thes and mo be in this londe legeble.' *N.E.D.* Hubbard, 1676 (cited as a nonce-use).

*Litigious* (1382), 'disputable'. c. 1450, Capgrave, *Saint Augustine*, p. 17, l. 25: 'It was þe vsage at þoo dayes þat þe rethoricianes schuld pleten in court for euery cause which was litigious.' *N.E.D.* Whitinton, 1520.

*Lord* (c. 1300), 'to rule'. c. 1440, *Translations of Charles of Orleans*, Hammond, p. 227, xv, l. 28: 'O god that lordist euery creature.' *N.E.D.* Countess of Pembroke, 1586.

*Moisture* (c. 1366), 'liquid'. c. 1420, Occleve, *Male Regle*, Hammond, p. 62, l. 123: 'The outward signe of Bachus & his lure... excitith folk to taaste of his moisture.' *N.E.D.* Palsgrave, 1530.

*Plummet* (1382), 'lead pencil'. c. 1440, *Palladius on Husbandry*, Hammond, p. 206, l. 3: 'A now my lord biholdith on his book, ffor sothe al nought he gynnith cros-sis make with a plummet.' *N.E.D.* Bate, 1634.

*Solemnise* (1382), 'to celebrate with praise'. c. 1440, Shirley, *Table of Contents*, Hammond, p. 197, l. 32: 'His rymyng is so moralysed that hym aught well be solempnysed of all oure engelische nacion.' *N.E.D.* Barclay, 1514.

*So so*, 'in an indifferent manner'. c. 1440, *Palladius on Husbandry*, Hammond, p. 205, l. 108: 'He taught me metur make and y soso hym counturfete.' *N.E.D.* Palsgrave, 1530.

*Sugar* (c. 1299), 'sugary, sweet'. Ante 1448, Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, p. 669, l. 24: 'And with peire swoote sugre melodye.' *N.E.D.* Court of Love, c. 1530.

*Transcend* (c. 1340), 'to ascend'. Ante 1448, Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, p. 668, l. 10: 'Making þe vertue þat dured in þe roote... for to trascende.' *N.E.D.* Bradshaw, 1513.

Since these fairly extensive results have been obtained from an examination of only a few fifteenth-century texts, it is clear that the student of Shakespeare's vocabulary must not place too much reliance on the *N.E.D.*, and must bear in mind that many words and meanings of words that would appear from its columns to be Elizabethan in origin may have entered the language at least a century earlier. The editors, in the Preface to the Supplement of modern words that has already been issued, speak of 'the Supplement on a grand scale' that was originally contemplated, a Supplement 'which should correct and amplify the evidence for what was already in print'. This is certainly one of the most essential pieces of work yet to be fulfilled by English scholarship. It would appear from the Preface that it has at present been shelved owing to lack of funds. It seems strange that a great and wealthy nation will not provide, or cannot be induced to provide, sufficient money to complete the historical investigation of its own language. Similarly the *Scottish National Dictionary* has been struggling into print in the face of constant financial stringency. Yet in South Africa, where an *Afrikaans Dictionary* partly on the lines of the *N.E.D.* is being prepared by one of the principal Afrikaans scholars, Professor J. J. Smith of the University of Stellenbosch, the Government has made a very generous grant towards the expenses. Could not some attempt be made to persuade the English Government to follow this excellent example?

W. S. MACKIE.

CAPE TOWN.

## THE ORIENTAL ORIGIN OF CHAUCER'S CANACEE-FALCON EPISODE

IN his essay, 'On the Magical Elements in Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*',<sup>1</sup> W. A. Clouston long ago demonstrated that the setting and also numerous details of the story derive from the literature of the East. Some fifteen years later additional evidence of Oriental influence upon the *Squire's Tale* was supplied by Professor Lowes, who pointed out clear indications of its contacts with the legends of *Prester John*.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, in Chaucer's description of the horse of brass, as Dr Pollard has observed,<sup>3</sup> we are dealing with Oriental material closely resembling the tale of the Ebony Horse in the *Arabian Nights*. Indeed, it has recently been argued that this type of tale also served as the basis for the episode of Algarsif and Theodora which the Squire proposed to relate in the course of his Tale.<sup>4</sup>

The purpose of the present paper is to carry the argument for the Oriental origin of the *Squire's Tale* still further by examining the episode of Canacee and the falcon.<sup>5</sup> Though this episode comprises approximately one-half of the fragmentary tale which has come down to us, its source has not thus far been identified<sup>6</sup> and even its significance for the narrative has never been satisfactorily explained, nor is there entire agreement as to its interpretation.<sup>7</sup> Most scholars believe that for his story of the falcon Chaucer depended upon some source, but no such pertinent analogues for it have been discovered as in the case of the

<sup>1</sup> Chaucer Soc. Publ., Second Ser. (1890), No. 26, pp. 269-469.

<sup>2</sup> J. L. Lowes, *Modern Philology* (1905), III, 1 ff.; and *Washington University Studies*, I (1913), pp. 3 ff.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Pollard, ed. *Squire's Tale*, London (1926) (1st ed. 1899), p. xiii.

<sup>4</sup> J. Bolte and G. Polivka, *Anmerkungen . . . Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, Leipzig (1915), II, pp. 134 ff. and n. 1. See also Professor Robinson's explanatory notes in the Student's Cambridge Edition of *Chaucer*, p. 822.

<sup>5</sup> To Professor Margaret Schlauch, of New York University, I am indebted for suggesting the subject of this investigation, which I began as a student of her seminar in Mediæval Romance. Both Miss Schlauch and Professor Carleton Brown have been kind enough to read this paper in manuscript, and to them I wish to express my thanks for several improvements in the statement of the argument.

<sup>6</sup> In the *Cléomadès*, a work to which Chaucer was possibly indebted for some suggestions, 'there is', according to Professor H. S. V. Jones (*P.M.L.A.* (1905), XX, p. 352), 'nothing corresponding to the incident of Canacee and "the falcon peregrine"'.  
<sup>7</sup> Lowes (*Washington University Studies* (1913), I, p. 16) seems to follow Skeat (*Oxford Chaucer*, I, p. 78) in believing that Chaucer was working out a theme of his own in the case of the falcon story. According to Professor Frederick Tupper (*P.M.L.A.* (1921), XXXVI, pp. 196 ff.) this episode in the *Squire's Tale*, as well as the *Aneida and Arcite*, was concerned with an actual love-triangle in contemporary England. But this interpretation has not won acceptance: see Robinson's *Chaucer*, p. 822.

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other Oriental material. The explanation advanced by Clouston is as definite as any which has been proposed:

That Chaucer had before him, or in his memory, a model for his story of the Falcon is not only possible but highly probable. There exists a somewhat analogous ancient Indian tale of two birds—a male parrot and a hen maina, a species of hill starling—in which, however, it is the male bird who is distressed at the female's treachery, and is about to cast himself into the midst of a forest fire, when he is rescued by a benevolent traveller, to whom he relates the story of his woes.<sup>1</sup>

Here, however, we have simply an instance of unfaithfulness among birds; and since the conditions in this particular example are the very opposite of what we find in the *Squire's Tale*, we are compelled to turn elsewhere for the source materials Chaucer drew upon.

For this episode, as for others in the Chaucerian fragment, the *Arabian Nights* affords a close parallel. The Arabian story represents a definite type of tale in which the subsequent behaviour of a princess is motivated by a dream experience. In this dream, animals are usually represented as birds are in the *Squire's Tale*, and the vision serves to warn the princess that men are unfaithful. It is thus interpreted as picturing in the plight of a forsaken bird or beast what might occur to the princess if she accepted at face value the promises of a suitor. This simple plot, using an animal fable to foreshadow an identical situation in human affairs, is obviously folklore material. That the plot was popular in Oriental fiction appears certain on the basis of the *Arabian Nights* alone, in which collection this conventional machinery is employed no less than three times.

One of the three stories treating this plot follows the type in most respects; but it does not use birds for the purpose of influencing the princess to hate men,<sup>2</sup> and may accordingly be dismissed from present consideration. The remaining two stories, however, contain the essentially important bird episode as a part of the framework of the dream. These stories are so similar as to be nothing less than two redactions with minor differences of an almost identical plot;<sup>3</sup> one has to do with Tāj al-Mulūk and Princess Dunyā; the other, with Ardashīr and Hayāt al-Nufūs.

Since the first-mentioned tale not only appears in the larger number of editions, but chances to be the one which offers closest resemblance to Chaucer's account, I give a brief summary of the plot concerned from Burton's translation.

In a dream, Princess Dunyā sees two pigeons, a male and a female. The male bird is caught in a snare; and all the birds about him fly away except his mate, who returns

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 462.

<sup>2</sup> No. 218 in Victor Chauvin's *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes* (Liège 1902), vi, pp. 52–3. This is the story of Ibrāhīm and Gamīla.

<sup>3</sup> The appearance of doublets in the *Arabian Nights* is not uncommon, as A. Müller has noted (*Beitrag zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* (1888), xiii, p. 234 and n. 1).

to rescue him. A fowler then readjusts his snare, and after a time the birds assemble again. This time the female bird is caught in the trap. Her mate, however, flies away with the others; and he does not return to rescue her. The princess awakes and declares: 'All men are, like this pigeon, worthless creatures; and men in general lack goodness to women.' When Tāj al-Mulūk, who is trying to win the love of the princess, hears from the governess an account of this dream, he strikes upon a plan whereby Princess Dunyā and her attendants are to be led into a garden where the scene is differently created in pictures on the pavilion. In the first, the female bird is shown rescuing her mate; in the second, the male pigeon, deserting her; and in the third, the male pigeon is depicted as being prevented from returning to the rescue by a huge Raptore that has seized him in his talons. When Princess Dunyā later enters the garden and sees the paintings, she exclaims: 'Exalted be Allah! This is the very counterfeit presentment of what I saw in my dream.' After gazing in wonder at the figures of the birds, she concludes: 'O my nurse, I have been wont to blame and hate men, but look now at the fowler how he hath slaughtered the she-bird and set free her mate;<sup>1</sup> who was minded to return and aid her to escape when the bird of prey met him and tore him to pieces.'<sup>2</sup>

The main points of Chaucer's falcon episode may be accounted for in the light of this Arabian tale. In the *Squire's Tale*, it will be remembered, Canacee, like the Arabian princess, awakes after her first sleep and declares that she has 'hadde a visioun' (v. 372). She thereupon summons a group of her attendants<sup>3</sup> and they walk into the garden. Here Canacee finds a falcon<sup>4</sup> bitterly lamenting because she has been deserted by her mate. The falcon, like Princess Dunyā, concludes that men resemble this false tercelet, for both follow after 'newefangelnesse' (v. 610) in love.

The setting is the same in both accounts: that is, a garden adjoining a palace. Furthermore, Canacee, like Princess Dunyā, repairs to the 'park' accompanied by her 'maistresse'.

It appears worthy of notice, finally, that this Arabian story enables us to explain two minor details. In Chaucer's incomplete account, the purpose of the two passages is not immediately clear; but these lines appear less disconnected with the plot when viewed in the light of the story of Tāj al-Mulūk. First of all, Chaucer's description of the falcon's 'mewe' as painted with emblematic colours, in one case suggesting the constancy of bird lovers and in the other their infidelity, finds a general counterpart in the pictures on the pavilion, which in one instance reveal

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that in John Lane's continuation of the *Squire's Tale*, Chaucer Soc. Publ., Second Ser. (1888), No. 23, p. 230, the magic glass of Canacee shows the tercelet the image of his falcon as dead (pt. xii, vv. 443-53).

<sup>2</sup> *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, trans. by Sir Richard F. Burton, Medina edition, n.d., iii, pp. 31 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Canacee's governess is obviously somewhat paralleled by Princess Dunyā's nurse; but what was to be the office of Canacee's 'maistresse' in the continued story is not clear. In the Arabian tale, the nurse serves as confidante to Princess Dunyā and as pandar for the prince.

<sup>4</sup> The female bird in the tale of Ardashīr and Hayāt al-Nufūs is called both pigeon and falcon (Burton, vii, pp. 209 ff.).

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the male bird as a true lover and in another as a false mate in deserting her. In the second place, when Canacee prepares to visit the garden, she has about her 'wommen a greet route, . . . well a ten or twelve' in attendance; but she actually proceeds 'Nat but with fyve or sixe of hir meynee' (v. 391). This decision of Canacee in favour of a select company<sup>1</sup> finds no parallel in the story of Tāj al-Mulūk; but in the second redaction of this Arabian tale we find that the princess concerned similarly discriminates when she dismisses the body of her attendants and chooses for her companions only the nurse and 'two of her hand-maids who were most in favour with her'.<sup>2</sup> As I have just remarked, Chaucer gives no indication as to why Canacee selected individual ladies; but the reason for the discrimination in the Arabian version is that the nurse has privately secreted the prince in the garden and does not wish to frighten him away by bringing forth a host of attendants.

*The Arabian Nights* is a compilation of stories which was itself too late to serve as a source for Chaucer;<sup>3</sup> but since the tale of birds told here accounts for the very details which have hitherto been unexplained, it is reasonable to suppose that the Canacee-falcon episode reflects similar Oriental influences. It seems probable, therefore, that the original of this Arabian version supplied the ultimate basis for Chaucer's story. Although I cannot undertake to trace this fable to its origin, or to define precisely the stages in its transmission to Western Europe, I can offer evidence in early Oriental fiction of this situation in which princesses have visions of forsaken birds and refer the plight of the birds to their own affairs.

There is an early version in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*,<sup>4</sup> which may represent the original of the fable involving birds. This is the story of Princess Karpūrikā, who hated men and refused marriage because in a previous incarnation<sup>5</sup> she had been a swan, and her mate, the male swan, had shown himself heartless towards her. The prince who woos her pretends he is the repentant male swan reincarnated. The seventh-century Hindu

<sup>1</sup> Clouston (*op. cit.*, p. 273) seems not to have observed that Canacee selected her company, because he states that she 'roused half a dozen of her attendants [and] went forth with them into the park'.

<sup>2</sup> Burton, vii, p. 240.

<sup>3</sup> *The Arabian Nights* appears not to have been known in Europe as a collection in the fourteenth century, although, as H. Zotenberg points out (*Histoire d'Al-Idn*, . . . , Paris, 1888, p. 2), 'l'un de nos manuscrits remonte au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle'.

<sup>4</sup> *The Ocean of Story*: C. H. Tawney's translation of Somadeva's *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, ed. by N. M. Penzer (London, 1925), iii, pp. 259 ff. In his notes to this tale (iii, p. 291 f.) and to the story of Ratnavatī, daughter of king Viraketu, who disliked the male sex so greatly that she did not desire even Indra for a husband (vii, pp. 35-9, 217), Penzer refers to these two Arabian accounts as later versions of the situation.

<sup>5</sup> Pollard (*op. cit.*, p. viii) refers to Canacee's falcon as 'perhaps an enchanted princess'.

romance, *Vásavadattá*, by Subandhu,<sup>1</sup> also contains certain features reminiscent of the situation in the Canacee-falcon episode. In this early romance, Kandarpaketu, son of Chintámani, King of Kusumpapura, sees in a dream a beautiful maiden of whom he becomes so desperately enamoured that he immediately sets out with his attendants to search for her. While resting beneath a tree, his confidant, Makaranda, hears<sup>2</sup> two birds conversing, and from their dialogue learns that Princess *Vásavadattá* has rejected all suitors because she saw Kandarpaketu in a dream<sup>3</sup> and even learned his name. It so happens that the princess, in turn, had sent her confidante in search of the prince; and this person Makaranda discovers in the same forest. The confidante delivers a letter to the prince from her mistress, and escorts him to the king's palace, where he is happily united with the princess. An analogue more closely approximating the conditions of the *Squire's Tale* is found, however, in the Persian collection entitled *Tūti Nāma*. According to one of the stories, the Emperor of China falls hopelessly in love with a beautiful princess whom he saw in a dream, and he sends his vizier to search for her. The vizier at length discovers her in the person of the Princess of Rúm. But at the same time he also learns from a traveller that she is averse to marriage because of the following experience:

Once on a time the queen was sitting in a summer house situated in a garden, where, on the top of a tree, a peahen had deposited her eggs. Suddenly the tree was struck with lightning, which burnt all the trees; when, the flames approaching that tree, the peacock, unable to support the heat of the fire, inhumanely quitted the nest; but the hen, from her affection for the eggs, remained with them and was burnt. When the queen saw this want of feeling in the male, she exclaimed: Men are very faithless! I vow myself never to speak of a man!<sup>4</sup>

Having learned the cause of the lady's dislike for men, the vizier determines to correct her opinion by showing her a number of paintings of animals, among which is the picture of a male deer sacrificing his life to save his mate and their fawn. The princess is astonished at this; and when she next learns that the emperor had conceived an aversion

<sup>1</sup> See Colebrooke's analysis in *Miscellaneous Essays* . . . , ed. by E. B. Cowell (London, 1873), II, pp. 121 ff.; reprinted from *Asiatic Researches* (1808), x, pp. 450 ff. See especially L. H. Gray's ed., Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, VIII, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> According to Maurice Bloomfield (*American Journal of Philology* (1920), xli, 309-35), birds are most frequently represented in the overhearing-motif in Hindu fiction; but Bloomfield does not here adduce an example similar to the one now under discussion.

<sup>3</sup> The literature dealing with falling in love in consequence of a dream is extensive, as the following references (which I have consulted from Chauvin's more complete list, *op. cit.*, v, p. 132) show: J. Bédier, *Les Fabliaux* (Paris, 1893), pp. 84-5; J. Dunlop and F. Liebrecht, *Geschichte der Romane*, . . . (Berlin, 1851), pp. 474-5; *Histoire des Rois des Persees*, trans. by H. Zotenberg (Paris, 1900), pp. 246 ff.; and E. Rohde, *Der griech. Roman* . . . (Leipzig, 1876), pp. 44-51.

<sup>4</sup> *The Tooti Nameh, or Tales of a Parrot* (London, 1801), p. 157.

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from women because he witnessed the incident in this painting,<sup>1</sup> she conquers her dislike completely, and the emperor is thus made happy.

The two stories in the *Arabian Nights* were adapted,<sup>2</sup> it appears clear, from some such version as is presented in the *Tūti Nāma*. The frame story of the collection entitled the *Thousand and One Days*,<sup>3</sup> which is considered later than the *Arabian Nights*,<sup>4</sup> is also quite obviously based on this Persian story of the Emperor of China and the Princess of Rūm. The only difference between the account in the *Thousand and One Days* and in the Arabian tale is that the figures used are not birds, but a stag and a doe, while in the *Tūti Nāma* the allegorical representation involves both birds and beasts.<sup>5</sup> It is possible to add still other, much later, versions of this latter order—for example, a story of Turkish extraction.<sup>6</sup> But without going into these, we may suppose that in the migration of this tale to Western Europe there appeared some manuscript version with which Chaucer became familiar. In any case, although lacking the exact model, we have significant analogues of the falcon episode in the *Tūti Nāma* and the *Arabian Nights*.

The story of Tāj al-Mulūk and Princess Dunyā affords the closest analogue; and since the bird episode in this Arabian tale is employed simply as a device to unite the two human lovers, it may be suggested that the falcon-tercelet incident was composed with a similar intention

<sup>1</sup> But the emperor had fallen in love with the princess when he saw her for the first time in a dream, and the animal fable is not alluded to until a late point in the story. For another example in which animals are represented in one way or another in the framework of a dream, see the story of the Bird of Sorrow in *Forty-Four Turkish Tales*, trans. by I. Kunós (London, 1913), pp. 150 ff. Tāj al-Mulūk falls in love when he sees a design of two gazelles which Princess Dunyā had drawn, and the animals in this picture, interestingly enough, are likewise so depicted as to show that men are faithless and unkind.

<sup>2</sup> Clouston (*Popular Tales...* (London, 1887), II, p. 228) refers to the *Thousand and One Days* as an adaptation of the *Tūti Nāma*; but neither in this reference nor in a second statement (*Flowers from a Persian Garden* (London, 1894), pp. 132-6) does he mention the two Arabian tales.

<sup>3</sup> Trans. by J. C. McCarthy (London, 1892), I, 1-6; II, 255-6.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Edouard Montet, *Le Conte dans l'Orient Musulman* (Paris, 1930), pp. 16, 22.

<sup>5</sup> In the *Turkish Evening Entertainments* (trans. by J. B. Brown (New York, 1850), pp. 166-8) there is an episode concerning animals which is not applied to the affairs of human beings. It may be that these bird and beast stories find their origin in a simple fable which was later added to a major plot as a means of motivating a tragic human drama. In any case, this particular fable furnishes a similar situation in narrating how a stag and doe are reunited after being separated by hunters. The circumstances led the doe to believe her companion forsook her in 'thinking only of gratification and enjoyment'; but when she reproached him, the stag stated that he fell 'a prey to misfortune in the hands of a huntsman'. The gazelles are thus reconciled and become as good friends as before.

<sup>6</sup> *The Story of Jewdā...*, trans. by E. J. W. Gibb (New York, 1888), pp. 76 ff. and 206 ff. This tale is little more than a repetition of the one in the *Thousand and One Days*, and in both cases it is the frame story which contains the animal fable. The only originality of this Turkish collection, indeed, seems to lie in the title; for it was the usual practice to employ the '1001' phrase, as the numerous occurrences of this nomenclature in Oriental fiction show (see Sir Wm. Ouseley, *Travels in Various Countries of the East* (London, 1821), II, p. 21, n. 16).

in mind. The reader feels that Chaucer must have intended the incident of the falcon in the *Squire's Tale* to have some further bearing on the fortunes of Canacee. Though the fragmentary narrative does not fully disclose the course of his plot, certain hints in the extant text indicate the general direction in which it was to move. If these hints are studied in the light of the Oriental type of tale here discussed, it is possible to make some fairly definite conjectures as to Chaucer's aims.

The Host, it will be recalled, requests the Squire to 'sey somewhat of love; for certes ye/Konnen theron as muche as any man'. The Squire, modestly disclaiming any such extensive acquaintance with love, indicates his willingness to obey the Host's request: "Nay, sire," quod he, "but I wol seye as I kan." This byplay between the master of ceremonies and the proposed narrator establishes the type of tale which the reader is to expect. When Canacee at the beginning of the narrative is described as surpassing in beauty,<sup>1</sup> we have at least a generic counterpart of that same merciless beauty which Princess Dunyā possessed in common with other typical heroines of romance.

Now if the *Squire's Tale* represents a variation of the plot found in the Arabian story, we should expect the fable of the birds to motivate the human drama. This would seem to be precisely the method that Chaucer adopted; for the 'faucon peregryn . . . Of fremde land' (vv. 428-9) declares that her purpose in relating her experience to Canacee was

...for noon hope for to fare the bet,  
But for to obeye unto youre herte free,  
And for to maken othere be war by me. (vv. 488-90.)

We know, then, that Canacee was to draw a moral from the plight of the bird. Moreover, the falcon is explicit in stating exactly wherein Canacee must 'be war'. The bird advises her that 'alle thyng, repeiryng to his kynde,/Gladeth hymself' (vv. 608-9), and that in following a new love, 'So ferde this terclet'. Canacee was not permitted to interpret this fickleness of character as applying to birds alone; for the falcon gives a more general application to her warning in the statement which immediately follows:

Men loven of propre kynde newefangelnesse  
As briddes doon that men in cages fede. (vv. 610-11.)

The purpose of these passages is now obvious: the fable of birds was intended to carry over to the affairs of human beings. Thus, after hearing the tragic predicament of the falcon, Canacee would readily draw the conclusion that men are perfidious. Accordingly, in consequence

<sup>1</sup> Vv. 33 ff. All quotations are from Robinson's edition.

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of her dream, Canacee probably would, like Princess Dunyā, conceive an aversion from men.

If Chaucer intended a romantic story, how was he to complete it? In the type of tale we are considering, it devolves upon the hero in every case to conquer the aversion of the princess by some exceptional or remarkable feat. Tāj al-Mulūk, for example, wins Princess Dunyā by the effective device of presenting in pictures the very scene which the princess had seen in a dream. Chaucer in his fragmentary account of the subject does not disclose so exactly the strategy to be practised in the *Squire's Tale*; but in stating that Cambalo had to fight

...in lystes with the bretheren two  
For Canacee er that he myghte hire wynne (vv. 668-69)<sup>1</sup>

he does reveal that Cambalo must have had to prove that he deserved Canacee's love.

The present interpretation, it should be noted, accords with still other passages in the *Squire's Tale*. That the falcon-tercelet incident was, in point of fact, designed to show Canacee the falseness of men is foreshadowed in the description of the magic mirror, because Canacee's mirror possessed the special power that

...if any lady bright  
Hath set hire herte on any maner wight,  
If he be fals, she shal his tresoun see,  
His newe love, and al his subtiltee,  
So openly that there shal no thyng hyde. (vv. 137-41.)

And Canacee had herself demonstrated the efficacy of this mirror when

...in hire sleep, right for impressioun  
Of hire mirour, she hadde a visioun. (vv. 371-72.)<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, the suggestion that Canacee was led to suspect men seems to harmonise admirably with the impression we receive as to her modest deportment or demeanour. She attended the banquet given by her father Cambyuskan and participated in the revels; she met the strange knight 'And on the daunce he gooth with Canacee'. She did not disport

<sup>1</sup> The original that Chaucer followed probably provided this deviation from the formula appearing in the Arabian tale; but since the passage refers to the more chivalric Western custom of winning the lady fair 'in lystes' instead of by the form of trickery featured in the Oriental account, it is not impossible that Chaucer himself invented the variation. In any case, Canacee and Princess Dunyā would seem to have made it obligatory for the suitor to prove his mettle before he should be accepted; and there is at least one feature in the Canacee-falcon episode which suggests the device practised by Tāj al-Mulūk, who convinces the princess of the fidelity of men, it will be remembered, by representing the male pigeon as desiring to return to his mate. Chaucer likewise promises to tell how Cambalus restored to the falcon 'hire love ageyn/Repentant' (vv. 654-55).

<sup>2</sup> In this 'visioun', Canacee hears the story of the falcon peregrine, which supplies the bird-allegory as a counterpart of the scene to be unfolded by the magic mirror. That is, after understanding the treachery of the tercelet, Canacee when presented with 'any maner wight...shal his tresoun see'.

herself until a late hour and have to retire after 'muchel drynke... And with a galpyng mouth', as did the others. 'For of hir fader hadde she take leve,/To goon to reste soone after it was eve.' On the basis of this description, it is easy to suppose that the plight of the falcon would have served to increase her diffidence; for Canacee was, as Chaucer expresses it, 'ful mesurable'.

Accordingly, we seem to have in the *Arabian Nights*, not only an analogue of the falcon-tercelet incident, but the type of story which Chaucer apparently intended to relate. This promised story, according to the present interpretation, would reveal Canacee, like all the princesses in the Oriental stories here discussed, as suspicious of men because of the dream in which she had seen a forsaken falcon. This suggestion receives support from an entirely different quarter. Spenser, using Chaucer's text alone, arrives at a similar conclusion.

*Cambelloes* sister was fayre *Canacee*,...  
 She modest was in all her deedes and words,  
 And wondrous chaste of life, yet lou'd of Knights and Lords.  
 Full many Lords, and many Knights her loued,  
 Yet she to none of them her liking lent...  
 So much the more as she refused to love  
 So much the more she loued was and sought. (F.Q., iv, ii, 35-37.)

Finally, in attempting to view the large issue by way of the small, it may be suggested that the story of Tāj al-Mulūk seems to shed some new light on the question of the *Squire's Tale* as a whole. According to the view expressed by Professor Manly,<sup>1</sup> the *Squire's Tale* was based on a single model. But since such parts of the narrative as deal with the messenger and the gifts, the Ebony Horse, and the Canacee-falcon episode appear to have different origins, it may be more safely concluded that Chaucer in attempting to write a romance drew upon multiple or composite sources,<sup>2</sup> and that one of the important episodes of the finished romance was intended to hinge on the influence of birds' infidelity on the behaviour of a princess toward her suitors.

HALDEEN BRADY.

ALPINE, TEXAS.

<sup>1</sup> *P.M.L.A.* (1896), xi, p. 362.

<sup>2</sup> Chaucer's phrase, 'as the storie telleth us' (v. 655), would seem to indicate that he followed a specific model for the falcon-tercelet incident; and I think it is altogether the most likely view that the poet depended on a single source for the main features of the *Squire's Tale*, but he unquestionably also relied upon other materials as well.

# NOTES ON THE POEMS OF BERTRAN DE BORN<sup>1</sup>

## IV

*Song 14.* Contained in MSS. ACDFIKMNR.

K. Bartsch (*ZRPh.*, III, 1879, p. 409) was the first to point out that the form of this piece is borrowed, with a few modifications, from Giraut de Bornelh's *Si·us quer conselh, bel'ami' Alamanda* (ed. Kolsen, p. 366).

For the date of this piece see Stimming<sup>3</sup>, Introduction, p. 21, and Appel (*Bertran von Born*, p. 30), who does not refer it to any specific event, but is in agreement with Stimming in assigning it to the beginning of 1183.

14. 7-8                      Puois n'Aenrics terra no te ni manda,  
Sia reis dels malvatz!

It is doubtful whether *malvat* here (or ever for that matter) can be rendered by 'feige' (Stimming<sup>3</sup>) or 'lâche' (Thomas). Levy (*SW.*, v, p. 74*b*) suggests 'knave', which Appel (*Lieder*, Gloss.) adopts, as against his earlier 'Memme' (*B. von Born*, p. 30).

14. 15-16                  Puois en Peitau lor men e los truanda,  
No·i er mais tan amatz.

Appel (*Bernard von Ventadorn*, p. 154) shows that *mentir* and *truandar* are here synonymous in the sense of 'to deceive', though in the glossary to *Lieder* his only rendering for *mentir* is 'lügen'. In the second verse *tan* is best taken in the sense of 'very', for which see Schultz-Gora, in *ASNS.*, CXXXIV, p. 433.

14. 19-24                Ni tenra Angieus ni Monsaurel ni Canda  
20 Ni de Peitieux non aura la miranda;  
Ni ducs clamatz de la terra normanda  
Ni er coms palatz  
Sai de Bordel ni dels Gascos part Landa  
Senher ni de Basatz.

In v. 20 Stimming<sup>3</sup> has no punctuation and understands *sera* before *ducs*, according to a construction to which Tobler (*VB.*, I, pp. 107-9) has drawn attention. In v. 22 he omits *er*, lacking in AFM, which if retained must suffer syneresis with *Ni* for the sake of the measure (four syllables). With Appel's reading (as above) *er* must be understood before *ducs*. Of the nine MSS. five (ADFMR) read *Peiteus* which Stimming<sup>3</sup> ought not to have abandoned in favour of *Peitau*: the tower in question

<sup>1</sup> Continued from *Mod. Lang. Rev.* XXIX, p. 149.

was in the town of Poitiers and is referred to in a sirventes (v. 13) of Amoros dau Luc (Schultz-Gora, *Prov. Studien*, II, p. 131).

14. 27-32      Ja per so frair mais sos omes no blanda;  
                   Nonca ·s fai el, anz assetja e ·ls aranda,  
                   Tol lor chastels e derocha et abranda  
 30      Deves totz latz.  
                   E ·l reis tornei lai ab cels de Garlanda  
                   E l'autre, sos conhatz.

*Blandir* here, as well as in 18. 15, should be rendered by 'faire cas de' (PD.) and not by 'schmeicheln', 'willfährig sein' (Stimming<sup>3</sup>) or by 'freundlich behandeln' (*Lieder*, Gloss.). Since *noncas* (Stimming<sup>3</sup>) does not appear to exist, write *N'oncas* with Thomas (Addenda) or *Nonca ·s fai el* as above. The meaning of *arandar* is very uncertain (cp. *SW.*, I, p. 77a) and Stimming's 'übel zurichten' is purely arbitrary. PD. renders it by 'affaiblir la puissance', 'rogner les possessions de qqn.'; Appel (*Chrest.*<sup>6</sup> and *Lieder*) by 'an Eigentum verkürzen', both based on Mistral's *randa*, *arranda*, 'rader, râcler le dessus d'une mesure'. Perhaps preference should be given to Schultz-Gora's 'bis zum Rande treiben', 'bedrängen' (*ZRPh.*, XXI, p. 143). If Thomas' *assetja els a randa* (a *randa*, however, already occurs at the rhyme in v. 9, though this is not important) is rejected and the problematical verb *arandar* retained, one would expect *assatja ·ls e aranda*. The note of Stimming<sup>3</sup> (p. 162) and that of Thomas (p. 18) on *Garlanda* would have more point if it were recalled that *Garlande* was the name of a fief situated in Paris itself, which by the way has left its name to the rue Galande.

Song 15. Contained in MSS. Ca<sup>1</sup>.

The form recalls that of Raïmbaut d'Aurenga's *Companh, qui que ·n irais*, though imitation is by no means certain in this case. As the occupation of Angoumois and Saintonge by the forces of young Henry and his allies took place in April 1183, according to G. de Vigéois and the chronicle of La Couronne, we may conclude that the present sirventes was written in the spring of that year.

15. 1-4      Ieu chan(que ·l reis m'en a prejat  
                   A l'auzen.....)  
                   De l'afar d'acquesta guerra,  
                   Don vei un tal joc entaulat.

The last five syllables of v. 2 appear as *de mon menassat* in C and as *de mon menalsat* in a<sup>1</sup>. Stimming's 'Drohen', 'Drohung', and Thomas' 'menace', 'chant de guerre' for *menassat* cannot be substantiated and are certainly untenable. Levy (*ASNS.*, CXLIII, p. 89), who for v. 4 prefers the reading of C (*d'aquest joc que vei entaulat*), adheres to his own earlier suggestion (*Litblatt*, XI, p. 229), according to which he emends

*de mon menassat* to *del mon menassat* and places a comma after *chan* and *prejat*: 'Ich singe, da der König mich darum gebeten hat, vor den Ohren der durch diese Kriegsangelegenheit bedrohten Welt, von diesem Spiel', etc. Though Levy's conjecture results in a satisfactory rendering, A. Kolsen (*Dichtungen der Trobadors*, III, p. 224, note) suggests the adoption of the reading of *a*<sup>1</sup>, which he corrects to *de mon enalsat*. In *enalsat* he sees the past part. of *enalsar*, *enausar*, corresponding to OF. *enaucier*, 'rehausser', 'élever en honneur', and renders by 'mein Rehabilitierter', referring to the Young King and matching *Lo reis joves s'a pretz donat* of the *tornada*.

15. 16-18

Anc cinglar no vim plus irat,  
Quan l'an brochat ni l'an chassat,  
Qu'el er; mai sos cors no l'erra.

The only MS. (the strophe is lacking in *a*<sup>1</sup>) has *mai* in the last verse and not *mas* as Stimming<sup>3</sup>. These verses misunderstood by Stimming<sup>3</sup> (p. 163) should be interpreted as follows (cp. *SW.*, III, p. 128): 'never did one see a boar more angry when he has been hunted down and wounded than he will be; never will his course lead him astray', i.e., Richard, like a wounded and maddened boar, will charge straight at his enemy without heeding any obstacle or danger.

15. 25-30

25 Li Gascon si son acordat  
Entr' els e ves lui revelat  
Com aquilh de Lombardia.  
Mais volon esser be menat  
Per rei que per comte forzat.  
30 D'aitan, lor trac guarentia.

*Menar* should not be rendered by 'regieren' (Stimming<sup>3</sup>), but by 'traiter' (Thomas), 'behandeln' (Appel). Despite Levy's article in *SW.* (*garentia* 9), Stimming<sup>3</sup> adheres to the impossible 'Schutz gewähren' for *traire garentia*. The usual meaning of the expression, which suits quite well here, is 'to assure', 'to testify', and it is equivalent to *faire garentia*, the reading of *a*<sup>1</sup>. In the same verse it is not clear to whom *lor* refers. It may refer to *rei* (young Henry) and to *comte* (Richard) in *v.* 29; or possibly to the Gascons mentioned in *v.* 25, in which case the exact meaning would be: 'insofar I bear witness for them', i.e. that I can certainly say about them, as Levy (*ASNS.*, CXLIII, p. 90) suggests.

15. 56 and 59. C has *prezat* at the end of both verses. Stimming<sup>3</sup> and Appel (*Lieder*, p. 36) replace the first *prezat* by *lauzat*; but MS. *a*<sup>1</sup> has *prezat* in *v.* 56 and *onrat* in *v.* 59.

15. 61-64

Lo duos de Borgonh' a mandat  
Qu'el nos ajudara l'estat  
Ab lo socors de Champanha,  
On venran tal cinc cen armat.

In v. 62, of the two readings, that of a<sup>1</sup> (*Qu'aiudara nos al estat*) seems preferable. Levy asks (*SW.*, v, p. 485b) if *on* (v. 64) = 'wodurch, so dass', or whether it has temporal value. The reading of a<sup>1</sup> (*dont*) is in favour of the first interpretation.

15. 67-68

Reis que per son drech si combat  
N'a miells drech en sa eretat.

Both C and a<sup>1</sup> have *qui* which Stimming<sup>3</sup> and Appel change needlessly to *que*. In the second verse it should not be overlooked that *miells* is the adverb = 'plus'.

15. 73-4

Senhe·n Rassa, aquest comtat  
Vos crescha·l reis ab Bretanha.

Stimming<sup>3</sup> makes no attempt to elucidate this crux. Thomas (p. 23) explains *aquest comtat* as 'le comté de Poitiers, uni au duché d'Aquitaine', which does not help much. In his Glossary he renders *creisser* here by 'donner en accroissement de fief', which Appel (*Bertran von Born*, p. 33) appears to accept ('diese Grafschaft hier geb' Euch der König zur Bretagne'), though in his *Beiträge* (I, p. 237, note) he expresses the view that a transitive *creisser alcuna re ad alcu* is hardly possible. The reading of a<sup>1</sup>, the other MS. (*aquest comtat nos creis qel rei a bretaigna*), sheds no light, and I can see no way out but by prefixing *d'* to *aquest comtat*: 'by as much as this county (Poitou) may the King increase you (i.e., your possessions) together with Brittany (which you already possess).' For this use of transitive *creisser* of a person may be compared the fourth strophe of a sirventes of the Dauphin of Auvergne against the bishop of Clermont (*Choix*, iv, p. 25): *Englaterra ama el ben e fai gran felonía, Que lo reis l'a cregut de mais qu'el non avia*. Unless of course Bertran is speaking ironically, the King can hardly be Henry II, whose authority in Aquitaine, represented by Richard, his two other sons, young Henry and Geoffrey of Brittany (*Rassa*), were then endeavouring to overthrow. Bertran is probably referring to young Henry. If so the *drut emparejat* of the additional *tornada*, found in a<sup>1</sup> only, would be the two insurgent brothers (Henry and Geoffrey) who, once they were masters in Aquitaine, would live in a land of milk and honey:

Puoís seran drut emparejat  
A Montinhac en Cocanha.

Song 16. Contained in MSS. ADIK.

For the date of this piece see the note to vv. 41-48.

16. 1-8

Senher en coms, a blasmar  
Vos fai senes fahia,  
Quar no·i ausetz anar,  
Puoís ela o volia,

- 5 A la domna parlar.  
 Et al for de Catalonha  
 A·l vostr' ops ieu n'ai vergonha  
 Quar la·i fezetz fadiar.

Thomas' correction of *fai* of the MSS. to *faitz* (v. 2) is not justified, although the impersonal construction of *faire a* + infinitive in the sense of 'must', 'to be to', 'to deserve to', is much rarer than the one (cp. vv. 27-8: *que no fai ad amar Rics hom per drudaria*) in which the object of the transitive verb is at the same time the subject of *faire* and remains unexpressed. *Al vostr' ops* (v. 7) should not be rendered by 'à votre place' (Thomas) or by 'in Eurer Seele' (Stimming<sup>3</sup>), but by 'for your sake' (cp. *SW.*, ops 7); and in v. 8 *fadiar* is a reflexive verb with the reflexive pronoun omitted before the infinitive, as in 39, 40 (cp. Meyer-Lübke, *GRS.*, III, § 381). Bertran is ashamed of the count's rudeness towards his lady love, in the same way as a Catalan would be, the people of Catalonia, as we have already noticed (see note to 7. 31-2), being famed for their sociability and refined manners.

16. 11-16 Mas que pens de l'anar  
 E que's meta en la via,  
 C'om no sap son afar  
 De sidons ni sa besonha;  
 15 Be lieu a talan que jonha,  
 Per que no's deu aturar.

In v. 13 Thomas and Appel (as above) read *Qu'om*; but why reject *com* = 'as' (cp. *SW.*, *com* 5)? Stimming<sup>3</sup> and Thomas render *jonher* (v. 15) by 'to come', 'to arrive', and neither they nor Appel list *be lieu* in the sense of 'perhaps', which it has here. The context leads one to believe that *jonher* implies here carnal intercourse (cp. *Lieder*, Gloss.), as in this passage of Raimbaut d'Aurenga's *Lonc temps ai estat cobertz* (*MG.*, 620, 8):

- A domnas m'en sui profertz  
 E datz, per que m'en ven jais,  
 Si non qu'ai poder que i joingna  
 En jazen, ades engrais  
 Solament del desirer  
 E del vezer, qu'als no·n quier.  
 16. 17-24 E quan vitz vostre joglar,  
 Que debes lieis venia,  
 Ja no·us degratz restar,  
 20 Qui·us dones Normandia!  
 Antre... e Dordonha  
 De regart no·us daratz sonha,  
 Ni ja no·us degre membrar.

In the four MSS. (ADIK) vv. 21-4 appear as follows: *sacsetz bon cor damar* (*danar* A) *antre beira* (*antrebera* IK, *autrebera* D) *e dordonha de*

*regart nous daratz (dara D) sonha ni ia nous degra membrar.* Adhering as closely as possible to the MSS., the text would read: *S'acsetz bon cor d'anar, Entre Bera e Dordonha De regart no-us daratz sonha, Ni ja no-us degra membrar*, of which the rendering is: 'if you had any real intention of going, you will not worry about any danger between the Bère and the Dordogne, and it (i.e., the danger) ought not to occur to your mind' (for this construction of *membrar* see note to 29, 23). As all the MSS. have an *a* as the first syllable of the word, Stimming's *deratz* should be corrected as above to *daratz*. *Se dar sonha d'alcuna re* (SW., VII, p. 818b) offers no difficulty; and if it is objected that the other river should also be a large river like the Dordogne, or that the two rivers should be such as to include a much greater territory than lies between the Bère and the Dordogne, the objection can be met by accepting Andresen's ingenious suggestion (ZFSL., XLII, p. 39) and assuming that the *b* of *beira* (*bera*) stands for an originally badly formed *l*: *Entre Leira e Dordonha* ('between the Loire and the Dordogne'), the more so as there is considerable doubt as to what river '*Bera*' may designate.

16. 31-32

Qu'ieu no vuolh aver Borgonha  
Ses temer e ses celar.

Fear and secrecy being characteristic attributes of love as conceived by the troubadours, Bertran means to say that he would sooner forego Burgundy than not to woo a lady.

16. 37-40

Mais am rire e gabar  
Ab midons que m'en somonha,  
Qu'ieu no volria Gasconha  
40 Ni Bretanha chapdelar.

How Stimming<sup>3</sup> came to understand *somondre* as a reflexive verb and to attribute to it the meaning 'sich Vorwürfe machen' is inconceivable, unless his mistake is to be accounted for by the fact (see the note on p. 233 of his first edition) that he takes, erroneously, the preceding *que* as='than that', whereas it is the *que* of the next verse which has that double value. *Somonre* or *somonir* has here its usual meaning: 'I would sooner laugh and jest with my lady, who invites me thereto, than that I would rule over Gascony or Brittany.'

16. 41-48

Mon chan vir ves n'Azemar,  
Qui s'onor en sabria,  
Cui nostre senher car  
Sa paucha Lombardia.  
45 Tan gen sap domneiar  
Que no-s chamja ni s'embronha  
Per menassas, anz resonha  
...fai reserrar.

The various explanations, up to 1892, of this puzzling strophe are enumerated by Levy (*SW.*, II, p. 365), who, however, comes to no definite conclusion. In *v.* 42 all four MSS. read *qui sonor en sabria*, and *car* at the end of the next verse. In *v.* 46 AD show *nis brougna*; and in the last verse of all A has *lemozin*, D *limozi*, K *limogel* and I *limotgel*, the last of which can be taken with Stimming<sup>3</sup> as = *Lemotg* 'e-l'. I agree with Appel (*Beitrage*, II, p. 58) that in *v.* 42 the reading of the MSS. can stand and be interpreted as: 'who from it (i.e., my song) should learn his honour', i.e., should learn what his honour demands. Stimming<sup>3</sup> understands *car* (*char* is his own spelling) as the third per. sing. pres. subj. of *cardar*, 'to card'; but *car* (*char*), as Levy points out, cannot be that. Appel shows that *car* is from *carar*, a secondary form of *cairar*, to which Andresen (*ZRPh.*, xiv, p. 217) had already pointed. In that case *carar* should not be taken in the sense of 'abrunden' ('round off') with Andresen, but in that of 'to cut into quarters or pieces', like Mod. French *équarrir*. Appel (*Lieder*, Gloss.) renders *s'embronhar* (*v.* 46) by 'düster, verdrossen sein', with a query; Stimming<sup>3</sup> by 'sich ducken, sich einschüchtern lassen'; Thomas by 's'effrayer', following Chabaneau (*RLR.*, xxxi, p. 610), who sees, rightly I think, in *s'embronhar* another form of *s'embroncar*, corresponding to OF. *s'embronchier*, 'baisser la tête d'un air triste, s'assombrir'. In the same verse I would assign to *se camjar* the meaning 's'exaspérer, perdre le sens' (*PD.*). As for *resonha* (*v.* 47), not attested elsewhere, the rendering of Appel and Stimming<sup>3</sup> ('sorgen für'), in keeping with OF. *resoignier*, is certainly preferable to that of Thomas ('songer'). On the other hand, *reserrar* in the last verse cannot possibly = 'befestigen' (Stimming<sup>3</sup>) and hardly 'einschnüren' (Appel), but like French *resserrer* = 'serrer davantage', and can very well be rendered by 'to invest more closely'. With the whole of *v.* 42 in brackets, a semi-colon after *car* and the deletion of the full stop after *Lombardia*, the following rendering would result: 'my song I address to Sir Ademar (who should learn from it what his honour demands), whom our lord cuts to pieces; he (our lord) knows how to woo his (Ademar's) little Lombardy so nicely that he does not lose his composure or bow his head for threats, rather does he give all his care to Limoges and has it invested more closely', or (with *fai reserrar* = *reserra*) 'and invests it more closely'. There can be little doubt that Bertran is alluding to the siege of Limoges, the capital of Ademar V, Viscount of Limoges (1148-1190), conducted by Henry II (*nostre senher*) in person during the campaign carried on in the year 1183 by him and Richard the Lion Heart against the malcontent barons of Aquitaine with whom had sided

his two other sons, Henry and Geoffrey, as well as Bertran de Born himself. Bertran calls Ademar's territory 'his little Lombardy', probably by comparison with the league of the Lombard towns against the Emperor of Germany, which was formed about the same time as the barons of Aquitaine were in revolt. It would seem then that the piece was written soon after the death of the Young King (June 11, 1183), which wrecked the prospects of the insurgents, when Ademar was negotiating with the King of England for the surrender of Limoges, which took place on Midsummer day 1183, and Geoffrey had slipped away to Brittany instead of coming to the rescue of the besieged. Bertran felt that he had been betrayed, and scenting the approaching danger, hoped to conciliate Henry II and Richard by turning against his former allies. Hence his attitude to Ademar and the taunt levelled at Geoffrey in the *tornada*:

Si·l coms Jaufres no s'eslonha,  
Peitau aura e Gasconha,  
Si tot no sap domneiar.

There is much to be said in favour of Appel's hypothesis (*Beiträge*, II, p. 60) to the effect that the whole of the piece should be interpreted, not only politically, but symbolically also; but instead of personifying the town of Limoges (Bertran would hardly have had the Latin form, *Limogia*, in mind; and moreover the *l* in *Lemotg'e·l* cannot stand in enclisis for the pronoun *la*) as the lady to whom Geoffrey (the '*senher en coms*' of v. 1) had failed to hasten because of the threatening danger, I would apply the same personification to *Lombardia*, with its feminine ending, which Henry II had wooed so effectively that he had captured its chief stronghold (Limoges) and compelled Ademar to renounce all dealings with his fellow rebels (Geoffrey of Vigeois, p. 337; cp. *Gesta*, I, pp. 302-3).

*Song 17.* Contained in MSS. ABCDEFIK.

This *planh* was written to mourn the death of the Young King (Henry), eldest son of Henry II, who died on June 11, 1183. As Maus (p. 24) points out, the form of this piece is borrowed from a song of Peire Raimon de Tolosa (*No·m puese sofrir d'una leu chanso faire*), from which, moreover, Bertran took a whole verse with a slight modification. It is strange to see Bertran utilising for a dirge the brisk and lively measure and melody of a '*leu chanso*' in which the predominating note is one of joy. It would look as if Bertran was attracted by this very dissonance and carried it through of set purpose, though perhaps vv. 5, 6, 7, and 8

and vv. 10, 11, 12, and 13 should be printed as decasyllabics and vv. 9 and 14 as lines of five and seven syllables respectively, as Appel (*Beitrag*, I, p. 248) suggests.

17. 22. The plural *pan* in the sense of 'Gewänder' (Stimming<sup>3</sup>), 'vêtements' (Thomas) is doubtful. See *PD.* and *SW.* (VI, p. 40b). Appel (*Lieder*, Gloss.) renders *pan* by 'Tuch', which is hardly suitable here.

17. 35-7                      35 Ab pro companho,  
                                  Ardit e poissan  
                                  De totz los melhors.

On account of the last verse read *maint*, with DIK, instead of *pro*.

17. 38-42                    Tot vuolh qu'ab vos tenha,  
                                  Qu'om re no·n retenha  
40 Al segle truan  
                                  Pel malastruc an,  
                                  Que nos mostret bel semblan.

Levy (*SW.*, *tener* 22) asks whether *tener* here is to be interpreted in the sense of 'seinen Weg nehmen', 'mit euch (fort-)gehen' and rejects Stimming's 'bleiben', a meaning of *tener*, which, as he shows, is not attested, contrary to what Stimming (see the note to 26, 38 in his first edition) states. I suggest that *ab vos tenha* should be written *ab vo·s tenha*, another case (cp. *ASNS.*, CXL, pp. 111-12) of the fall of the final sibilant so as to allow enclisis. This would afford an example of *se tener ab alcu* (*SW.*, *tener* 37) in the sense, of which there are numerous instances, of 'to hold', 'to remain with': 'may all this (i.e., the knightly characteristics enumerated in the previous verses) remain with you, so that one may not retain anything of it for this beggarly world on account of the ill-starred year which showed us so fair an appearance.' The year (1183), which had promised so well for the Young King and his adherents, is qualified as 'ill-starred' because it was to witness the death in the prime of life of that prince, who was stricken down by fever early in June and expired a week later.

17. 47-56                    Des lo temps Rotlan  
                                  Ni de lai denan  
                                  No vi hom tan pro  
50 Ni tan guerreian  
                                  Ni don sa lauzors  
                                  Tan pel mon s'empenha  
                                  Ni si lo revenha  
                                  ...an cerchan  
55 Per tot a garan  
                                  Del Nil tro·l solelh coljan.

In v. 54 the MSS. have *Ni que lan cercan* (C), *ni que san cercan* (D), *ni quels ans cercan* (E), *ni gels an cercan* (F), *ni aquels an cercan* (IK), while for vv. 53-6 AB read ...*reveigna Per tot a garan Q'aisi-l van*

*cercan Des ml*.... Though the MS. tradition does not favour such a course, the correction in v. 54 of *ni que lan* to *neis qui l'an*, or of *ni que san* to *neis que s an*, appears unavoidable. If this be admitted and the reading *agaran* instead of *a garan* is adopted, the rendering would be: 'from Roland's time and (even) before one never saw one so excellent and so skilled in arms, nor one whose fame penetrated so far throughout the world, and who gave it renewed life to such an extent, even if one ransacked it (i.e., the world), searching everywhere from the Nile to the setting sun.' It is just possible that *l'* in v. 54 may refer to *lauzors* (v. 51), in which case *Ni que* of the majority of the MSS. might stand: '...or one who sought it (fame), searching everywhere, from the Nile to the setting sun.' As *agaran* in the sense of 'to look for, to search' is not attested for certain (cp. O. Hoby, *Die Lieder des Trobadors Guiraut d'Espagna*, 1915, p. 76), it is perhaps safer in v. 54 to read *a garan* with Appel, Stimming<sup>3</sup> and Thomas, which, however, is not to be rendered by 'sorgfältig' (Appel and Stimming<sup>3</sup>) or by 'avec soin' (Thomas), but by 'completely, perfectly' (*SW.*, iv, p. 41a).

17. 64. *Et Anjaus pren dan*: read *Angeus* with Thomas or *Angieus*, in lieu of *Anjaus* (i.e., Anjou), which is not confirmed by any of the MSS.

17. 68-69

E Flandres de Gan  
Tro·l port de Guisan.

In the first verse *Flandres* designates the province of Flanders, and not the inhabitants as Appel (*Lieder*, Gloss.) thinks, a slip already pointed out in Stimming<sup>3</sup> by Levy (*ASNS.*, cXLIII, p. 91).

17. 70

Floren neis li Alaman!

'Let even the Germans weep!' The Germans were looked upon as a barbaric people (cp. F. Wittenberg, *Die Hohenstaufen im Munde der Troubadours*, 1908, pp. 14-16); and the point is that even they, uncouth as they are, will be moved to tears by the tragic death of the Young King.

17. 74-6

No pretz un bezan  
75 Ni·i cop d'un aglan  
Lo mon ni cels que·i estan

The MSS. read *colp* or *cop* (F has *cap*). Andresen (*ZRPh.*, xiv, p. 192) and Levy (*Litblatt*, xi, p. 229) see in *cop* a word, not attested elsewhere, corresponding to Mod. French 'coupe' or 'cupule' ('cup' of an acorn), and hold that *colp=coup* would be meaningless. In the light of such expressions as 'I don't care a rap', I am not so sure that they are right, the more so as one would expect *copa* and not *cop* in the sense of the word they indicate. Levy (*ASNS.*, cXLIII, p. 91) has shown that *aglan*,

which occurs in AB only, should be replaced by *aglan* of the other six MSS., the normal form; and also that the word is of the feminine gender, so that the correct reading is *d'un' aglan*....

*Song 18.* Contained in MSS. ADD<sup>c</sup>FGIKM.

On the date of this sirventes see my article in *Modern Philology*, xxxix, 1931, pp. 1-7.

18. 9-15

E puois en merceian  
10 Li sui vengutz denan,  
E·l coms en perdonan  
M'a retengut baisan,  
Ges no·i dei aver dan,  
Que que·m disses antan,  
15 Ni lauzengier no blan.

The context shows that *merceiar* (v. 9) should be understood in the sense of 'to ask for mercy' rather than in that of 'remercier'. In the last verse Stimming<sup>3</sup> has 'schmeicheln, willfährig sein' for *blandir* and takes *blan* as the third person: 'whatever he (Richard) told me last year, I ought not to suffer any damage, nor does he favour any slanderer', which Stimming<sup>1</sup> (p. 267) amplifies as follows: 'da Richard den Verläumdern nicht zugänglich ist, so hofft Bertran, dass diese nicht im Stande sein werden, die Erfüllung seiner Bitte, Autafort zurückzuerhalten, bei Richard zu hintertreiben.' Much better, however, is Levy's suggestion (*ASNS.*, cxlxi, p. 93), who takes *blan* as the first person referring to Bertran and *blandir* in the sense of 'to value, care about' (*PD.* 'faire cas de'): 'whatever he (Richard) told me last year (or, "before, formerly", with *antan* in its more general acceptation), I ought not to suffer any damage in this matter, nor do I care (a jot) about any slanderer.'

18. 22-23

E li trei comte fat  
Engolmesi.

These verses are important in determining the date. Boissonnade (*Annales du Midi*, vii, 1895, p. 284), opposing the year 1183, argues that it was only before June 29, 1181, when Wulgrin III died, that there were three counts of Angoulême governing simultaneously (Wulgrin III, Guilhem V and Ademar); and that therefore the present sirventes must be put down to the first half of 1181. The difficulty, which I have attempted to explain in the article quoted above, would disappear if by any chance the original read *E li trei c'om te fat* (the nominative after *tener* could be paralleled): 'and the three fellows of Angoulême whom one holds as foolish.' The three in that case would be Guilhem and

Ademar and their younger brother Griset, mentioned in a charter of the abbey of Grosbot (1191) analysed in *Gallia christiana*, xi, p. 1048. It is worth noticing that AM read *E li trei comte fat Peiregozin (Peiragorci M)*. The three would then be Helias VI, Talairan (Count of Périgord from 1158/66 to 1203) and his two brothers, Audebert and Boso; but this would not meet Boissonnade's objection, as the three brothers of Périgord never ruled simultaneously (cp. Stroński, *Légende*, pp. 126 ff.). The truth probably is that Bertran applied the title of 'count' loosely to designate the reigning count and his potential successors, and that, since the piece seems to have been written in 1183, he is alluding, if we reject the reading of AM and accept that of the other MSS., to Guilhem V, Talhafer, Count of Angoulême since 1181, and to his two brothers Ademar and Griset, unless my suggestion (*comte = c'om tê*), which removes the obstacle, finds favour.

18. 29

E'n Raimons d'Avinho.

The person intended is Raymond V, Count of Toulouse, who was not properly 'lord of Avignon'. Alphonso II of Aragon, as well as himself, laid claim to that town, as can be gathered from one of the clauses of the treaty signed between them in 1183, by which they undertook to settle their common claims (*Histoire de Languedoc*, vi, p. 110). The exigencies of rhyme, as well as Bertran's hatred of Alphonso, were stronger inducements than historical accuracy, even if we suppose that Bertran was acquainted with the facts. Peire Vidal, it may be noted, also calls Raymond '*comte d'Avinho*' in one of his poems (ed. Anglade<sup>2</sup>, No. xx, second *tornada*).

18. 39-45

Tals mi plevit se fe,  
 40 No fezes plach ses me,  
 Qu'anc puous no m'en tenc re;  
 E no·lh estet ges be  
 Quar si mes a merce  
 E s'acordet ab se;  
 45 So vos pliu per ma fe.

The *tals* or 'certain one' of the first verse is Ademar V, Viscount of Limoges, who in the rebellion of 1183 was compelled, after Henry II had captured his capital on Midsummer Day of that year, to surrender and renounce all dealings with the other rebels 'till they should deserve grace of the King and the Duke' (G. de Vigeois, p. 337; cp. *Gesta*, i, pp. 302-3). Bertran de Born reproaches Ademar with having made peace (v. 44) and with having left him in the lurch (vv. 74-5: *Tro qu'al desamparar Sui vengutz de n' Aimar*). Thomas (Stimming gives no explanation) thinks that *ab se* (for *ab lui* or *ab el*) refers to Richard; but, apart

from the fact that Richard is last mentioned in v. 14, it was to Henry II and not to Richard that Ademar of Limoges had surrendered his capital and with whom he had made peace. It is more natural to refer, as Levy suggests (*ASNS.*, cxliii, p. 93), *ab se* to Ademar, in which case the expression would require some such rendering as 'for himself', 'on his own account', for which there is no authority, although Appel (*Bertran von Born*, p. 38, and *Lieder*, Gloss.) accepts it, as his translation shows: 'das stand fürwahr ihm übel an, für sich allein sich zu vertragen.' Since in vv. 39-41 Bertran has already said that Ademar has broken his word not to come to terms with the enemy independently of him, one wonders whether *s'acordet ab se* is not an extension to another verb than *aver* of the locution *aver ab se (me)*, to which Stroński has drawn attention (cp. *Le Troubadour Elias de Barjols*, 1906, pp. 43-4), in which *ab se (me)* has no value except to introduce a convenient rhyme.

18. 52-5

E·l coms fassa los sens  
Que fai la mars:  
Quan res i chai de bo,  
55 Vol que ab lieis s'esto.

In v. 52, Stimming<sup>3</sup> and Thomas also read *los sens*; but DGIK have *lo sens*. *Faire lo sens* seems more natural and is perfectly legitimate grammatically, since Provençal, by the side of *sen*, knows the indeclinable *sens*. The change of *lo* to *los* in the other MSS. is easily explained by the attraction of the initial *s* of *sens*. Stimming<sup>3</sup> (Thomas gives no indication) renders *far los sens* somewhat freely by 'handeln wie'; Appel (*Bertran von Born*, p. 38) more accurately by 'sich verständig zeigen' or by 'verständig handeln' (*Lieder*, Gloss.). Diez's 'folge dem Gebrauch' (*op. cit.*, p. 171) is obviously based on the reading of M (*sega los sens*). In v. 55 all the MSS., save M, show *lui*, which is of course impossible with *la mars*. One might correct to *lo mars* (the word is occasionally masculine) and then retain *lui* of the MSS.

18. 82

Si Dieus e saintz m'ampar!

This rather unusual expression, which Andresen (*ZRPPh.*, xiv, p. 193) wished to emend, is confirmed by *Si m'ajut Dieus ni santz ni fes in Jaufre* (Appel, *Chrest.*<sup>6</sup>, 20, v. 432). It is difficult to see why Appel in the Glossary to his *Chrestomathie* queries the value of *si* (*si*=Latin *sic* oder *si*?) in *si m'aiut Dieus* and other analogous locutions, such as the one we have here. Already Paul Meyer in the Glossary to *Flamenca*<sup>2</sup> had pointed out that *si m'aiut Dieus* or *si Dieus m'aiut* is a translation of the Latin formula *sic Deus me adjuvet* by which an oath was confirmed: 'may God help me in the same way (as surely) as I am speaking the

truth.' For further details see Stroński, *Elias de Barjols*, p. 77, and L. Foulet, *Romania*, LIII, pp. 301-24.

18. 85-6

85 Per amor de n'Aimar  
Mi lais de guerreiar.

Neither Appel nor Stimming, nor Thomas, notes the expression *per amor de* = 'because of', for which see *SW.*, I, p. 59*b*.

(*To be continued*)

L. E. KASTNER.

MARPLE.

## THE FOUR ELEMENTS IN THE IMAGERY OF CALDERÓN

THIS paper is intended as a contribution to the study of Calderón's diction. It can hardly be supposed that the process described in it has never been noticed by scholars and critics, but as far as the author is aware, it has never before been set out in full. Northup and others in their editions of single plays have illustrated the use of some parts of the system, as when they have noted the frequent equation of horses, birds and boats. They do not seem, however, to have grasped it as a whole. Other aspects of Calderón's imagery would probably lend themselves to a similar treatment.

I have made liberal use of quotations to illustrate the procedure. I could have added very many more, but it is not necessary. Once the system has been pointed out, the reader will come across many more examples whenever he rereads Calderón. My text has usually been the editions of Keil or the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* for the comedias, and those of Valbuena, Pando and the volume in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* for the *autos sacramentales*.

### THE ELEMENTS.

The elements, fire, air, earth and water, were fundamental in the conception of the mediæval world. Their order was fixed, and it was their equilibrium alone which differentiated the established world from chaos. This was the doctrine of the ancient world, and it was incorporated into the scholastic system. Ovid's is perhaps the best known description, at the beginning of the first book of the *Metamorphoses*. Substantially his account was held as a belief by other ancient authors. It could also be reconciled with the account given in the first chapter of the book of *Genesis*, and accepted as Christian natural science. Probably it was considered theologically useful by Calderón and his contemporaries, as a revelation of natural law. Useful, but imperfect. Although this passage from Ovid culminates in the creation of Man, it is not clear that Man is the central (as opposed to the most important) figure, and that the elements are his servants, the instruments for his salvation. That was the Christian position.

There is a most interesting account of Calderón's scientific ideas in a brief essay by Picatoste.<sup>1</sup> He thus summarises the poet's position:

Los elementos quedaron constituidos con existencia propia e individual y con cualidades opuestas, lo suficiente para su coexistencia dentro de una gran unidad.... Hay pues en la creación dos momentos, dos actos; uno del Poder y otro de la Sabiduría. El sumo Poder distinguió los elementos; y luego entró la Ciencia a disponerlos para que el mundo distinga ambas cosas, y era que el arbitrio es obra exclusiva de la Ciencia.

These ideas are dramatised in some of Calderón's *autos*, notably in the *auto* of *La vida es sueño* and in *La inmunidad del sagrado*. In *La vida es sueño* we are shown the conflict of the elements before creation, and their subsequent harmony, in fine and powerful scenes. In the other play we find this stage direction:

Salen los quatro Elementos asidos a una cadena, que les unirá a todos quatro, y el Mundo en medio del globo que forman, y él se aparta de ellos, quedando formado el globo.

This symbolises the dependance of the stability of the world on the equilibrium of the constituent elements. After Man's creation they are his servants, but after the Fall he is delivered to them for imprisonment. In a sense they are still his servants, but they are also his gaolers, and the World gives them orders as to how the prisoner is to be treated:

*Mundo.* Tierra.

*Tierra.* ¿Qué quieres?

*Mundo.* Que no tributas  
desde oy al Hombre tus frutas,  
en que hago embargo.

*Tierra.* No dudes  
que desde oy de mí no tenga  
en mis haveres más útil  
que comer de lo que afane,  
y beber de lo que sude.

Similar instructions are also given to the other elements.

But as they can bring pains and penalties, so also can they bring redemption. In the *auto* of *El jardín de Falerina* Lucifer tells Culpa how divine signs promise Grace to Man in all the different elements. The lily grows from stubborn ground, accompanied by the rose, cedar, palm and cypress. The stream turns from a serpent to a clear mirror. The air grows calm, and an eagle flies past. Fire is reduced to a star, which steers the wandering ship to harbour. And after all these happy omens 'Glory to God in the Highest' is sung on all sides.

<sup>1</sup> Felipe Picatoste, *Calderón ante la Ciencia. Concepto de la Naturaleza y sus Leyes, deducido de las obras de Calderón de la Barca* (Memoria premiada por la Real Academia de Ciencias Exactas), Madrid, 1881.

## CREATURES OF THE ELEMENTS.

With the elements went naturally the idea of four orders of creatures that could only dwell in their respective elements. Also that of inanimate bodies native to them. So Ovid:

Illic et nebulas, illic consistere nubes  
iussit et humanas motura tonitrua mentes  
et cum fulminibus facientes frigora ventos. . .  
Neu regio foret ulla suis animalibus orba,  
astra tenent caeleste solum formaeque deorum,  
cesserunt nitidis habitandae piscibus undae,  
terra feras cepit, volucres agitabilis aer.

The same idea was expressed by Spanish poets and dramatists of the golden age:

Ni en este monte, este aire, ni este río  
corre fiera, vuela ave, pece nada. . .<sup>1</sup>  
Ni el pez, aborto de la blanca espuma,  
ni el ave, a quien matiz la dió su pluma,  
ni de la salamandra la fe ardiente,  
ama tan firme ni con tal firmeza  
al mar, al viento, al fuego, a la aspereza,  
como yo del esquivo dueño mío  
la perfección adoro y desvío;  
porque mi amor excede ya se sabe,  
al pez, al bruto, salamandra y ave.<sup>2</sup>  
Fuego, tierra, ayre y agua,  
luces, flores, aves, pezes. . .  
quantas luzes rayos vibren,  
quantos picos plumas peynen,  
quanta espuma perlas sude,  
quanta flor ámbar bosteze. . .<sup>3</sup>  
Ave, que se calza viento,  
pescado, que el mar fecunda,  
fruta, que, guarda la tierra,  
no perdonó; porque en suma,  
sirviendo tres elementos  
lucieron las mesas suyas  
la tierra, el viento y la mar,  
en peces, aves y frutas.<sup>4</sup>

In these passages we may observe three stages of the treatment of the elements. There is the element, or the synonym of the element, then there is the creature or inanimate object that is native to that element, and finally a specific quality or characteristic of the creature or object. Thus for the air we have the series: *aire, viento; ave; matiz, pluma, pico*. For

<sup>1</sup> *Obras Poéticas de D. Luis de Góngora*, New York, 1921, No. 33.

<sup>2</sup> From *El condenado de amor*, of uncertain authorship, but among Calderón's plays in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*.

<sup>3</sup> Loa to Calderón's *El gran teatro del mundo*, really by Bances Candamo, cf. the preface to *Poesías Cómicas, obras póstumas de D. Francisco Bances Candamo*, Madrid, 1722.

<sup>4</sup> From the first act (by Calderón) of the *comedia* by three wits, *El privilegio de las mujeres*.

water: *agua, mar; pez, sierpe, pescado; vidrios, espuma, perla*. For earth: *tierra, montes; escollo; fier, bruto; flores, fruta; piel*. For fire: *fuego, salamandra, volcán; luces, rayos*. This process is fundamental to what follows in this paper.

#### CONFUSION OF THE ELEMENTS.

Picatoste continues later in his essay:

Todos los grandes trastornos, los más asombrosos fenómenos de la naturaleza, reconocían por causa la confusión violenta de estos elementos penetrándose unos a otros. Calderón lo indica muchas veces llamando motines, rebeliones y confusiones de los elementos a los rayos, terremotos, erupciones, exhalaciones, etc.<sup>1</sup>

Often, however, Calderón let the confusion of the elements tell their own story, merely letting the creature or attribute of one element be that of another. So we find the description of terrible natural phenomena in the first part of *La hija del aire*:

*Irene.* Los montes contra los aires  
volcanes de fuego escupen,  
y ellos pájaros de fuego  
crían, que los golfos sulquen;  
el gran Tigris enrespado,  
opuesto al azul volúmen,  
a dar asalto a los dioses,  
gigante de espuma, sube.

(III.)

Or this from the *auto* of *Las órdenes militares*:

*Segundo Adán.* El tren de la artillería,  
que disparaban los cielos,  
también soldado del mar  
restauré, quando los vientos  
amotinando las ondas  
en su azul campo me vieron  
vencer baterías de rayos  
de relámpagos y truenos.

Other passages might be quoted, especially from such plays as *El mágico prodigioso* and *Los dos amantes del cielo*, in which the conflict is due to the intervention of the supernatural.

#### VISUAL EXCHANGE OF ELEMENTS.

I propose to place in this category those metaphors of exchange of elements that are due to visual impressions, as opposed to others in which there also enters the idea of motion or violent action. Nearly all my examples are concerned with mountains or flowers.

Calderón's conceits of mountains resemble a beautiful couplet from one of Pope's *Pastorals*:

Here where the mountains, less'ning as they rise,  
Lose the low vales, and steal into the skies.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Pastoral 3, Autumn, lines 59-60.

The mountain is so high that it reaches up into the skies, in the region of the clouds, where it is indistinguishable from the clouds. So at the opening of *La selva confusa* Fadrique describes a mountain:

Aquí que de esmeraldas  
componen estas sombras  
colgadas al monte, al valle alfombras,  
siendo en tantas colores  
gigante de zafir, pira de flores,  
pues, vello Adlante, hasta los cielos sube  
a convertirse ufano,  
si no en pardo dosel, en verde nube.<sup>1</sup>

This was a mild and moderate conceit. The region of the air is next to that of the earth. To give the idea of a high mountain this was not enough; the mountain must reach the heavenly regions. The mountain then becomes a pillar for the palace of the moon, or for the moon itself to rest upon, or a support for the shafts of the firmament. So Luis in *Luis Pérez el gallego* talks of:

Este monte eminente  
cuyo arrugado ceño, cuya frente  
es dórica coluna  
en quien descansa el orbe de la luna  
con majestad inmensa.... (III, 1.)

Sometimes, however, the two conceits are combined; the Queen thus describes Granada in *La niña de Gómez Arias*:

Bellísima Granada,  
ciudad de tantos rayos coronada,  
cuando tus torres bellas  
saben participar de las estrellas,  
ya cuyos riscos liberal se atreve  
tu sierra altiva a convertir en nieve,  
cuando eminente sube  
a ser cielo, cansada de ser nube. (III.)

When the mountain itself enters the heavenly regions it did not need a very wide stretch of imagination to consider its flowers as stars. This happens in many descriptions, such as the following from *La hija del aire*:

Adonde colocados tus pensiles (i.e. of Babylon),  
al cielo se han llevado tus Abriles,  
y con sus flores bellas,  
a rayos equivocan las estrellas. (III.)

This last example is really only a particular and better motivated one of a more general practice. Flowers are the stars of earth, stars are the flowers of heaven. Over and over again we find such lines as the following (taken from *El alcaide de sí mismo*) in the works of Calderón:

Margarita bella,  
que fué del cielo flor, del campo estrella. (I, 1.)

<sup>1</sup> From Northup's edition in *Revue Hispanique*, XXI, lines 3-10.

Among more complicated examples, we may quote Leonor in *Con quien vengo vengo*:

Este cuadro (que es dosel)  
de la hermosa primavera,  
pues las rosas que hay en él  
estrellas son de otra esfera,  
cuyos muertos resplandores  
a las estampas y huellas  
del sol dicen entre colores:  
'si esta noche sois estrellas  
mañana seremos flores.'

In *El mágico prodigioso* the device becomes poetry in Cipriano's magnificent *décimas* when he talks of:

El clavel que en breve cielo  
es estrella de coral.

And also we would quote Calderón's ode to Saint Isidro, built up as it is on the mixture of the terrestrial and celestial landscapes. Such is Isidro's piety that heaven and earth are confused:

Los campos de Madrid ya cielos bellos,  
y los cielos del sol campos hermosos. . .

It is all a particular case of a more general system. Flowers and stars are the equivalent, in their respective elements, of feathers and foam in theirs. So in *El mayor encanto amor*:

Neutral la vista duda  
cual es la yerba, o el agua,  
porque aquí en golfos de flores  
y allí en selvas de esmeraldas,  
unas mismas ondas hacen  
las espumas y las matas. (III.)

In *La selva confusa*:

Pues abes que la pueblan de colores  
flores de pluma son, abes de flores. (II. 78-9.)

In the beautiful incantation of Aura in *Celos aun del aire matan*:

Ven, Aura, ven.  
Ven, y con cláusulas sumas  
muevan trinados primores  
inquietos golfos de flores,  
blandos embates de plumas.  
Tus penachos las espumas  
sean, y el ámbar también.  
Ven, Aura, ven. (III.)

To this class of conceit also belong those lines that point out the similarity of land and water under certain conditions. This is to be seen in the passages where Góngora's line

Montes de agua i pielagos de montes<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Soledad Primera*, line 44.

is quoted or remembered.<sup>1</sup> There is the same deliberate confusion in the following passage from *Afectos de odio y amor*:

Y cuando así sea que no hay quilla que corte  
los helados carámbanos del norte,  
ni tropa que se acerque  
al erizado ceño con que el Merque,  
más que el Tanais helado,  
le impiden el rodeo, pues cerrado  
uno y otro horizonte  
peñasco el golfo es, piélagos el monte.

#### HORSES, BIRDS AND BOATS.

These three sets of beings are united in that they all move with speed and power, and each is particular to its own element. Calderón, expressing the baroque feeling for force and violence, referred to each in terms of the others. We have seen that he had, roughly speaking, three categories for each element: the element itself, its creature, and a special characteristic, either of the creature or of the element: e.g., the sea, fishes, scales and foam. A land creature that was to be compared to a fish could be called either a fish of the land, a fish with the special characteristics of the land or of the land creature, a land creature of the sea or with sea or fishy characteristics, or simply as a scaleless fish. This formula covers a large part of Calderón's imagery. So we find him calling ships: *ave del mar, caballo del mar, neblí del mar, delfín del viento, pez del viento, volcán del agua; pájaro de espuma, escollo que navega, velera ave; monte de velas, uracán de lino, selva de jarcias*; and *pájaro sin pluma, pez sin escama*. Two passages will serve to illustrate this, the first from *La Sibila del oriente*:

En un delfín que es pájaro sin plumas,  
en un águila que es pez sin escama...  
aré los campos de cristal y nieve,  
donde bebe en carámbanos la aurora  
la blanca espuma, que en aljófár llueve,  
el argentado humor, que en perlas llora  
el viento, a cuya son las plantas mueve  
ese del mar caballo.

(I.)

The second from *El castillo de Lindabridis*:

Seguirle quise, y sobre riza espuma,  
huésped ya del cerúleo pavimento,  
viví un bajel, que, sin escama y pluma,  
águila fué del mar, delfín del viento.  
Mas porque Amor de ciego no presuma,  
a la venganza de Júpiter atento,  
fuego introdujo ardiente en nieve fría  
y el bajel volcán de agua parecía.

(II.)

<sup>1</sup> El náufrago.../que halló.../más tormenta en las peñas que en las ondas,/cuando pisó por estos horizontes/montes de agua y piélagos de montes (*El mayor encanto amor*, III). Cuya surtida desagua/sus fossos en horizontes,/que dudan quando les fragua/si son piélagos de montes,/o si son montes de agua (*El vático cordero*).

Once at least this practice was given a rational, dramatic motivation. In *La aurora en Copacabana* the natives saw a ship for the first time, and one of them, Guacolda, thus described it to her comrades:

Si digo que es  
un escollo que navega  
diré mal; pues para escollo  
le desmiente la violencia;  
si digo preñada nube,  
que a beber el mar sedienta  
se abate, diré peor;  
porque viene sin tormenta;  
si digo marino pez...  
velera ave.... (I.)

Horses also were described in terms of more than one element. In *Lances de amor y fortuna* we are shown the horse of Rugero:

Todos los cuatro elementos  
hicieron un mapa en él,  
tierra el cuerpo, mar la espuma,  
viento el alma, y fuego el pie.

There is even more elaboration in Irán's horse, in *La Sibila del oriente*:

Un veloz caballo, cuyo aliento  
geroglífico ha sido de la guerra,  
sierpe del agua, exhalación del viento,  
volcán del fuego, escollo de la tierra,  
caos animal, pues con tan nuevo modo,  
no siendo nada desto, lo era todo. (I.)

Usually the metaphor is that of a ship or bird, and was sometimes the cause of a long part-by-part analogy. Such is the description of the horses on which the troops of Coriolanus crossed the Tiber in Calderón's first act of *El privilegio de las mujeres*:

Al abreviado piélago se entregan,  
donde por rumbos fáciles navegan  
en los brutos bajeles y vivientes;  
que, espolones las frentes,  
el cuello proa, viento las espuelas,  
remos los brazos y los crines velas,  
jarcia el arzón más alto de la silla,  
el jinete piloto, el viento quilla,  
jarcias las riendas y timón la cola,  
y si el Tíber crespo se enarbola,  
áncoras breves siendo los estribos,  
pasó terrestre flota en leños vivos. (I, 7.)

Birds of prey, and their prey, also follow the same procedure, but they are also referred to in terms of the celestial fiery region. So (in *Circe y Polifemo*) Ulysses tells Circe of the flight of the heron, 'árbitro igual' between the wind and fire, frozen and burned as it fell and rose in its flight:

Geroglífico era  
la garza entre la una y otra esfera.

## 42      *The Four Elements in the Imagery of Calderón*

In *Luis Pérez el gallego* the falcon is called 'cometa sin luz ni fuego', and in *La puente de Mantible* the heron is called 'rayo de pluma'. Continued metaphors of the same kind that we have just examined are also to be found here, e.g., from *El mayor encanto amor*:

Hechos remos los pies, proa la frente,  
la vela el ala, y el timón la cola. (II.)

Vélez de Guevara also used this type of metaphor; the following passage from his *Auto del nacimiento* is not without charm:

Mirad cubiertos los vientos  
de nuevas lucientes plumas  
cuyas doradas espumas  
inundan los elementos.  
Mirad como están atentos  
esos Argos celestiales  
a las batallas navales  
de tanto alado baxel,  
que en piélagos de clavel,  
son clarines de cristales.<sup>1</sup>

Other objects also called forth the same type of conceit. So Phaethon in *El hijo del sol*, driving in the sun's chariot, says:

Etéreos campos corro,  
siendo en piélagos de plata  
luciente bajel de oro.

In *El castillo de Lindabridis* the flying castle is a problem; which element does it really belong to?

En África alcancé aquel prodigioso  
castillo, que a su arbitrio se pasea,  
porque los elementos litigioso  
pleito tuvieron, sobre cuyo sea.  
El fuego le examina luminoso,  
la tierra sus campañas hermosea,  
en su estancia le ven mares y vientos;  
y así le traen por lid cuatro elementos. (II.)

Part of Calderón's vocabulary is directly due to this type of imagery. I refer to his fondness for words describing monsters and semi-mythical creatures, which express in their names the confusion of two or more opposing characteristics. So he calls rivers: *centauro indiano*, *centauro de hielo*, *hipogrifo de cristal*; a horse: *hipogrifo violento*, *caos animal de cuatro elementos*; a ship: *monstruo de dos especies*, etc., etc. Also we may note his fondness for words that show doubt between two elements, or the strife and boundaries between them: *horizonte*, *árbitro*, *neutral*, *equivocar*, *promontorio*, *escándalo*, *asombro*, *geroglífico*, *guerra*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Vélez de Guevara, *Autos Sacramentales*, edición de A. Lacalle, Madrid, 1931.

## SCHEME OF THE ELEMENTS IN CALDERÓN'S IMAGERY.

In the following list I include most of the ingredients that Calderón used in these metaphorical recipes. The list is probably not complete or watertight, but it will help to make the process clear.

*Earth.* Element: Tierra, campo, jardín, campañas, arena, yerba, peñas, montes.

Inanimate creatures: monte, pirámide, torre, alcázar, montaña, escollo, selva, muro, coluna, sierra, risco, ciudad, pira, roca, peñasco.

Animate creatures: caballo, elefante, gigante, Atlante, hormiga, flores.

Attribute of element: flores, matas, polvo, fruta, rosa, clavel.

Attribute of creatures: verdores, perlas, piedra, ramos, pie, anca, cola, etc.

*Water.* Element: mar, agua, río, golfo, ondas, piélago.

Inanimate creatures: nave, bajel, galera.

Animate creatures: delfín, pez, sierpe, cisne, pescado, sirena.

Attribute of element: sal, hielo, nieve, espuma, cristal, coral, aljófar, zafir, plata, ámbar.

Attribute of creatures: escama, velas, pino, jarcias, lino, timón, remo, etc.

*Air.* Element: aire, viento, cielo.

Inanimate creatures: nube, uracán, exhalación.

Animate creatures: ave, pájaro, águila, neblí, etc.

Attribute of creatures: plumas, penachos, picos, alas, etc.

*Fire.* Element: Fuego, cielo, firmamento, empíreo, incendio.

Inanimate creatures: sol, cometa, astro, lucero.

Animate creatures: fénix, mariposa, salamandra, Apolo, Faetón, comunero.

Attributes: luz, rayos, relámpagos, llama, humo, ceniza, pavesa, centellas, oro (and azul, celestial, cerúleo, etéreo).

## PRECEDENTS.

Calderón did not invent this metaphorical procedure, but standardised it. He probably derived it from a study of the works of Góngora, which show a less academic use of the same method. I shall now quote examples of its use before Calderón, mainly from Góngora, but also one or two from the court plays, *La gloria de Niquea* of the Count of Villamediana, and *Querer por solo querer* by Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza.

## 44 *The Four Elements in the Imagery of Calderón*

The conceit of a mountain's sustaining the heavens occurs as a simile in Góngora's *Panegirico al Duque de Lerma*:

Su ombro ilustra luego suficiente  
el peso de ambos mundos soberano,  
qual la estrellada maquina luciente  
doctas fuerças de monte, si Africano.<sup>1</sup>

The equation of stars, flowers, feathers and foam occurs with some frequency:

Ia en nuevos campos vna es oi de aquellas  
flores que ilustra otra mejor Aurora,  
cuio caduco aljofar son estrellas.<sup>2</sup>  
No todas las voces ledas  
son de Syrenas con plumas,  
cuias humidas espumas  
son las verdes alamedas.<sup>3</sup>  
Por seis hijas, por seis deidades bellas,  
del cielo espumas i de el mar estrellas.<sup>4</sup>  
Tres violas del cielo,  
tres de las flores ia breues estrellas.<sup>5</sup>  
De el cielo flor, estrella de Medina.<sup>6</sup>

We also find it in Villamediana:

Eres en el cielo flor,  
y entre las flores estrella.<sup>7</sup>

The metaphors of birds of prey, and birds generally, either in that they are like ships, or that they have heavenly qualities, are also frequent in Góngora:

El aue Reina...  
Raio con plumas.<sup>8</sup>  
Qual en los equinoccios surcar vemos  
los pielagos de el aire libre algunas  
volantes no galeras  
sino grullas veleras.<sup>9</sup>  
El neblí, que relampago su pluma,  
raio su garra.<sup>10</sup>

The figures of the bull and the goat recall their constellations in the zodiac:

El mentido robador de Europa...  
en campos de zaphiro pascen estrellas.<sup>11</sup>  
Promontorio...  
de cabras estrellado,  
iguales, aunque pocas,  
a la que, imagen decima del cielo,  
flores su cuerno es, raios su pelo.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Panegirico*, lines 249-52.

<sup>2</sup> F. D. 221, lines 12-14.

<sup>3</sup> F. D. 214, lines 8-11.

<sup>4</sup> *Soledad*, II, lines 214-15.

<sup>5</sup> F. D. 297, lines 1-2.

<sup>6</sup> *Panegirico*, line 112.

<sup>7</sup> *Obras de don Juan de Tarsis, Conde de Villamediana*..., Madrid, 1643: *La gloria de Niquea*, Segunda Scena.

<sup>8</sup> *Polifemo*, lines 261-4.

<sup>9</sup> *Soledad*, I, lines 610-13.

<sup>10</sup> *Soledad*, II, lines 745-6.

<sup>11</sup> *Soledad*, I, lines 2-6.

<sup>12</sup> *Soledad*, II, lines 303, 304-7.

The idea of the elements composing a horse we find expressed by Lupercio Leonardo de Argenzola in his tragedy of *Isabela*:

Un caballo te espera tan gallardo,  
que dirán que nació de vivo fuego,  
y que de viento sólo se mantiene;  
tanta velocidad y fuerza tiene.<sup>1</sup>

Góngora, besides reminding us of the mythological conception of the foals of Andalusia, also uses this idea occasionally:

Cauallo . . .  
arrogante, i no ia por las que daua  
estrellas su cerulea piel al día.<sup>2</sup>  
Ia centellas de sangre con la espuela  
solicita al trueno generoso,  
al cauallo veloz, que embuelto vuela  
en poluo ardiente, en fuego poluoroso.<sup>3</sup>

We also find it in *Querer por solo querer*:

Ave lo nombra lo veloz, lo ardiente  
rayo le aclama, el nombre generoso  
cisne galán que entre la blanca espuma  
es de nieve Faetón, bajel de pluma.<sup>4</sup>

The confusion of land and sea is almost more frequent in Góngora than in Calderón himself:

Vna Libia de ondas.<sup>5</sup>  
Montes de agua i pielagos de montes.<sup>6</sup>  
El que ia deste o de aquel mar primero  
sureño labrador fiero  
el campo undoso en mal nacido pino.<sup>7</sup>  
Montes de espuma.<sup>8</sup>

And in Villamediana again:

Que admiracion natural,  
que en dos rios se desata  
una montaña de plata  
y una selva de cristal.<sup>9</sup>

These examples all are taken from works written before Calderón's style had matured. We find in them quite remarkable resemblances to Calderón's own devices, and it was by these passages and by their like that Calderón must have been influenced. Few such examples can be found in sixteenth-century poetry, and where they are most noticeable is in the great *culto* poems of Góngora. They are a striking example of

<sup>1</sup> Enrique de Ochoa, *Tesoro del Teatro Español*, I (Jornada II, Escena 3).

<sup>2</sup> *Soledad*, II, lines 816-19.

<sup>3</sup> *Panegirico*, lines 59-62.

<sup>4</sup> *Obras líricas y cómicas de Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza*, Madrid, 1728 (Jornada III).

<sup>5</sup> *Soledad*, I, line 20.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, line 44.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, lines 369-71.

<sup>8</sup> *Soledad*, II, line 489.

<sup>9</sup> *La gloria de Niquea*, Segunda Scena.

the rise of the baroque spirit in literature, with its emphasis on force and passion, and its tendency to overflow the natural bounds. But like so much that is baroque it is founded on an old harmony. Góngora was not its inventor in all probability, but he found it a convenient method for the construction of his superb metaphors and imagery. He was not a slave to it, he was always moderate and imaginative in its use; Calderón abused it by too-frequent repetition and stylisation.

We have followed Calderón through the varieties of this metaphorical procedure. Each element in its bounds is stable and fixed, but if it overflows these bounds primæval chaos is reproduced. So storms could be described as a mutiny against the order of creation. And so the effect of violence and motion could be enhanced by comparing it to a mixture or confusion of the elements. And Calderón had a fondness for violent action comparable to that of the baroque painters.

In Góngora also we find many cases of this confusion of the elements, especially in the great *culto* poems. Nevertheless it is not obtruded on our attention as it is by Calderón. Rather it is implied, and we do not often find ourselves thinking that such or such an effect is arrived at by mixing the elements of, say, sea and sky. For Góngora seldom relies wholly on doing this; the gulls in the *Soledad Primera* are compared to flying galleys, but then, immediately we are borne on to the lovely comparison with waxing and waning moons. Calderón has borrowed from Góngora passages where their usage seems to coincide, but Góngora is almost always more subtle, less tabulated than Calderón.

There can be no doubt that Calderón was deliberate in this use of imagery, and many critics will consider it a serious defect in his work. Gerardo Diego for instance has already written:

Calderón reduce a cuatro o seis moldes, agotados genialmente, algunos de los hallazgos gongorinos; simetriza lo que en Góngora era equilibrado pero libre. Da la forma para adquirir un culteranismo de bazar a precio único; y en suma, convierte la sorpresa en tópico, la forma en molde y lo clásico vivo en académico muerto.<sup>1</sup>

There remains something to be said on the other side. We have considered only a part of Calderón's technique when we draw attention to these devices; it may be that Calderón made use of a formula here in order to concentrate on other things that interested him more. Again, each play was written for a separate performance, not to make up a collected edition; and here we have formed a judgment after reading a large number of plays. The method of this paper, the only possible method, was to tear passages from their contexts and to put them side

<sup>1</sup> *Antología Poética en Honor de Góngora*, Madrid, 1927.

by side; in a successful work of art any passage must lose by such treatment. Isolation, though, is often a useful test, and there has been some good writing even in some of the passages quoted above.

Nevertheless, such a system for turning out images to a pattern must be considered a defect. In Calderón it produced much writing of an inferior quality, and it lent itself to assimilation by his imitators: men who found here a means of covering paper without thinking or feeling for themselves.

E. M. WILSON.

CAMBRIDGE.

## JAMES THOMSON: HIS TRANSLATIONS OF HEINE

JAMES THOMSON (1834–88) has been known to posterity principally as the author of the *City of Dreadful Night*, a poem whose unrelieved pessimism has led to a rather unfavourable estimate of the poet's life and art. But, 'that grand and awful Melancholy' of Albrecht Dürer, which, as Thomson said, dominated the City of his poem, only gained the ascendancy during the latter years of his life. Such poems as *Sunday up the River*, written in 1865, as well as the essays and critical reviews of this earlier period, bear ample testimony to his possessing a quaint and original sense of humour and no mean satirical power. The mere mention of the fact that he dedicated *Vanes Story*, published in 1864, to Shelley, 'the poet of poets and the purest of men', but the sombre *City of Dreadful Night*, composed during the years 1870–4, to Giacomo Leopardi, 'the younger brother of Dante', will indicate better than any lengthy exposition the transition from happier days, lit by lightening flashes of humour, to those later years of helpless despondency.

Next in importance to these two literary sponsors, Leopardi and Shelley, in Thomson's intellectual development, stand Novalis and Heine, both of whom influenced very strongly his style and thought; Novalis, perhaps, more by a sense of their spiritual kinship and the tragic similarity of their lives,<sup>1</sup> Heine, because of his wit, his poetry and his railing at convention. And it is Thomson's interpretation of Heine that is the object of these few notes.

Thomson, it appears, never visited Germany. His knowledge of the language, like that of French and Italian, was entirely self-acquired. Yet, in all of his translations, he betrays an astonishing comprehension of and sympathy with both the melody of the verse and the motive of the thought which gave rise to the original. His own evident appreciation of the German language and German literature, incidentally, led to its more widely spread popularity among his friends, serving as an added incentive to the study of it, as in the case of Charles Bradlaugh's daughters. Thomson willingly lent both grammar and dictionary to any who seemed anxious for a better acquaintance with the language. 'You say', he wrote to Agnes Grey,

that you may study German in a few more years! Indolent and procrastinating! Give one hour a day to it regularly. You have no partiality for it. Did you ever have partiality for arithmetic, grammar, etc.? The language is becoming an essential in education; it has the best modern literature in Europe....

<sup>1</sup> Mathilda Welling was to Thomson what Sophie von Kuhn was to Novalis. Death intervened in both cases.

Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner has some charming recollections to recount of Thomson as a friend and adviser.<sup>1</sup> In an early letter to her mother he wrote:

- I am sorry for poor Hypatia with her teeth and headaches. She must be very careful in pronouncing the most Germanic of the Germanic words, else they will certainly twist and tug out what sound teeth she has left. As for the German round-about sentences, as they give people who are well the headache, they ought, on the homeopathic system to cure those who have it.

It is difficult, however, to state exactly when Thomson first read Heine, since in a fit of despondency he burnt the vast majority of his poems, letters and manuscripts. That Heine early became a very potent force in Thomson's life is proved conclusively by the affinity of thought and tone in his verses, the numerous references to him scattered throughout his essays, and the publication of what he modestly called 'attempts at translation from Heine'.

In fact, one of Thomson's most important contributions to the *Secularist*, a liberal weekly review, edited by G. J. Holyoake and G. W. Foote, was a series of articles on Heine.<sup>2</sup> The immediate cause of the essays was the publication of *The Life, Work and Opinions of Heinrich Heine* by William Stigand, in 1875. Thomson, in his first article, which appeared on January 8, 1876, begins with a biting review of this book. 'The translations from Heine's exquisite prose', he says, 'are often criminally unfaithful, in general, clumsy and vile. The translations of Heine's most exquisite verse are usually yet more clumsy and vile.' He cites examples of Stigand's 'conspicuous inconsistencies' as to dates and details. 'I have exposed', he continues, 'only a few samples of the gross errors of this book, choosing chiefly such as could be exposed with the least expenditure of time and in the most limited space.' In Thomson's eyes, however, the author's most serious fault was 'his cringing to Bumbledom'. On one occasion, he writes, Stigand actually scrawls, 'Heine concludes with a sketch of the history of Deism too characteristic to be inserted'. 'If Mr Stigand', answers Thomson, indignantly, 'has so much reverence for the delicacy of English readers... why could he not let our Heine alone? What constraint was there on him, the obscure Philistine, to undertake the interpretation of the splendid child of light?' Moreover, 'Mr Stigand on every opportunity and often *à propos* of nothing, indulges in coarse and indiscriminate abuse of the great

<sup>1</sup> *Childish Recollections of James Thomson*, by Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner. Vol. VIII of *Our Corner*; August, 1886.

<sup>2</sup> This paper only lasted from January 1876 until June 1877. It is not in the British Museum Catalogue. Through the kindness of Mr Dobell, son of Bertram Dobell, who befriended Thomson, I have been able to consult it.

German people and in equally coarse and indiscriminate adulation of the great French people, who must be highly delighted to have such an artist bedaubing them with mud for colour and mop for brush....' 'I hope', Thomson concludes, 'to have an early opportunity of saying something about Heine to indemnify me for having had to say so much about Stigand.'

Such drastic criticism would not pass unchallenged. For, considering the labour involved in the production of Stigand's book, and bearing in mind that it was a comparatively unknown author whom he was endeavouring to explain to a foreign public, his task was by no means light. On the other hand, when one places side by side corresponding versions from Heine's prose and verse by Thomson and Stigand, one has to admit that Thomson not only justified his scathing disapproval of the other's rendering, but that he did what few critics venture to do in similar circumstances, he provided his readers with a more satisfactory and truly poetical translation of the offending lines.

A short life of Heine, with one or two poems, and extracts from his prose works with which to illustrate the man and his art, make up the four remaining articles. Thomson invariably signed himself B.V., 'Bysshe Vanolis', a signature chosen by him in memory of Shelley and Novalis; 'Bysshe' being the commonly used Christian name of the English poet and 'Vanolis' an anagram of Novalis.

Of Heine's life, as portrayed by Thomson, little need be said. To consider his judgments impartially it is necessary to remember, when reading them in the light of modern times, that his was the work of a pioneer. The verse is uniformly good, the sympathy and understanding betrayed worthy of the best critic. Many of his translations from the *Buch der Lieder* had already appeared spasmodically, either in the *National Reformer*, a paper with which Thomson was for many years associated, and *Cope's Tobacco Plant*, to which he contributed during the last years, or scattered through the pages of the *Secularist*. With the assistance of Mr Dobell these were later collected and printed in a little volume, under the title of *Attempts at Translation from Heine*, together with the *City of Dreadful Night* (1880). After their publication Dr Karl Marx, in a letter addressed to Thomson, had expressed his delight in the versions from Heine, which he described as 'no translation, but a reproduction of the original, such as Heine himself, if master of the English language, would have given'.<sup>1</sup> By no means all of his 'attempts',

<sup>1</sup> H. S. Salt, *The Life of James Thomson*, 1914, p. 161.

however, were included. Some are still hidden away in little-known magazines and reviews.

But to return to the articles themselves. Having quoted frequently from the *Romancero* Thomson adds:

Perhaps I cannot more fairly conclude this section than with a piece from the 'Last Poems' (Letzte Gedichte)...entitled Body and Soul (Leib und Seele): it is worth pondering. My translation, such as it is, was published eleven years since.

That would be in 1865, when Thomson was contributing regularly to the *National Reformer*, at that time edited by Charles Bradlaugh. A few lines are well worth quoting.

The poor Soul speaketh to its clay:  
I cannot leave thee thus: I'll stay  
With thee, with thee in death will sink  
And black Annihilation drink.

The Body to the poor Soul said:  
'Oh, murmur not, be comforted!  
We all should quietly endure  
The wounds of Fate, which none can cure.  
I was the lamp's wick, and to dust  
Consume.

This is no mere translation. It is poetry.

Passing quickly over the bare facts of Heine's life, we come to the last article of February 12, 1876. In this Thomson gives his personal estimate of him. The judgment expressed is sound and fair. Since these articles were not reprinted no excuse need be offered for citing them at some length.

'I have', he writes,

dwelt...on the long agony of Heine, because this differentiates him from most men, and even from most men of letters...In all moods, tender, imaginative, fantastic, humorous, ironical, cynical; in anguish and horror; in weariness and revulsion, longing backwards to enjoyment, and longing forward to painless rest; through the doleful days and the dreadful immeasurable nights; this intense and luminous spirit was enchained and constrained to look down into the vast black void which undermines our seemingly solid existence, and in which he all the time was as near immersion as a sailor alone on a leaking boat in a solitary sea....Of his contemporaries with whom I am acquainted there are three poets, all born in the decade of his birth, who have some affinity to him in this respect: Keats, with a marvellous sensuous prescience, Shelley with a prescience more marvellously spiritual, of early death, radiated strange flashes of insight, and thrilling pulses of passion, into the depth of the obscure gulf; Leopardi, throughout a longer, though never quite a helpless and motionless agony confronted it with a most desperate undaunted steadfast and profound regard; but Heine alone lay for years outstretched on a mattress-grave, paralyzed, in the weird borderland of Death-in-Life and Life-in-Death, a restless and fiery mind in a passive and frostbound body. And as he himself was fascinated with an appalling fascination by the fulness of life behind, and the emptiness of death before, so we are fascinated and appalled by what he has revealed to us of his visions from that alien and terrible point of view. And the power of the spell on him, as the power of his spell on us, is increased by the fact that he thus in Death-in-Life

brooding on Death and Life, was no ascetic spiritualist, no self-torturing eremite or hypochondriac monk, but by nature a joyous heathen of richest blood, a Greek, a Persian, as he often proudly proclaimed, a lusty lover of this world and life, an enthusiastic apostle of the rehabilitation of the flesh.

In Heine's *Last Poems* Thomson sees 'the struggle raging between his love of life and his revulsion from its horrible tortures. Nor is it easy to discern', he admits, 'with which side the ultimate alternating victory rests at last.' To illustrate the poet's varying moods during this period, Thomson translates one or two of the poems from *Zum Lazarus* in what he terms the 'baldest prose'.

Leave your holy parables,  
Leave your pious superstitions;  
Try to give straightforward answers  
To the damnable old questions.

And this:

Better love the meanest drudge  
In the upper world, than loom  
On the Stygian shores of gloom,  
Phantom leader, bodiless roamer,  
Though besung by mighty Homer. (From the *Epilog*.)

The *Confessions* of 1854 Thomson aptly names 'a Capitolian triumph of audacious genius and truth... charioted by a whirling complexity of irony within irony...'. He also gives extracts from what he calls 'Heine's propaganda of Atheism', in order to show the poet's conversion from Hegelianism to Theism. 'The theology', he interposes, 'is as Heinesque, that is to say, as unique, as the philosophy.' He ends with a passage from 'that grand defiance' which Heine wrote, nearly thirty years later, as he lay 'at the door of death', which was soon 'to open to him who has lain before it so long'.

Alas the mockery of God weighs heavy on me. The great author of the universe, the Aristophanes of Heaven, has resolved to make the petty earthly author, the so-called Aristophanes of Germany, feel keenly that his wittiest sarcasms are in fact but pitiful pinpricks compared with the thunderbolts of satire which the Divine humour can launch against frail mortals.

In his various writings Thomson had often, at odd intervals, translated illustrative passages from Heine. He used them in the most novel and attractive ways. For example, in *Cope's Tobacco Plant* of January 1878, at the beginning of a small inconspicuous 'jotting by the way', one finds 'that rogue Heine' quoted in defence of the love of tobacco, and subjoined 'a rude version of one of his poems by the poetical cuss under-mentioned'. The article is signed 'Sigvat', another of Thomson's nom-de-plumes. An amusing instance occurs in the *National Reformer* for February 3, 1867. The ancient feud between this paper and the *Saturday Review* was at its height. In a rather scathing criticism of an

article by their rival, Thomson introduces a poem by Heine. 'But why', he continues, 'bring in a song of Heine's?' 'Because at length the *Saturday Review* came into being', and 'he (Heine) immediately departed from this life. I have said that he was the clearest intelligence and best writer in Europe; the world of the *Saturday Review* was no world for him, poor man.'

So much then for Thomson and Heine in a lighter vein. A word or two now about his renderings of poems from the *Buch der Lieder*. Thomson's translation of 'The Mountain Voice' (Bergstimme) from *Junge Leiden* alone serves to illustrate his ability to reproduce not only the sense but also the metre and beauty of diction of the original.

All sadly through the stern ravine  
There rides a horseman brave:  
'Ah! draw I near to my darling's arms,  
Or near to the gloomy grave?'  
The echo answer gave:  
'To the gloomy grave!'  
And as the horseman onward rode  
A deep sigh heaved his breast:  
'If I thus early go to the grave,  
Well, in the grave is rest!'  
The answering voice confessed:  
'In the grave is rest!'  
Slowly adown the rider's cheek  
A tear of sad thought fell:  
'If but in the grave there is rest for me,  
For me in the grave 'tis well!'  
Whereto the echoing knell:  
'In the grave 'tis well!'

Early in 1881, that would be the year before Thomson's death, it was agreed that he should produce a critical study of George Eliot's writings. The work, however, proceeded very slowly and was abandoned after two or three months in favour of a book on Heine. Writing to Mr Dobell in January 1881, Thomson says:

We can talk more to the purpose about your proposals as to George Eliot and Heine in half an hour than we could write in half a month. I may say at once that I am willing to attempt both; the former, as you suggest, without my usual signature . . . the latter to be done more deliberately with my name and on such terms as may best suit us both.

Even this project, however, did not progress.

'I still hold to the Heine booklet and hope to set to work on it when I come back', he wrote in December of the same year. But what Thomson needed most was a stable occupation, which would have freed him once and for all from the embarrassing situation of being constantly dependent on charity. That the book, when finished, would have been a worthy

contribution to literature is unquestionable. As it was the scheme remained a mere scheme, for Thomson died the next year.

No more fitting conclusion to these few remarks can be found than Thomson's rendering of Heine's 'Questions' (Fragen) from *Die Nordsee*.

What is the meaning of Man?  
Whence comes he? Whither goes he?  
Who dwells there above in the golden stars?  
The waves murmur their everlasting murmur,  
The winds sweep, the clouds scud,  
The stars glitter indifferent and cold,  
And a fool awaits an answer.

G. A. BLACK.

ROCHESTER.

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

### NOTES ON THE WORD 'EOLHX'.

The phrase 'eolhx-secg', which occurs in the *Runic Poem*<sup>1</sup> and in certain glosses, has always been a crux, and the generally suggested rendering is not entirely satisfactory. Hickes's transcript reads:

eolx seccard hæfþ oftust on fenne...

though it is almost certain that 'eol(h)x' has been brought in, probably from MS. Cott. Dom. A. ix, to replace the rune. Grein's emendation is usually adopted and the acceptance of 'eolhx-secg' as a compound is confirmed by its appearance in glosses.<sup>2</sup>

Older scholars, having emended the line of the *Runic Poem*, took the meaning of 'eolhx' as 'elk's', assuming a considerable corruption of 'eolces', the genitive of eolc/eolh—'elk'. The reason for the adoption of this meaning is not, however, altogether convincing. Why should the Saxons add this special prefix to sedge, when we have no proof that they had any reason to connect the plant with the animal? Rieger, quoted by Dickins,<sup>3</sup> assumes that the name was applied to the type of sedge, which presumably the English knew to be the couch or food of the elk. But did they know this? The word 'eolh' itself is not commonly used in Old English, since the creature can only have been known by repute; and though cognates are found in Germanic and other languages, the compound 'elk-sedge' is unknown even in Old Norse, where we should expect to find it. This theory relies greatly on assumption, and accordingly it is necessary to consider another source.

A consideration of the various forms of the word on record must necessarily precede any speculation. They are as follows: 'ʝ-iolx' (MS. Cott. Dom. A. ix), 'ilx' (St John's Coll. Oxford MS. No. 17), 'papiliuus-ilugsegg' (Epinal-Erfurt, 781), 'eolug-secg' (Gl. Cleop. fol. 74b) and 'eolhx'.

The impossibility of connecting 'eolx' with 'elk's' was seen by Cockayne,<sup>4</sup> who related the word to 'holeg'. Phonologically the reformation involved here is considerable, especially in view of the forms recorded, and since sea-holly, which this author takes to be the meaning, is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. line 41, *Runic Poem*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wright, *Vocabularies*, 286, 36.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Runic and Heroic Poems*..., ed. B. Dickins (C.U.P.).  
Leechdoms, *Glossary of Plant Names*, vol. III, under 'eolx'.

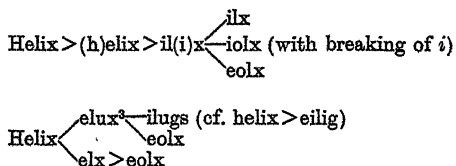
not a sedge plant, the theory is not easily acceptable. This view is apparently taken by Dickins, who, in his notes on the *Runic Poem*, says of 'eolhx-secg' that it 'is therefore some *rush*, species unknown'.

We must accordingly look elsewhere for the source of 'eolx'. There is a Welsh word 'elestr'—sedge, and a related word 'elech'—broad or flat, which have similarity in form and meaning, but in view of such divergent forms as 'ilx' and 'ilugsegg', this suggestion seems untenable, assuming, as it does, phonological development which is difficult to explain.

As many of our plant names were borrowed from Greek and Latin herbal works and some of these words appear early in Old English writings, we naturally turn next to these sources. The only Greek words which seem possible sources are 'ἔλκος'—a wound, and 'ἑλίκη'—a winding. Both have good claims, for the description of 'eolhx-secg'<sup>1</sup> in the *Runic Poem* certainly suggests a plant to which the epithet 'wounding' might be applied, and 'ἔλκος' is very close to 'eolx' in sound, yet 'ἑλίκη' is a more satisfactory origin to explain the forms 'iolx', 'ilx' and 'ilugsegg'. We shall see that there is more to be said of 'ἑλίκη' in another connection.

The general objection to a theory of Greek borrowings is that we should find them so early, but it is probable that they came through Latin at an early date as is shown by the close analogy of 'eolh-sand' (<electrum < ἤλεκτρον).

Turning to Latin, we find that the most suggestive word in form and meaning is 'helix', a rare word quoted as the source of the Gaelic 'eilig'<sup>2</sup>—willow herb, epilobium. The outstanding value of this suggestion is that, while, as we have seen, it may be accepted as an early borrowing, it could easily give rise to the various forms:



According to Dr W. Smith, 'helix', or rather 'helice', is traced to ἑλίκη, the general sense being 'a winding plant'. The fact that this does not

1

Eolhx-secg .....  
 .....wundaþ grimme  
 blode breneþ beorna gehwylone  
 þe him ænigne onfeng gedep.

(*Runic Poem*, ll. 41-44.)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. McBain's *Etymological Dictionary of Gaelic*, 1911, under 'eilig'.

<sup>3</sup> For i > e > u in an unstressed syllable, cf. 'Crimple' in *English River Names* by Prof. E. Ekwall.

accord with most descriptions of sedge may suggest that 'eolx/ilx' is not derived from any foreign word, but is a native form, cognate with O. Fris. 'älsk' and more remotely with Latin 'alga'. This theory gathers support from the fact that the other sedge names in Old English are compounds of unquestionably native roots.<sup>1</sup>

Against this, however, are the important facts that 'eolx' is extremely rare in occurrence for a native word, that it is common for plant names to be adopted from Greek and Latin, and finally that the supposed Germanic cognates<sup>2</sup> mean 'sea-grass'; but if \*ilx, a native word meaning this, existed, there would be no reason for compounding it with 'seæg', since this would add nothing to the idea. It may also be mentioned that while 'alga', 'älsk', etc., are all connected with sea plants, there is never any suggestion in Old English glosses or texts that 'eolx' is found near the sea.<sup>3</sup>

In view of these arguments, it seems that some foreign source is more probable and of these the Latin 'helix' is most convincing.

Whatever the source may be, it is certain that the old idea of connecting the word with 'elk's' is untenable.

WM. J. REDBOND.

UPMINSTER.

#### MILTON'S 'TWO-HANDED ENGINE'.

In a reference to Milton's ominous prophecy in *Lycidas*, foretelling the ruin of the corrupted Anglican clergy, William Vaughan Moody has written (Cambridge ed., Milton's *Poems*, p. 390): 'The obscurity of the figure only adds to its terror.' At least part of the terror caused by that famous metaphor lies in the number of notes and explanations it has called up. With some hesitancy, therefore, I venture to add a further complication, without implying that other hypotheses are vain wisdom all, and false philosophy.

As a religious or political *statement*—if we consider its significance—the forbidding force of 'that two-handed engine' will increase in proportion to our understanding of what Milton is saying. He republishes it, in the 1645 edition of his poems, as a monody in which the author 'foretels the ruine of our corrupted Clergy then in their height'. The 'engine',

<sup>1</sup> Mor-seæg (Leechdoms, III, p. 140, 25), hamor-seæg (<\* duphamor-seæg) (Leechdoms, II, p. 126, 9), and 'read-seæg' (Leechdoms, III, p. 343).

<sup>2</sup> Germ. 'alschen', Norw. dial. 'elgja', Dan. 'ulk'.

<sup>3</sup> 'Eolx-papilius' (papyrus) and according to the *Runic Poem*  
'eolx... eard hæp oftust' on *fenne*'.

in a paraphrase of the political meaning of the passage, may be taken to represent any instrument by which the corrupt clergy might be smitten. But why 'two-handed'? What are its two components?

Professor G. M. Harper has identified them with the Catholic powers of France and Spain. Mr K. N. Colville considers that Milton may have had in mind the dual authority, over matters ecclesiastical and temporal, of the Court of High Commission. The commonly accepted interpretation, which Professor Donald C. Dorian, one of the latest and most detailed commentators, accepts, is that the adjective 'two-handed' was connected in Milton's thought with the two Houses of Parliament.

But precisely by what means, in 1637, did Milton believe the Anglican clergy might be overthrown? 'Vagueness in Milton's mind', writes Professor Dorian (*P.M.L.A.*, xlv, p. 204) in his comprehensive review of the whole puzzle, 'hardly agrees with his deliberate confidence in the accomplishment of the reforms he advocated.' What action, then, might the young Milton be specifically hoping for in the specific year 1637?

Certainly he was not counting on reformation by the *two* Houses of Parliament, when the nobles were standing in the main for the established Church and State, and the Bishops themselves were sitting in the House of Lords. In his prose writings, moreover, Milton the republican consciously or unconsciously addresses his hopes and his arguments to the House of Commons. The republican government concentrated in a single representative body, which he sketches in his *Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*, is implicit in his earlier writings. To accept the *two* Houses of Parliament as the two-handed engine is to make Milton's mental concept inadequate and his prophecy inaccurate.

What were the active evils against which Milton and his nonconforming fellow-islanders were rising in 1637? Laud had been made Archbishop in 1633. In 1634 Justices of the Peace were authorised to enter houses to ferret out conventicles. By 1637 Laud was actively persecuting more liberal clerics such as Bishop Williams. He had participated in the Star Chamber sentences against Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton. In Scottish affairs, Charles in 1633 had persuaded Parliament (that two-handed engine!) to pass an act which compelled the clergy to wear white surplices rather than the Genevan black gown. In Edinburgh, on July 23, 1637, in Saint Giles' cathedral, a riot had actually broken out against the compulsory Anglican Service-Book which had been newly foisted upon the Scots. In Scotland, therefore, occurred the first forceful outbreak against the Anglican domination, and it occurred only a few months before the writing of *Lycidas*. (Edward King died August 10, 1637.

Milton himself has dated the Cambridge manuscript autograph of the poem 'November 1637'.)

For it was from Scotland and the Scottish Presbyterians that succour came at last to the English independents. Among all the nonconformist sects of Separatists, Brownists, Anabaptists, and Schismatics, the Scottish Presbyterian system alone, which Milton considers as the corrective to Anglican 'prelacy' in his *Of Reformation in England* (1641), was firmly enough entrenched to be capable of active resistance against arbitrary encroachments. The delegated control by intelligent men which Milton strove for in English politics was already the foundation of the Scottish church government. To a thinking Englishman in 1637, therefore, this fact would have been evident: Liberty for the English Protestants must come, if it was to come at all, from the north.

Furthermore, the two kingdoms of Scotland and England had been only recently united. The average Stuart citizen still, and frequently, considered them as entities. Milton, in the climactic paragraphs of his *Of Reformation in England* (in which his topic exactly parallels the digression on the clergy in *Lycidas*), writes concerning 'the constancy of our nobility and commons of England' and 'the patience, the fortitude, the firm obedience of the nobles and people of Scotland'. He has just praised the English for refusing to engage in a coercive war against their northern neighbours over the 'surplice brabble', the 'tippet scuffle' of 1633; he has praised the Scots for their resistance to 'the skeleton of a mass-book' of 1637. He writes:

Go on both hand in hand, O nations, never to be disunited; be the praise and the heroic song of all posterity; merit this, but seek only virtue, not to extend your limits (for what needs to win a fading triumphant laurel out of the tears of wretched men?); but to settle the pure worship of God in his church, and justice in the state: then shall the hardest difficulties smooth out themselves before ye; envy shall sink to hell, craft and malice be confounded, whether it be homebred mischief or outlandish cunning: yea, other nations will then covet to serve ye, for lordship and victory are but the pages of justice and virtue. Commit securely to true wisdom the vanquishing and uncasing of craft and subtlety, which are but her two runagates: join your invincible might to do worthy and godlike deeds; and then he that seeks to break your union, a cleaving curse be his inheritance to all generations.

I submit the possibility that Milton in 1637 would most naturally have envisaged as the instrument at the door, that two-handed engine for smiting the prelates, the two nations of England and Scotland.

The possibility is here so obvious that it has been overlooked. When *Lycidas* was reprinted in 1645, Milton proclaimed triumphantly that it foretold the ruin of the corrupted clergy then in their height. And in the Civil Wars, it was primarily the two nations of England and Scot-

land—not the *two* Houses of the English Parliament—that dealt the Anglican Church, in fatal and ‘guly’ combat, that astounding stroke.

DONALD A. STAUFFER.

PRINCETON, N.J.

JOHNSON’S TRANSLATION OF ADDISON’S  
‘BATTLE OF THE CRANES AND PYGMIES’.

In the *European Magazine and London Review* for January, 1785,<sup>1</sup> appeared the following anecdote:

To a Gentleman who expressed himself in disrespectful terms of Blackmore, one of whose poetic bulls he happened just then to recollect, Doctor Johnson answered, ‘I hope a blunder, after you have heard what I shall relate, will not be reckoned decisive against a poet’s reputation. When I was a young man I translated Addison’s Latin poem on the *Battle of the Cranes and Pygmies*, and must plead guilty to the following couplet:

Down from the guardian boughs the nests they flung,  
And kill’d the yet unanimated young.<sup>2</sup>

And yet I trust, I am no blockhead... I afterwards changed the word *kill’d* into *crush’d*.’

Though the prefatory editorial note states that there is ‘every reason to rely on the authenticity’ of the collection of stories among which this is printed, the name of the contributor is not revealed. According to W. P. Courtney,<sup>3</sup> however, he was that ‘Puck of commentators’, George Steevens. Most of Steevens’ contemporaries were much less ready to vouch for his reliability than was the editor of the *European Magazine*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> VII, p. 51, under the title ‘Johnsoniana’. The story appears also in the following places: William Cooke, attributed author, *The Life of Samuel Johnson... to which is added Johnsoniana* (2nd ed., London, 1785), pp. 148–9; *Johnsoniana, or Supplement to Boswell* (London, 1836), p. 128; G. B. Hill, ed. *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, 2 vols. (New York, 1897), II, p. 314.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Addison, lines 35–42:

Sæpe improvisas mactabat, sæpe juvabat  
Diripere aut nidum, aut ulcisci in prole parentem.  
Nempe larem quoties multa construxerat arte,  
Aut uteri posuisset onus, volucremque futuram;  
Continuo vultu spirans immane minaci  
Omnia vastaret miles, fetusque necaret  
Immeritos, vitamque abrumperet imperfectam,  
Cum tepido nondum maturuit hostis in ovo. (Italics mine.)

<sup>3</sup> See his article on John Collins (1741–97), *D.N.B.*, XI, pp. 370–1. In Cooke’s *Life*, as in the *European Magazine*, from which Cooke apparently copied it, the anecdote is unassigned. In the *Johnsoniana* it is included among ‘Anecdotes and Sayings of Johnson, Selected from Hawkins’; but since it is not to be found in Sir John Hawkins’ *Life of Johnson* or his edition of Johnson’s works, from which this material is supposed to be taken, this attribution must be erroneous. Hill attributes the story to Steevens, citing Courtney as his authority.

<sup>4</sup> It was of Steevens that Topham Beauclerk said to Johnson: ‘You, Sir, have a friend who deserves to be hanged; for he speaks behind their backs against those with whom he lives on the best terms, and attacks them in the newspapers. He certainly ought to be kicked.’ See Boswell’s *Life of Johnson*, ed. G. B. Hill, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1887), III, p. 281. Garrick complained that Steevens had not only maligned him in the press, but boasted of having done so, saying ‘that it was fun to vex me.’ See *The Private Correspondence of*

But since a considerable portion of Johnson's translation of Addison's poem was brought to light among the Malahide Papers,<sup>1</sup> there is no reason to suspect that the anecdote quoted is apocryphal. Unhappily the notorious couplet is not one of those in the fragment preserved; but as it is of precisely the same character, and is, moreover, a plausible though free rendition of the corresponding passage in the Latin, there are no grounds for doubting that it was present in the complete manuscript.

Addison's poem contains 159 lines. The extant portion of Johnson's translation, heretofore unpublished, comprises 52 lines, corresponding to 43 lines of the original. It may be computed, then, that the complete translation amounted to about 192 lines, or 96 couplets. It was apparently inscribed on both sides of two folio leaves. The first of these, which is missing, must have contained 92 or 93 lines, corresponding to approximately the first 76 lines of the Latin. The second leaf contained about the same number of lines written in the same manner as those on the first—across the page and evenly spaced—and seven additional ones, written, with Johnson's signature, in the right-hand margin, lengthwise of the page. The leaf containing these 100 lines, which translated approximately lines 77–159 of the Latin, was evidently at some time folded into four. Eventually the folds wore thin, and the upper half of the leaf became detached and was lost. Consequently of the original two leaves only the lower half of the second remains. The lines on the recto of this half-leaf correspond to lines 97–113, and those on the verso to lines 134–159 of Addison's poem. Part of the first line on the verso (indicated in the text below by brackets) is illegible, but nothing is missing at the bottom of the leaf.

The translation may be assigned to the year 1725 or 1726. In the *Life*,<sup>2</sup> under the former date, Boswell says:

After having resided for some time at the house of his uncle, Cornelius Ford, Johnson was, at the age of fifteen, removed to the school of Stourbridge, in Wor-

*David Garrick*, 2 vols. (London, 1831), II, pp. 361–2. Isaac D'Israeli characterized Steevens as 'a creature so spotted over with literary forgeries and adulterations, that any remarkable one about the time he flourished may be attributed to him' and added, by way of illustration: 'The late Mr Boswell told me, that Steevens frequently wrote notes on Shakespeare, purposely to mislead or entrap Malone, and obtain for himself an easy triumph in the next edition!' See *Curiosities of Literature* (2nd series, Boston, 1834), II, pp. 158–9. Johnson, however, not only defended Steevens against such accusations, insisting that he was mischievous rather than malignant (Boswell's *Life*, III, p. 281; IV, p. 274), but even brought about his election to the Literary Club (*ibid.*, II, p. 273). According to Boswell the two 'passed many a social hour during their long acquaintance, which commenced when they both lived in the Temple' (*ibid.*, IV, p. 324).

<sup>1</sup> *The Private Papers of James Boswell from Malahide Castle in the Collection of Lt.-Colonel Ralph Heyward Isham, a Catalogue*, by Frederick A. Pottle and Marion S. Pottle (London and New York, 1931), No. 468.

<sup>2</sup> I, pp. 49–53.

cestershire, of which Mr Wentworth was then master. . . . He remained at Stourbridge little more than a year, and then returned home, where he may be said to have loitered, for two years, in a state very unworthy his uncommon abilities. He had already given several proofs of his poetical genius, both in his school-exercises and other occasional compositions. Of these I have obtained a considerable collection, by the favour of Mr Wentworth, son of one of his masters, and of Mr Hector, his school-fellow and friend. . . .

Boswell then gives specimens of these compositions, including translations of the first Pastoral of Virgil, of the twenty-second Ode of the first Book and of the ninth Ode of the second Book of Horace, and of part of the dialogue between Hector and Andromache from the sixth Book of the *Iliad*. It is probable that the translation of the *Battle of the Cranes and Pygmies* sprang from the same vein of schoolboy precocity as these efforts preserved in the *Life*, and that it came with them into the possession of Boswell. Even then it may have been in its present fragmentary state. But Boswell would scarcely have chosen to print it even if it had been intact. Probably its very length would have deterred him; and in addition he might have considered a translation of a Latin poem by a recent English writer a less imposing testimonial to Johnson's ability than translations from the classics. The youthful translator himself must have regarded Addison's verses with small reverence as compared with those of Homer, Virgil, and Horace, for he rendered them with much less fidelity. Moreover, an occasional ungainly phrase such as 'hope th' approaching war', 'involv'd in death', and 'mix'd with old Heroes' may mean not merely that this translation was among the first of these juvenile exercises of Johnson's, but rather that he considered it less essential to take pains with Addison than with the Greek and Latin poets. It is only fair to observe, however, that the content of the classical poems is conventionally poetic, while that of the mock-heroic Addisonian piece is uncouth and grotesque. Doubtless the former was easier to turn into elegant English than the latter. And though Johnson's version of Addison is not always polished, it has the compensating virtue of individuality. The description of the battle is vigorous, graphic, and despite the incongruity of the situation, which might very easily have been depicted as merely ridiculous, surprisingly dignified; and the closing lines are marked by whimsicality, tenderness, and grace.

The discovery of part of this early translation of Johnson's lends new interest to Macaulay's criticism of the original in his essay on Addison:

Purity of style and an easy flow of numbers are common to all Addison's Latin poems. Our favourite piece is the *Battle of the Cranes and Pygmies*; for in that piece we discern a gleam of the fancy and humour which many years later enlivened thousands of breakfast tables. Swift boasted that he was never known to steal a hint; and he certainly owed as little to his predecessors as any modern writer. Yet we cannot help

suspecting that he borrowed, perhaps unconsciously, one of the happiest touches in his voyage to Lilliput from Addison's verses. Let our readers judge:

‘The Emperor’, says Gulliver, ‘is taller by about the breadth of my nail than any of his court, which alone is enough to strike an awe into the beholders.’

About thirty years before *Gulliver's Travels* appeared, Addison wrote these lines:

Jamque acies inter medias sese arduus infert  
Pygmeadum ductor, qui, majestate verendus,  
Incessūque gravis, reliquos supereminet omnes  
Mole gigantea, mediamque exsurgit in ulnam.<sup>1</sup>

In the copy of Johnson's lines which follows, his spelling, punctuation, and capitalisation have been retained. The corresponding lines in the Latin are quoted from Tickell's edition of Addison.

Rage with disdain, and hope th' approaching war;  
Not long they stood, when stooping from their height  
The Cranes with beaks & claws provoke the fight.  
Thick from their wounded wings the feathers fly,  
Beneath Pygmæan steel what numbers dye!  
Breathless at length they leave th' unfinished war  
And hang aloft suspended in the air.  
But their lost strength and vigour soon return  
They clap their wings, and with new fury burn;  
Then, swift as thought, by headlong anger driv'n  
Descend, impetuous, from the vault of Heav'n.  
Their foes the shock sustain in Battle skill'd,  
And victory hangs doubtful o'er the field.  
Here lies a fowl transfix'd with many a wound  
That struggling pants, and rowls her eye-balls round.  
There a stout warrior fainting gasps for breath  
And grasps the bloody sand involv'd in death.  
Swords, arms and wings are scatter'd o'er the plain  
On ev'ry side rise mountains of the slain,  
Whose mortal wounds pour forth a purple flood,  
The plain contested flows with mingled blood.

\* \* \* \*

Belli ardent studio Pygmæi, et lumine sævo	
Suspiciunt hostem; nec longum tempus, et ingens	
Turba Gruum horrifco sese super agmina lapsu	
Præcipitat gravis, et bellum sperantibus infert:	100
Fit fragor; avulsæ volitant circum aëra plumæ.	
Mox defessa iterum levibus sese eripit alis,	
Et vires reparata iterum petit impete terras.	
Armorum pendet fortuna: hic fixa volueris	
Cuspide, sanguineo sese furibunda rotatu	105
Torquet agens circum, rostrumque intendit in hostem	
Imbelle, et curvos in morte recolligit unguis.	
Pygmæi hic stillat lentus de vulnere sanguis,	
Singultusque ciet crebros, pedibusque pusillis	
Tundit humum, et moriens unguem execeratur acutum.	110
Æstuat omne solum strepitu, tepidocque rubescit	

<sup>1</sup> Lines 75-78. In l. 78 Addison wrote not *exsurgit*, but *assurgit*. This passage is not in the extant portion of Johnson's translation.

Sanguine, sparguntur gladii, sparguntur et alæ,  
 Unguesque et digiti, commustaque rostra lacertis.

\* \* \* \*

[ Promontories flie  
 And Bolts and rocks encounter in the Skie,  
 At length deform'd with many a grisly wound  
 Th'enormous Gyants smoke upon the Ground.  
 O'erpower'd and faint the Pygmies scarce sustain  
 Their foes attacks, and wield their arms with pain.  
 Part turn their Backs, part seiz'd with wild surprise  
 Utter sad groans and lamentable cries.  
 Impending death they strive to 'scape in vain  
 For fear retards their flight, the cruell Crane  
 Scatters their breathless bodies o'er the plain.  
 Thus fell the Pygmie state, which long had stood  
 Secure, and triumph'd off' in hostile blood.  
 To ev'ry empire bounds the Gods ordain  
 The limits fix'd they strive to pass in vain;  
 So by their great decree Assyria fell  
 And Persia felt the force of Grecian steel;  
 Not Rome itself that held the world in awe  
 Could cancell their irrevocable Law.  
 Now in the Realms below the Pygmie shades  
 Mix'd with old Heroes trace the flow'ry meads,  
 And wander sportive o'er th'Elysian plain:  
 Or if old womens tales may credit gain  
 When pale-fac'd Cynthia sheds her silver light  
 Dispelling the black horrors of the Night,  
 The Shepherds oft' see little ghosts glide by  
 And shades of Pygmies swim before their eye.  
 They call them Fairies; these now free from care  
 And giv'n to mirth, the Cranes no longer fear.  
 But move their numerous arms to Musicks sound,  
 And tread in mystick rings the mossie ground.

Sam: Johnson

Præcipitem excuteret; <sup>1</sup> sparguntur in æthere toto Fulminaque scopulique: flagrantia tela deorsum Torquentur Jovis acta manu, dum vasta Gigantum Corpora fusa jacent, semiustaque sulphure fumant.	135
Viribus absumptis penitus Pygmeia tandem Agmina languescunt; ergo pars vertere terga Horribili percussa metu, pars tollere vocem Exiguam; late populus Cubitalis oberrat. Instant a tergo volucres, lacerantque trahuntque Immites, certæ gentem extirpare nefandam.	140
Sic Pygmæa domus multos dominata per annos, Tot bellis defuncta, Gruum tot læta triumphis, Funditus interiit: Nempe exitus omnia tandem Certus Regna manet, sunt certi denique fines, Quos ultra transire nefas: sic corrui olim Assyræ Imperium, sic magnæ Persidis imis	145

<sup>1</sup> The complete sentence in the Latin is:

Talis erat belli facies, cum Pelion ingens  
 Mitteret in cælum Briareus, solioque Tonantem  
 Præcipitem excuteret.

Sedibus eversum est, et majus utroque Latinum. 150  
 Elysi valles nunc agmine lustrat inani,  
 Et veterum Heroum miscetur grandibus umbris  
 Plebs parva: aut, si quid fidei mereatur anilis  
 Fabula, Pastores per noctis opaca pusillas  
 Sæpe vident umbras, Pygmæos corpore cassos. 155  
 Dum secura Gruum, et veteres oblita labores,  
 Lætitia penitus vacat, indulgetque choreis,  
 Angustosque terit calles, viridesque per orbes  
 Turba levis salit, et lemorum cognomine gaudet.

DOROTHY MOODY.

HAVEN, CONN., U.S.A.

# THE OLD FRENCH INTERJECTION *AIOIRE*.

Not only the form and meaning of Old French *aioire* have been a bone of contention for decades, but its very existence has been challenged; yet it is found in no less than five texts assigned to the thirteenth century. The first step to a solution of the problem was contributed in 1856 by Escallier.<sup>1</sup> His reading of the gloss *ore az* in MS. 62 of the Bibliothèque de Douai was an error for *ore ai*, but his comment is worthy of attention: 'Cela correspond à la locution des Latins *nunc age!* allons donc, courage, va donc, etc.' All the other examples of the interjection transpose and combine the two elements.

In 1860 Peigné-Delacourt annotated *aioire* in his edition of the *Miracles de St Eloi*, p. 49, as 'courage!'<sup>2</sup> When the first volume of Godefroy appeared in 1880, he listed this term as a *hapax legomenon* with the vague definition of 'exclamation exprimant la joie'. If he had been more precise, a battle royal in the history of Romance philology might have been avoided.

The word occurs in a slightly different form in two poems by Jean Renart, *le Lai de l'Ombre* and *l'Escoufle*.<sup>3</sup> Line 244 of *le Lai de l'Ombre*, the only one of the five texts extant in more than one manuscript, ends in a word which must rhyme with the name of the city Cairo.<sup>4</sup> Two of the

<sup>1</sup> This example was not included by M. Roques in his study of the subject in the *Mélanges de philologie offerts à J. J. Salverda de Grave* (Groningen, 1933), pp. 266-71, but it was analysed subsequently by him in *Romania*, LIX (1933), pp. 426-31.

<sup>2</sup> Here it is either a case of poetic licence riming with *encore*, or else *aioire* was pronounced *anore*. Elsewhere in the text *encore* rimes with *-ore*, as was pointed out by E. Wirtz, *Ausg. Abhl.*, xxxv (1885), p. 28. M. Roques, *Mélanges... Salverda de Grave*, p. 270, notes the dialectal form *encoire*.

<sup>3</sup> L. A. Vignerat, *Mod. Phil.*, xxx (1933), pp. 241 and 357, concludes that *le Lai de l'Ombre* was written before 1222 and *l'Escoufle* after 1241, but V. F. Koenig, *ibid.*, xxxii (1935), p. 352, upholds the traditional *terminus ad quem* of 1202 for *l'Escoufle*.

<sup>4</sup> Michel edited MS. A in 1836, Jubinal printed MS. F in 1846, while Bédier published a composite text in 1890, MS. A again in 1913, and MS. E in 1929. In addition, a facsimile of MS. A is found in Omont's *Fabliaux, dits et contes* (Paris, 1932), and of MS. D in Faral's *Le Manuscrit 19152 du fonds français de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1934). In MS. E the folios are misplaced and need to be read in the following order: 54, 55, 57, 56, 58, 59, 61.

variants correspond to the word under discussion: *aaire* in F and *aere* in E. The glossary, drawn up by Bédier in 1913, lists the form *caire* in manuscript A followed by a question-mark.<sup>1</sup> Gaston Paris wrote that the reading suggested by a comparison of all the manuscripts seemed to make *caire* an exclamation.<sup>2</sup> Godefroy considered it an oath, while Tobler, in his dictionary, is more specific in calling it an interjection. Tobler, however, was at a loss to explain it, and kept the question-mark. He refers to the dissertation on interjections in Old French by Espe, to whom it is equally incomprehensible.<sup>3</sup> Three years ago, however, the interjection *aere* was defined as 'allons!' 'eh bien!'<sup>4</sup>

In *l'Escoufle*, Paul Meyer supplied [en] to make verse 6136 read: 'Fait li cuens a sa feme [en] aire', but he suggested in the variants that the proper reading might be [C]aire!<sup>5</sup> M. Roques, *Mélanges... Salverda de Grave*, p. 270, is quite justified in suggesting that a form such as *aaire* (or even *aaaire*) is involved; the initial syllable may have been dropped by the scribe because of its repetition.

Although the *chantefable* of *Aucassin et Nicolette* has probably gone through more editions than any text in Old French literature, the word *aiuire* has been misunderstood and more or less emended in all editions. In the old editions of Barbazan-Méon (1808), Malo (1826), and Ideler-Nolte (1842), it is given as *A voire*. Those of Moland-d'Héricault (1856) and Delvau (1866) read *a! voire*. In the Bida-Gaston Paris edition (1878) it becomes *avez*.<sup>6</sup> Aside from the editions, three other readings have been suggested. Von Orelli drops *voire* of *a voire* as well as the following *fait*.<sup>7</sup> Acher, in dropping *fait. aiuire*, treated *pris* as the end of a rhetorical question and put an exclamation-mark after *voire*.<sup>8</sup> Tanquerey took the paleographic liberty of emending the passage to read *fait a dire*, which he defines 'il faut le reconnaître'.<sup>9</sup> All of the foregoing suggestions can be dismissed summarily.

<sup>1</sup> O. Schultz-Gora, *Archiv St. n. Spr.*, LVII (1930), p. 51, and LXIV (1933), p. 41, went so far as to transform the reading of MS. A *he caire* into the Provençal *pecaire*, 'alas!' MS. B has *hez caire*, C gives a *daire*, D reads *arriere*, while G has the faulty rime *en caine: a dire*. The spelling *taire*, which Bédier gave in his first edition of 1890, does not exist in any of the seven manuscripts.

<sup>2</sup> G. Paris, *Romania*, XIX (1890), p. 612.

<sup>3</sup> H. Espe, *Die Interjektion im Afrz.* (Königsberg, 1908), p. 79.

<sup>4</sup> *Romania*, LVIII (1932), p. 441. M. Roques, *Romania*, LIX (1933), writes 'et bien!' on page 427 but 'eh bien!' on page 430. The latter spelling, as used, e.g. by La Fontaine, *Livre VI*, Fable 10, is preferable.

<sup>5</sup> O. Schultz-Gora, *Archiv St. n. Spr.*, LVII (1930), p. 51, note 1, not only accepts the reading [en] *aire*, but posits the equation [en] *aire* = *en eire* = *en erre*, 'in haste, immediately'.

<sup>6</sup> In *Romania*, VIII (1879), p. 288, however, G. Paris reads *avés*.

<sup>7</sup> C. von Orelli, *Afrz. Gram.* (Zürich, 1848), p. 424, relying upon the reading of Ideler-Nolte.

<sup>8</sup> J. Acher, *Ztschr. rom. Phil.*, XXXIV (1910), p. 371.

<sup>9</sup> F. J. Tanquerey, *Romania*, LVII (1931), p. 568.

In 1896 Bourdillon issued a facsimile reproduction of the manuscript, accompanied by a diplomatic transcription. He deciphered the passage in this manner:

		<sup>&lt;</sup> qns	
		<sup>i</sup>	
de ualence fait au.	ie uos ai ps		73b 13
sire voire fait.	aioire fait li		73b 14
		<sup>qns.</sup>	

In the eyes of the present writer, this transcription of Bourdillon's cannot be impugned except perhaps for the second part of line 73b 13. Although the reading 'je vos ai pris' has become traditional, it differs considerably from the scribe's indication of the same words in 73b 28: *je v' ai ps*. Merely as a conjecture, resting upon 'je pris les armes' in 73a 33, I venture to propose the solution 'je nes ai pris?'

In his edition of 1919, Bourdillon was fully aware of the fact that *aioire* was written intentionally and that there is no sign of deletion. Puzzled by Godefroy's inaccurate definition, he compromised by reproducing the two words guarded by parentheses: 'Sire, voire! fait (aioire fait) li quens.' His attempt to justify this compromise did not cut the Gordian knot, but left the problem dangling in the air as loosely as if he had relegated it to the variants.

The decision then is to be made between the two present editors of *Aucassin et Nicolette*, Walther Suchier and Mario Roques. Throughout the ten editions of the *chanteable*, started by Herman Suchier in 1878 and carried on by his son Walther in 1921 and 1932, the words *aioire fait* are dropped on the assumption that the scribe intended to write *Au[cassins]*. If we understand this assumption fully, it means that the scribe started to write an abbreviation for *Aucassins*, but inadvertently repeated the ending of *voire*. Even if, for the sake of argument, the hypothesis were granted, the resultant reply of the count would be very awkward. Furthermore, there are four paleographic factors which tend to vitiate this assumption: (1) the scribe is usually very careful to correct his errors; (2) where there is a single letter to be deleted the scribe puts a dot under it, but whole words he deletes by drawing his quill clear through them [73d 12, 74b 1, 75a 17, 75b 3, 75b 11, 76d 17, 79d 14, 80c 28];<sup>1</sup> (3) each one of the six instances where there is a possibility of redundancy consists of a short monosyllable, but in this case two complete words are

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bourdillon's reproduction, p. 7.

involved;<sup>1</sup> (4) the abbreviation for *Aucassins* in usually *auc.*, seldom *au.*, and only twice *.a.* [70d 13 and 71a 11], while the word at stake begins with *ai*.

Not merely by elimination of all the conflicting theories, but rather on the strength of the four other instances where forms of *aioire* are found, the recent argument of M. Roques seems to justify the retention of this interjection intact. The words preceding it, *voire fait*, present an expression of affirmation for which no other example has been recorded. It is possible that *voire fait* reflects the graphic influence of *fait* recurring in the same line as well as in the preceding line of the manuscript. It is to be noted that in the other case where *voire* is used in *Aucassin et Nicolette* [76a 37], it is also strengthened and becomes *voire a foi!*<sup>2</sup> As for the emphatic use of *fait* in the *chanteable*, further examples can be found: *morir de si faite mort* [74c 5], *d'ausi fait mal con vos avés* [76a 50], *et faites si fait duel* [77b 17]. In the opinion of M. Roques, *voire fait* is comparable to the affirmative locution *si fait*, which had a much wider application in Old French than it has in modern French.<sup>3</sup>

By way of conclusion, then, we believe that the five texts offer forms of the same interjection and that M. Roques's preservation of the reading of the manuscript of *Aucassin et Nicolette* is quite convincing. If the above suggestions are tenable, the interpretation of the passage becomes: 'Count of Valence', says Aucassin, 'Have I not taken them up?'—'Sire, you certainly did. Well then!' says the Count.

RAPHAEL LEVY.

BALTIMORE.

#### A SERMON BY A FRANCISCAN MYSTIC.

The great fame of the Dominican mystics, particularly of Eckhart, Tauler and Seuse, has tended to obscure the contribution of the Minorites to German literature. The Franciscans, if less illustrious than their brethren of the Order of Preachers, have a style of their own and are

<sup>1</sup> A list of these monosyllables is given in M. Roques's edition, p. xxvii.

<sup>2</sup> R. Döckhorn, *Zur Textkritik von Aucassin und Nicolette* (Halle, 1913), p. 72, was even inclined to adopt this reading in both instances. To the single example of *voire voire* recorded by Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye, can be added *Philomena* 176, *Roman de la Rose* 11234, *Jeu de Robin et Marion* 583, *Jeu de la Feuillee* 504, *Le Tournoi de Chauvency* 2289, *Griseldis* 396. Jan Antoine de Balf (ed. C. Marty-Laveaux) uses not only *voire voire*, i, p. 30, but also *voire da*, iv, pp. 22, 88, and *voire da voire*, v, p. 213. Examples of *voire même* in modern French are not rare.

<sup>3</sup> M. Roques, *Mélanges... Salverda de Grave*, p. 268. In this connection, J. G. Anderson, *The Affirmative Particles in French* (Toronto, 1923), p. 102, states that 'with the disappearance of all idea of inflection, the verb *faire*, limited to the form of the third person sing. of the pres. indic., has long since ceased to be felt as a verb at all'. He records the expression *si fait voir* in *Eneas* 9869.

by no means a negligible factor in the history of Middle High German prose. There is, in fact, an unbroken tradition from Berthold of Regensburg and David of Augsburg to the Reformation.

The sermon which is here edited for the first time is by a friar named Alhart,<sup>1</sup> who lived in the fourteenth or late thirteenth century. Although a mystic, he was not influenced to any appreciable extent, in this text at least, by the great Dominicans. The manuscript (St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, No. 955, pp. 79–82) is of the fifteenth century. It is an 'Erbauungsbuch', a compilation of extracts from sermons, tractates, devotional manuals, intended for the use of nuns. There are frequent references to conventual life (e.g., p. 29: 'Wie du zo chore solt gon').

Part of Alhart's sermon is also contained in a Munich manuscript (Cgm. 100, fol. 145r.–145v.). Both the St Gall (G) and the Munich (M) versions of this portion are given below. It might be noted that G and M have other passages in common, e.g., a sermon by Berthold of Regensburg<sup>2</sup> and a short section commencing, 'Es sint funff wort, die man reden sol und was man anders redit, das ist sund.' The five words are confession, prayer, praise of the Lord, necessary words and those used to comfort one's fellow-Christians. The last sentence runs: 'Und wa vjrl reden ist, das (!) ist stetis armüte des geistes.'

It is evident that G gives both a completer and a better text of Alhart's sermon than M. But the latter has one good reading 'durch siner heiligen munt', as opposed to G's 'durch sinen heiligen munt'. M uses Upper German forms and obliterates the Middle German peculiarities of orthography and vocabulary which occur in G, and presumably in the original. For it is much more likely that an Upper German scribe altered *hogste froude*, with its typical Franconian *g*, into *oberst gnade*, than that a Middle German scribe found *oberst gnade* before him and changed it to *hogste froude*; the Latin phrase is *summu gaudium*.

In the text printed below, abbreviations are given in full and the added letters are italicised. Clerical errors are corrected and the manuscript reading is given in the footnotes. The separation of words, punctuation and use of capitals are regulated according to modern usage. The manuscript sometimes has a dot over *y* and sometimes none; this dif-

<sup>1</sup> See *M.L.R.*, xxix, pp. 440–3. I should like once more to express my indebtedness to Dr Leidinger of the Munich Staatsbibliothek and to the Rev. Dr Müller of the St Gall Abbey Library. My thanks are also due to the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland, who very kindly provided the funds for photographing the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> St Gall, No. 955, pp. 73–6, Cgm. 100, 176r.–177r. Beginning: 'Der christen mensch sol louffen mit zwein füßen zo dem hymmelrich gotes minne vnd des eben cristen.' End: 'Want er trage wirt in der gewonheit, das er so balte nit mag weder komen, so er wenet' (G). Cf. Berthold von Regensburg, herausg. Pfeiffer-Strobl, II, p. 664.

ference is ignored as unessential. No distinction is made between the long and round *s*. In G there are two forms of the Umlaut sign: two dots over the vowels and a stroke resembling an acute accent, but not quite straight. Both are reproduced in the ordinary way. In all other respects the text is a faithful reproduction of the original. The Umlaut sign is given both when it fulfils its true function of modifying the vowel and when it is used to distinguish a vowel from a consonant, e.g., *u* from *v*. This procedure is not without justification, because it is almost impossible to tell which of the two values the sign has over some vowels. In a word like *müssen* it may denote that *u* is a vowel or that it is modified.

Bruder Alhart, ein mynnerbruder.

Platee tue Ierusalem. Vnser herre spricht durch sant Johannes munt zo der sele: 'Die straeßen sint bestrowit mit luterne gulde.'<sup>1</sup>

[Cod. St Gall 955]

Vnser herre redet in zweyerley wiß mit der selen. Eine wiß redet er selber mit der selen, als man vindit in Genesy, das er selber mit Moysi redit. Die andere wiß redet er mit der selen durch sinen heiligen munt. Das er selber redet mit der selen, das tut er, so er dem menschen gibbet gnade von hohen dingen, das er mit keyme gedanck darzu nit kommet, das er ichs trachte von vnser herren menscheit oder von<sup>2</sup> keim geschophde, davon es jme kome, sunder das es jme kompt<sup>3</sup> von der hohen gotheit. Dovon spricht sant Bernhard: 'Summum et verum est gaudium',<sup>4</sup> das ist die ware vnd die hogste froude, die man empheet von dem scheppher vnd nit von der geschophde. So du sy recht emphës, so enmag sy nieman von dir genemen. Dan wirt die sele mit begerungen also entzündet, das ir geschicht als sant Peter [79] geschach, do jme vnser herre also lieb was. Do sprach er 'Werdent sy alle geschant an dir, aber ich wil dir volgen in den tod.'<sup>5</sup> Er nam nieman vß, er sprach 'alle'. Also niemet sy nieman vß, si dünkent, wie ir begerunge großer sy zo gote dan der engele oder der selen der heiligen. Da wirt ir froude so groiß, das davon nit zo sagen ist.

[Cgm. 100]

In zweier hande wise redet vnser herre mit den menschen. In einer wise redet er selbe mit der sele, als da geschriben ist in Genesi, da er selbe redet mit Moysse. In einer andern wise redet er mit der sele durch siner heiligen mvnt. Daz er selbe redet mit der sele, daz tvt er, so er dem menschen git die hohen gnade, daz er mit keinem gedanken [145 v] darzu kumen mac, weder von vnser herren menscheit noch von keiner geschöpfde, svnder ez kvmet von der hohen gotheit. Davon spricht sant Bernhard 'Daz ist div ware vnd div oberst gnade, div da kvmet von dem schöpfer vnd niht von keiner geschöpfde. Amen. Swenne der mensche die gnade reht emphehet, die got in der sele vbet, so enmac si nieman von im triben noch genemen, so wirt denn div sele mit gervnge also enzündet vnd wirt ir freude also groz, daz si da von niht gesagen kan.'<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Apoc. xxi, 21: 'Et platea civitatis aurum mundum.'

<sup>2</sup> vo.

<sup>3</sup> After 'kompt' 'de' struck through. <sup>4</sup> Epistola cxiv, cap. 1 (Migne, t. 182, col. 259).

<sup>5</sup> Luc. ix, 57.

<sup>6</sup> At this point M strikes out independently, describing the beatific vision; the five qualities needed to attain this, according to St Gregory; and the union of the soul with God.

Das heißet Jubileus. Sanctus Augustinus sprichtet davon:<sup>1</sup> 'Die sele mag es nit verswigen, der munt kan es nit vorbringen.'

[Cod. St Gall 955]

Weme saget es die sele? Dem libe, der muß is gewar werden, sy enmag is ime nit verhelten.<sup>2</sup> Er enmag aber die waerheit nit ervur bringen, davon hant sy suss die froude vnder in drin. Got gußet die gnade in die sele. Die sele tut is dem libe kunt. Der lip wirt gewar der frouden mit allen den synnen. Hye von spricht Sanctus Paulus: 'Ich weis eyzen menschen, der wart gezucket in den dritten hymmel vnd säch da vnd horte, das vns nit nutzlich ist zo reden. Ich enweis ouch, ob es in dem libe oder vß dem libe geschag.'<sup>3</sup>

[Cgm. 100, 147 r]

Von dem licht gewinnet div sele groz freude, daz ir der lip niht wol verhelten mag, aber ern kan div warheit niht herffbringen, wan er niht enweiz, waz ez ist, oder wie im ist. Ez mac daz himelrich vnd div freude wol sin, in die sant Pauls wart gezucket, davon er sprichtet: 'Ich enweiz, weder ez vzwendic des libes oder inwendic des libes geschach.'

Das er spricht: 'Ich weiß einen menschen', darnach 'Ich enweis, wie es geschag', also ist dem menschen. Zom ersten weis er wol, so ers beginnet, das er got niemt vnd sucht mit der andacht. Darnach enweis er, wie jm geschehit vnd wie hog die gnade ist. So kummet vnderwilen [80] der zwiuel wol darzu, das er darane zwiuel, ob jm rechte sy, want er nit enweis, was es sy, oder wy im sy. Er spricht, es ensy nit nutzlich, davon zo redene, want sy enkunnen nit warers davon gesprechen vnd muß verborgen syn vnd mügen wol heißen verba abscondita.<sup>4</sup>

Das ander wort, das vnser herre redit mit der selen durch sine geschephide vnd durch sinen gotlichen münd, das ist, wan man<sup>5</sup> denket von vnsers herren geschephede vnd von siner heiligen lere vnd ouch von syner heiligen menscheit vnd davon kompt in andacht vnd in gnade. Aber die suße vnd hohe gnade vnd froude, dye<sup>6</sup> man hie in diesem leben von gote gehaben mag, die ist gegen den ewigen frouden, die man nach diesem leben mit vnserm herren sal haben, recht als en schatte, die von eime boume geit, weder dem rechten boume. Davon spricht die bruyt in Canticis:<sup>7</sup> 'Sub vmbra illius quam desiderabam sedi et fructus ejus dulcis gutteri meo.' Ich saz vnder syme schaten, des ich begerte vnd sins obses metet ich mich. Sanctus Johannes spricht, das dis<sup>8</sup> Ierusalem bezeichnot die heilige sele.<sup>9</sup> Sanctus Johannes spricht 'gratia Dei', gotis gnade.<sup>10</sup> Von eme<sup>11</sup> haert er gesprochen, daz er von recht heißet gotis gnade, want er all die gnade, die er von gote hait, weder uff in lete. Also sal ouch ein ieglich monsch tun, daz wol mag fasten, betten, [81] wachen vnd andere gute werck vnd vijl togenden hait, der sol wol bekennen, das es gotis gnaden sint vnd sol jm danken vnd nit wenen, das es von siner frömkheit sy, vnd sprech mit sancto Paulo:<sup>12</sup> 'Ich bin von gotis gnaden, das ich bin.' Davon spricht die brüt in Canticis: 'Veniat dilectus meus in ortum suum'<sup>13</sup>, myn frunt komet in synen garten.<sup>14</sup> das ir hertz vnd alle ir tugenden sin sint vnd nit ir. Das hertz ist gelichet der erden vnd dem garten, want wie groiß arbeit man hait, das man die erde wol buwet, so enkan man doch sy nimmer bewaren, es enghe das vnkruyt uf by dem guten. Das

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Enarratio in Psalmum xxxii (Migne, t. 36, col. 283), Enarratio in Psalmum xciv (Migne, t. 37, col. 1218).

<sup>2</sup> After 'verhelten' 'da' struck out.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Cor. xii, 2-4.

<sup>4</sup> There is no trace of this or the next paragraph in M.

<sup>5</sup> After 'man' 'de' added in error.

<sup>6</sup> In 'dye' the e written above the y.

<sup>7</sup> Cant. ii, 3.

<sup>8</sup> After 'dis' 'terh' struck through.

<sup>9</sup> Not in the Bible. Quite different from St Jerome's interpretation in Commentar. in Isaiam, lib. 13, cap. 49 (Migne, t. 24, col. 487 sq.).

<sup>10</sup> Hieronymus, Commentar. in Ev. Matth., lib. 3, cap. 16 (Migne, t. 26, col. 121); cf. Beda, Expositio in Lucæ Ev., lib. 1, cap. 1 (Migne, t. 92, col. 312).

<sup>11</sup> Middle German form of ime (ihm), see Weinhold, *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*, p. 519.

<sup>12</sup> 1 Cor. xv, 10.

<sup>13</sup> meum.

<sup>14</sup> Cant. v, 1.

hertz kan man kume so vijl gearbeiten, da enwachsen vijl<sup>1</sup> dicke boße<sup>2</sup> gedencke jne mit dem guten.

Salomon sprichet, der die erdensche dunck mit geachten enmagk, der enmag ouch mit die hymelschen mit erforschen.<sup>3</sup> Das bezeichent die hertzen, die sich selben mit erkennent rechte vnd willen ander ding wissen, die vur jn verborgen sint vnd beslossen als hymelsche ding, also geschriben ist: 'Homo videt in facie, Deus autem in corde.'<sup>4</sup> Der mensche sigt an das antlitz, aber got sicht in das hertz.

Sanctus Johannes sprichit zo der hymelschen Ierusalem: 'Platee tue. Ierusalem dicitur quasi visio pacis.'<sup>5</sup> Jerusalem heißet ein anschauen des vredens. Daby ist bezeichent die heilige sele. Sy enmag nit rechte vride geheißen in diesme libe. Si schauet den Friden vnd den willen, so [82] sy mit dem libe einen vriden gewynnent, das er ir gehorsam wirt vnd ouch gern die ewige froude hette. Dan zohant hebet sich aber ein strit, als Iob sprichet: 'Milicia est vita hominis super terram.'<sup>6</sup> So vijl die sele hinuf, so strebet der lib neder zo der erden vnd sprichet: 'Delicee mee'<sup>7</sup> etc.

Es sint zwa straißen: jn einer geet die sele zo gote, die ander kommet vnser herre zo der selen. Die nützen mit gulde bestrowet sint.

JAMES M. CLARK.

GLASGOW.

<sup>1</sup> After 'vijl' 'bo' struck through.

<sup>3</sup> This may be a reference to Sap. ix, 16.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Augustine, in Enarratio in Psalmum ix, cap. 12 (Migne, t. 36, col. 722): 'Ierusalem interpretatur Visio pacis'; Richard of St Victor, In Apocalypsim (Migne, t. 196, col. 860): 'Ierusalem per visionem internæ pacis eternam.'

<sup>6</sup> Job vii, 1.

<sup>2</sup> beoße.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Sam. xvi, 7.

<sup>7</sup> Prov. viii, 31.

## REVIEWS

*Seinte Marherete the Meiden Ant Martyr*. Edited by FRANCES M. MACK.  
(*Early English Text Society*, No. 193.) London: H. Milford. 1934.  
lxxx+142 pp. 15s.

This was one of the early texts published by the *Early English Text Society*, having been edited in 1866 by the Rev. O. Cockayne. But since that time much important work has been done on Early Middle English prose and the importance, in the history of literature, of the texts comprising the *Katherine Group* has gradually been recognised. Consequently a new edition of one of these texts is something of an event.

St Margaret was one of the favourite saints of mediæval England, as is shown by the numerous dedications of churches to her and by the different versions of her life which have been preserved—three in Old English, six in Anglo-Norman and various Middle English versions. In this edition Miss Mack gives us the two texts of an early thirteenth-century life of the saint. It was apparently written in the West Midlands and, like most of the writings of the *Katherine Group*, is a free adaptation of a Latin life of the saint, a text of which is printed in the appendix. In a detailed introduction, Miss Mack deals competently with the history of the legend and with the various problems connected with the Middle English version. A study of the phonology leads to the conclusion that the text was written somewhere in Herefordshire but, very wisely, Miss Mack makes no attempt to indicate the exact district in which the legend was composed. Dr Serjeantson, indeed, has localised the Royal manuscript 'somewhere between Hereford and Leominster, perhaps in the Bromyard and Bishop's Frome district', but it is very doubtful whether, in the present state of our knowledge, any Middle English text can be localised so accurately on linguistic evidence alone. Actually the connection of the Bodley manuscript with Herefordshire is hardly as close as Miss Mack imagines. Scribbles in the margin of this manuscript associate it with Ledbury, Tedstone Delamere and Magna Cowarne, all in Herefordshire. Hall (*Early Middle English*, II, p. 492) read Godstow for Tedstone and assumed the hand to be fourteenth century. Miss Mack has the correct reading and takes the handwriting to be of the fifteenth century, but Miss Allen (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXVIII, pp. 485 ff.) in an important article has shown that while Tedstone is the correct reading, the writing in which these entries are made is of a sixteenth-century character.

The problem of authorship is dealt with cautiously and soundly. The conclusions reached are probably all that can be said definitely on this somewhat barren subject but the difference of sentiment between *Hali Meidhad* and the *Ancren Riwle* is probably unduly stressed. Professor Tolkien (*Essays and Studies*, xiv, p. 116, n. 2) has pointed out that the argument against a single author based on the difference in spirit between the *Ancren Riwle* and *Hali Meidhad* depends

on a forgetfulness of the very nature of an anchoress' life and the spirit that approved it, and on a misunderstanding of the teaching and spirit of the *Katherine Group*, an exaggeration of the 'humanity' of the author of the *Ancient Wisse* the practical adviser, and the 'inhumanity' of the author of the *Katherine Group* the furnisher of edifying reading.

The new collation of the texts has given us a word *eilþurl* 20/19 (O.Fr. *ueil* + O.E. *þyrl*), a reading which, as Miss Mack points out, adds point to the play on *eilþurles* in *Ancoren Riwele*, 62/17 ff. But, despite its many excellences, the edition suffers from an inadequate study of the phonology of the two texts. There seems to be a tendency to avoid the explanation of difficult forms and many of those given are unreliable. The following points may be noted:

Under *æ*: *beað*, *feat* are probably not examples of the spelling of O.E. *æ* as *ea* but due to analogous levelling of *ea* from the oblique cases in which Mercian back-mutation of *æ* to *ea* has taken place. *feader* probably goes back to the form *feadur* g.sg. found in the *Vespasian Psalters*. The first element in *wleatwile* is probably either O.E. *wlætta* or *wleatta*. In *wewater*, the invariable form in the Bodley manuscript, the *ea* possibly indicates an Old English form with a back vowel in the second syllable (cf. O.Sw. *Vætur*) and Mercian back-mutation of *æ*. *attri* is probably a new formation from M.E. *atter*. *schape* is given as from O.M. *gescæp* but this seems to be an impossible form. It is more probably due to the levelling through of *ea* from the n.acc.pl., *\*gesceapu*, and subsequent assimilation of the front element of the diphthong by the following palatal.

Under *o*: 'The characteristic West Mercian development of *o* to *a* between labials and liquids appears in *marhen*, *awarpen* (p.p.).' Otherwise this change seems to be quite unknown nor do the examples given here support it at all. *marhen* is usually assumed to be due to ablaut variation whilst *awarpen* is probably due to Old Norse influence. The infinitive *awarpen* is a borrowing from Old Norse; then on the analogy of other verbs with *a* in the infinitive—strong verbs class VI—a new p.p. *awarpen* is formed.

Under *y*: Here are given forms with O.E. *ȳ* with shortening of vowel as in *hudden*, *icudde*, *fulþen*, *luðere*. These forms should be given under *ȳ* since, while shortening may have taken place, there is no proof that it actually has done: the result would be the same in any case. Too many Middle English sound changes are postulated, quite regardless of evidence, simply because it is thought that they ought to have taken place. Compare for example the form *sulliche* (O.E. *syllic* from earlier *sel(d)lic*) which is supposed to have developed through a form *\*siell-* though such *ie* forms are never found and it is far more probable that the *e* developed straight to *y* without any intervening diphthongisation.

Under *ā*: 'Since the form *wumme* (< O.E. *wā me*) presupposes a development from the rounded vowel, it would appear that the spelling *a* is merely traditionally retained in this text.' The spelling is probably merely traditional at this date but this form is no proof. The development is more probably *wā me* > *wamme* > *womme* > *wumme* with West Midland rounding of short *a* before a nasal.

Under *æ*<sup>1</sup>: 'The spelling *eo* in *leote* is explained as on analogy with *beoren*, *eoten*, etc. (see *Bonner Beiträge*, xv, p. 128).' But the analogy hardly seems to be convincing and it is more probably due to the levelling of the diphthong of the old reduplicating preterite, Ang. *leort*, into the infinitive.

Under *eo*: The g.pl. *hare* is derived from O.E. *heora* with shifted stress, but no reason is given for such a shift. A more probable derivation is from O.M. *heara* though the exact relationship of this form to O.E. *heora* is uncertain.

In many editions of Middle English texts the glossary is by far the least satisfactory part. Miss Mack gives us a full and, in many respects, an excellent glossary, but even here there are numerous shortcomings, especially in etymology, which detract from its value. In the first place etymologies are not invariably given. We are told that 'the Old English form is given only in the case of less well-known words, or of forms where some special dialectal or other development is to be made clear', but this system is not followed consistently. Why, for example, should we be given the etymology of *finden*, *Latin*, *prince*, etc., but not of *merren*, *buest*, *zarewe*, *zeorliche*, etc.? Other points which may be noted are: The prefix in such words as *āgrīsan*, *āhebban*, *āhōn*, *āsteorfan*, etc., is given as long though actually the quantity is quite uncertain. *ariste* is derived not from O.E. *ārist* but from the by-form *ārist*. *bere* is from Ang. *gebēre* not O.E. *gebære*. *bondes* is given as from O.W. Scand., O.E. Scand. *band* though the word does not seem to occur in O.E. *briht* is to be derived from O.M. *\*birht* (cf. V.Ps. *birhtnis*, *birhtu*) rather than from Ang. *berht*. *dorkest* can hardly be from O.E. *deorc* but is probably from an O.E. *\*dorc* with change of vowel due to ablaut variation. *easki*, as pointed out in the phonology, is due to confusion with the related *æscan* so that it cannot be derived directly from O.E. *āscian*. Under *ewles* the form *æwel* should be starred, the only forms given by Bosworth-Toller being *awel*, *æl*. *fērliche* is from Ang. *fērlic*. *hahte* can hardly be derived directly from O.E. *æht* but is probably from an unrecorded by-form O.E. *āht*. *igret* is derived from O.E. *grēatian* though neither phonology nor sense is satisfactory. Compare *Sawles Warde* where *ha hefden igret* is used to translate the Latin *salutaverant*; probably O.E. *grētan* has developed the sense 'praise, extol'. *makeles* is derived from O.E. *gemaca* + *les*, probably a misprint for *lēas*. *pine* is derived from an O.E. *\*pīn*, but since the noun is a weak fem. in other related languages (cf. O.N. *pīna*, O.S. *pīna*, O.H.G. *pīna*), the Old English form was more probably *\*pīne*. *steareden* should be derived from O.M. *\*stearian* not O.E. *starian*. *pylli* is correctly derived from O.E. *pyllic* but on p. lxxv the ending is given as from O.N. *ligr*. For further notes on the glossary see the review published in *The Times Literary Supplement*, December 13, 1934.

It is unfortunate that what is, in the main, a highly competent edition of this important text should have been marred by shortcomings which a little further revision would have amended.

R. M. WILSON.

*Spenser's Faerie Queene. An Interpretation.* By JANET SPENS. London: Edward Arnold. 1934. 144 pp. 8s. 6d.

The aim of the writer of this book, as stated at the opening, is 'to give back to English readers the understanding of and delight in this great poet which thrilled his contemporaries and early successors'. On this she may be at once reassured; whether her theories and conclusions, in every detail, be accepted or not, her interpretation as a whole shows an insight into Spenser's mentality and an understanding of his art rarely attained in work of similar scope. To treat *The Faerie Queene* seriously as a philosophical poem is a step in the right direction; to substantiate the case with material calculated to stimulate rather than to chill appreciation is a truly notable achievement. Throughout her study Miss Spens consistently carries conviction; even when most provocative almost she persuades us.

Her interpretation rests partly upon a new theory regarding the structure of *The Faerie Queene*, which she believes to have been planned originally in eight books of eight cantos each, allegorically depicting not the twelve virtues but the seven deadly sins. According to this view, the many inconsistencies in plot and episode, which no reader could fail to detect, are attributable to hasty revision, probably on Raleigh's advice, shortly before the publication of the first three books in 1590. As a result, the original allegory of vices was transformed to one of virtues, involving a secondary patriotic motive centring upon the Queen in the person of Gloriana. Read in this light, the discrepancies between the Prefatory Letter and the episodes to which it refers, the repetition of the fight with Orgoglio (I, viii) in that with the dragon (I, xii) and the duplication of the defence of Alma's castle are accounted for as padding necessitated by the expansion of each book from eight to twelve cantos. The same would apply to seemingly irrelevant interludes like the chronicle of British kings (II, x), the tale of Scudamour (IV, x) and 'Epithalamion Thamesis' (IV, xi).

The theory is certainly startling, and it gains plausibility through the care expended upon forging every link in the chain of evidence and the forceful style in which it is presented; but in default of further evidence it must rest as an interesting hypothesis at several points open to question. If a fair case can be made for Lechery as the original theme of Book III, in the face of such episodes as those of Mordant, Furor and Cymochles, comprising all the earlier part of Book II, it is surely special pleading to urge Wrath as the original theme of Book IV and Avarice of Book II, merely on the score of the 'crowning temptation' by Mammon. Nor is it easy to accept the association of Book I with *accidia*, notwithstanding the significant evidence cited from the episode of Despair. The dilution of 'accidia' to 'sloth' or 'idleness' by sixteenth-century moralists implies the substitution of a new cardinal vice for an older one no longer recognised as such, and idleness rather than *accidia* is the attribute of *Lucifera's* attendant in I, iv, notwithstanding his monkish garb. It is unlikely that Spenser's acquaintance with scholastic writings was sufficient to enable him to probe the full meaning attached by mediæval moralists to *accidia*

which, as Miss Spens points out, approximates to the 'melancholic humour' of Hamlet, a fashionable eccentricity of the age accounted rather as a temperamental weakness than as a cardinal vice.

*The Faerie Queene* is compounded of both allegory and romance. The fact that most of the padding comes in the later cantos of each book is only to be expected of so discursive a poet as Spenser adopting the wayward course of romance in expanding each of his several allegories to the length of twelve cantos. In the interests of her case Miss Spens is inclined to stress the allegorical element at the expense of the romantic, which would account for her curious interpretation of Harvey's well-known carp at 'Hobgoblin running away with the garland from Apollo'. In comparing the 'Elvish Queen' to its disadvantage with *Orlando Furioso* surely Harvey is connecting it not with 'popular literature... impregnated with religious symbolism' but with mediæval romance; the implication is that Spenser is wasting his powers not upon an allegory of the seven vices—which quite easily might have earned Harvey's approbation—but upon that same 'bold Bawdry', those 'worn out absurdities, feigned nowhere acts' that aroused the contempt of Ascham, Nashe and other purists.

The remaining chapters of the book, which can be considered on their own account apart from the proposed reconstruction, supply an admirable commentary upon Spenser's philosophical outlook, contacts and analogies with that of other poets and the relation of *The Faerie Queene* to Spenser's minor works. The idealism underlying the *Mutabilitie* cantos and the *Hymnes*—'the poet's defence of the world of sense... at the same time an attack on materialism'—suggest affinities with the philosophy of Plotinus, whose philosophy is based upon this same 'aspiration of the universe towards the vision of perfection'. Spenser's symbolic method of representing emotional experience, compared with that of Wordsworth, illustrates the fundamental difference between sixteenth-century humanism and nineteenth-century naturalism; but the two poets are alike in communicating inner experience 'from the breath of outward circumstance', and failure to recognise this distinction in Spenser has led to confusion. To stress the moral or the political allegory in an episode like that of Marinell and Florimell is to lose sight of their basic significance as an artist's symbols of beauty comparable, in this respect, with the pure nature poetry of 'Epithalamion Thamesis' and with corresponding figures in other poets such as Keats. The same applies to Spenser's representation of love, which 'covers a vast system of relations and a scale of emotions, in which sexual love is only one note'; for his final philosophy is concerned not with the visible world of sense, the particularised outward expression that confronts the dramatist, but with the invisible world of mind, the generalised impression of inner consciousness.

By pursuing her argument upon these lines Miss Spens successfully vindicates the claims of Spenser as a philosophical poet without falling into the common error of mistaking for poetic thought thoughts translated into the language of poetry. Her interpretation of Spenser's metaphysics by its very nature involves critical consideration of his art as a poet; the

one cannot stand without the other. Miss Spens has chosen the right way of approach to Spenser. It is all the more to be regretted that so learned and interesting a study should lack an index.

B. E. C. DAVIS.

LONDON.

*Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy.* By M. C. BRADBROOK. Cambridge: University Press. 1935. viii + 275 pp. 12s. 6d.

'This work', says Miss Bradbrook, 'was written as an attempt to discover how an Elizabethan would approach a tragedy by Chapman, Tourneur, or Middleton.' She claims that there existed 'a body of conventions which constitutes Elizabethan stage tradition'; that these 'Elizabethan conventions have never been acknowledged because they were not formulated', but it is 'impossible that writers who worked at the speed of these dramatists should not evolve a convention'; and further, that 'through their unique interest in word-play and word patterns of all kinds the Elizabethans were especially fitted to build their drama on words'. Miss Bradbrook therefore divides her book into two parts; the first examining conventions of the theatre, the second the practice of Marlowe, Tourneur, Webster, Middleton and the Decadence.

Miss Bradbrook makes many acute observations and has collected many illustrations, perhaps too many, for she is not entirely successful in welding a mass of detail into a coherent or readable whole. Moreover, in the earlier chapters she seems to think in terms of a general stage technique lasting throughout this vague 'Elizabethan' period. Developments in technique, and differences between particular theatres she ignores. 'The private and the common stages', she says, blandly, 'could not have been very different, from the ease with which they pirated one another's plays.' She does not, however, mention the plays thus pirated. Yet one elementary distinction was that one kind of theatre was open to the sky, the other was indoors and lit by candles, so that in the public playhouse a sense of darkness had to be created whilst in the private it was real. The kind of tragedy which Dekker terms 'nocturnal' could only be produced in a private house. For a difference in kinds of audience there is ample evidence; it made for difference in the manner of writing plays and the convention of their presentation; what Hamlet condemns as 'inexplicable dumb show and noise' was to a Rose audience thrilling and satisfying tragedy. To establish a case that there was a fundamental convention in all the playhouses, the differences between the practice at various theatres and the extraordinary speed of the development of dramatic technique between 1585 and 1615 must first be considered. In her studies of the writers of tragedy, where she is more concerned with æsthetic than material matters, Miss Bradbrook is more successful.

G. B. HARRISON.

LONDON.

*Works of John Milton.* Columbia University edition, under the general editorship of F. A. PATTERSON. New York: Columbia University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1931. 18 vols. Vols. 3-10 and 14-17. £24.

The first two volumes of the *Columbia Milton*, whatever their shortcomings, were the best critical edition of the poetry so far published; the present volumes are the first critical edition with full textual apparatus of the prose, and will be, when the four remaining volumes appear, the first complete edition. On these facts alone the editors and publishers are entitled to our admiration and gratitude.

The editors have followed the same principles in editing the prose as the poetry: the text is based on the latest edition published in Milton's lifetime or, when the first publication was posthumous, either on manuscript copies or the earliest edition; the original punctuation and spelling are preserved; all variants in texts previous to Milton's death are recorded. The textual notes to each work are preceded by a clear and succinct account of the various editions and issues, and, when pertinent, of the circumstances in which it was first produced. All Latin texts are printed with translations opposite.

So far as one can judge from a preliminary testing the editorial work, with some exceptions, has been done with thoroughness and care. *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* is the first text to present any problems. This tract first appeared in 1643; a second and much enlarged edition was issued in 1644 and again in 1645. 'The 1644 printing is extant in two slightly differing states, and that of 1645 in three.' One text of the 1644 printing is now listed for the first time, though the editor is unable to determine whether it was printed before or after the other; and for the first time the 1645 issues are arranged in their proper chronological order. The *Columbia* text is based on the already known text of 1644, collated with the first edition and the other four versions of the second edition. Does the fact that this volume is slenderer than the others indicate that the editors originally meant to give the first edition as a separate work? This at any rate would have been the better course; for the first edition is not only a distinct work but a document of biographical importance, which has never been reprinted. The second edition is a complete reworking of the first, and double its length: no one can possibly get the effect and spirit of what Milton first wrote on this subject, within twelve months of his wife's leaving him, by laboriously reconstructing it from the textual notes.

The first edition of *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* was published by February 13, 1649; a second edition, corrected and enlarged, followed about a year later and is extant in two slightly different states. The present text has been set up from a copy of the second state of the second edition collated with the first state and the first edition. The editor has corrected obvious misprints and errors in punctuation and spelling; at three places, however, a wrong reading is retained from the second edition although the correct reading from the first edition is recorded in the notes—*Jer.* 48, 19 for 48, 10 (marginal reference, p. 2), *Government*

(p. 3, l. 4), *whither* for *whether* (p. 27, l. 25). The editor also states 'that the second edition varies from the first in what appear to be casual differences in spelling and punctuation'; but these changes are not altogether casual. The clearest instance is the spelling of *their*. For about the first quarter of the tract the printer of the first edition frequently spells *their* when it is unemphatic, though he afterwards prints the Miltonic *thir* consistently and correctly. The second edition not only corrects each wrong *their* but more significantly corrects *thir* to *their* in two places where it is emphatic (p. 3, l. 1 and p. 4, l. 4); at a third place (p. 20, l. 27) a change of *thir* to *their* is more doubtfully correct. It looks as though Milton was doing his best to get the printer to follow his spelling.

*Eikonoklastes* was published in October 1649; a second edition appeared in 1650 with changes and additions to the text. The editor states in the notes that the passage from p. 86, l. 7 to p. 87, l. 4 is one of the additions, yet quotes three variants from edition 1.

The editing of the *History of Britain* is sadly to seek; indeed, by the standards of the *Columbia* edition it can hardly be said to have been edited at all. We are merely given a reprint, from photostat copies, of the first edition of 1670; there are no textual notes, although Mr Glicksman's *The Editions of Milton's History of Britain* (P.M.L.A., vol. xxxv, 1920) should have been enough to warn any editor of the need. The text is not even a correct reprint of the first edition, since the *errata* are silently incorporated as in the second edition of 1677. These *errata* are important, many of them altering the meaning and suggesting the author's own hand; the list concludes with the words, 'Besides other literal faults and wrong stops through the Book, which the Reader of himself may amend', but in the absence of textual notes we do not know whether the present editor has availed himself of the licence. Then the text should have been collated with Toland's edition of 1698; for Toland states in his title-page to the *History* that it is 'publish'd from a Copy corrected by the Author himself'. Toland's text contains a number of insertions, relating to Roman history, besides an equal number of verbal corrections; and the only reasonable explanation of Toland's advertisement, as Mr Glicksman says, is that he had come into possession of Milton's own copy, which the author himself had amended from time to time during his last years. One correction should certainly have been adopted in the text: 'Neither they then we had better Authors' (1670)—'neither they nor we' (Toland), *Columbia*, p. 179.

The digression omitted by Milton from the *History* and published posthumously in 1681 under the title of *Mr John Milton's Character of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines* in 1641, is rightly printed by the present editor as an appendix. The text given is a new one from a manuscript in a seventeenth-century hand in the library of Harvard University, which is fuller than the 1681 text and 'apparently more faithfully represents the passage as Milton wrote it'; also it 'indicates a more appropriate place for the digression than the position commonly assigned to it in the later printed editions of the *History*'. The place

assigned to it when it was first incorporated by Birch in 1738, after the words 'in great undertakings', was due to the statement in the publisher's preface of 1681 that the passage is to come in near the beginning of Chapter 3; it is an unimportant point, since the passage is a digression independent of either context, but it is difficult to see why the present editor thinks the place indicated in the manuscript, later in Chapter 3, is more appropriate. But a point which admits of no debate is that the editor should have given the variants of the 1681 text for the same sound reason that his fellow-editors of the *Christian Doctrine* give the variants of Sumner's text, as being the *editio princeps*. This course would not have been at variance with the real principles of the edition, and it would have enabled him to quote the publisher's *Preface* to the 1681 edition, which is not readily accessible and which, however interpreted, is of considerable biographical importance. Moreover, since this is a new text we are being given, we should be glad to know exactly how it differs from the traditional text. For instance, the first two pages of the manuscript are entirely new: what further additional matter does it contain? And there may be other emendations as good as the following: 'which might seeme to have put libertie, so long desir'd, like a bird into thir hands', where the traditional text of 1681 reads *bridle* for *bird*, and Sir Charles Firth in his paper on *Milton as Historian* reads *bride*.

For the text of the *Defensio Prima* the editor has made chief use of the third issue of the quarto first edition of 1651, the folio edition of 1651 (*editio emendatio*), and the final edition of 1658 (*editio correctior et auctior, ab Autore denuo recognita*). The 1658 version has been followed except where there was good reason for rejecting it. In cases of special difficulty the continental reprints which Madan numbers 3, 4, 5, 9, 12 and 13 have occasionally been consulted. I note one misprint, *fed* for *sed* (p. 46, l. 9). It is the 1658 edition alone which has the concluding paragraph (not given in any of the previous standard editions) which closes with words that would seem certainly to refer to *Paradise Lost* and must be reckoned with in dating that poem. The translation is vigorous and for the most part sound. The translator had at first intended to reprint with minor changes the translation of 1692 ascribed by Toland to 'Mr Washington, a gentleman of the Temple', which is the version given in *Bohn*; but this was found to be past mending, and so 'the present translation, though retaining some of the phrases of the old, was made directly from Milton's Latin'. The *Washington* translation is indeed loose, careless and not infrequently false, and the *Columbia* translation corrects it on every page:

*Fortius vero inquit animati* (nam fortes puto et animosos ne nominare quidem nisi putide potest) (p. 20, ll. 15-16)—*Bohn*: 'They that had more courage' (which yet he expresses in miserable bald Latin, as if he could not so much as speak of courage and magnanimity in proper words).—*Columbia*: 'In fact, the more bravely couraged', he says (for I suppose he cannot even name the brave and courageous without nauseous affectation).

This is a typical example of the respective merits of the translations. Occasionally, however, the *Bohn* version is to be preferred to the *Columbia*:

for instance (p. 8, ll. 2-5), the *Columbia* translation renders *studiis* by *zeal*, though the context indicates that Milton meant *studies*. At points the *Columbia* translator falls to the temptation of being more vivid than his original: 'ab se longe removere' (p. 38, ll. 9-10): 'to clear his skirts of'. Sometimes the refusal to translate literally leads him into positive error:

non quo tibi in alium quemvis detur illa regia licentia male faciendi, sed illa altera male pereundi; qua sola, ut inclusus ille Capreis Tiberius, a temetipso perditus quotidie te sentias perire (p. 74, ll. 3-6); 'that you may have—not that royal right to live an evil life, but that other—to die an evil death'.

Milton's contrast is not between the tyrant's living and dying ill but between his destroying others and destroying himself: Salmasius is to enjoy only the latter privilege of rotting away. *Superstitio* (p. 72, l. 17) is translated *fanaticism* when it would have been better to retain Milton's favourite *superstition*. The translator's English is sometimes at fault. 'Obviam ibunt' (p. 82, l. 18) is rendered 'meet halfway', when the context could leave no doubt in his mind that the Latin means 'resist'. 'Numquam non retinuit' (p. 146, l. 12); 'he never did off'. 'Isti vero qui?' (p. 64, l. 19); 'But what for men were these?' What for English is this?

The texts of the *Defensio Secunda* and the *Pro Se Defensio* are those of the first and only editions of 1654 and 1655 respectively. The misprint *sis* for *sic* has been overlooked (*Defensio Secunda*, p. 124, l. 14). There are useful notes on the literary allusions in both works. The translations are revised versions of George Burnett's (London, 1809), and we are told that changes

have been made only in cases where the meaning of the original translator's English is different from the meaning of Milton's Latin. No attempt has been made to add elegance or to supply omissions of phrases which do not alter the meaning of the text.

This seems rather cavalier: for instance, has the omitted phrase 'Caroli regis legatus' (*Defensio Secunda*, p. 122, ll. 1-2) no meaning? The translation of one sentence (*Defensio Secunda*, p. 128, ll. 8-18) is a bad jumble which one would, I am afraid, be able to make nothing of without the Latin. The conclusion of Milton's account of his Italian tour is misleadingly rendered:

Eodem ferme tempore quo Carolus, cum Scotis, rupta pace, bellum alterum quod vocant Episcopale, redintegrabat; in quo fuis primo congressu regis copiis, . . . Parliamentum haud ita multo post, convocavit.—'I arrived nearly at the time that Charles, breaking the pacification, renewed the war, called the episcopal war, with the Scots, in which the royal forces were routed in the first engagement; and Charles . . . not long after called a parliament.' (*Second Defence*, p. 126.)

In altering Milton's punctuation the translator alters the sense. Milton states that he returned to England about the time Charles was renewing the war with the Scots (in the summer of 1638); he then goes on to summarise the consequences of the King's action during the next twelve months. This meaning is indicated by the semicolon after *redintegrabat*; by shifting this semicolon the translator makes it appear that Milton is dating his return a year later, which has indeed been the accepted

reading and has led M. Liljegren to accuse Milton of a deliberate lie (see my article, *Modern Language Review*, July 1933).

The editing of *De Doctrina Christiana* has its own peculiar problems, which have been handled by the present editors in a model manner. They first give a clear and interesting account of the history of the text. The manuscript, as is well known, was discovered by Lemon in the State Paper Office in 1823 and edited by Sumner. The original text is probably in the hand of Jeremie Picard, who was employed by Milton as an amanuensis from about 1657; it was subsequently revised more than once at Milton's dictation, the alterations being in several hands distinct from Picard's. After Milton's death Daniel Skinner began to transcribe the manuscript for the press but desisted at Chapter 15, contenting himself thereafter with rewriting the less legible parts; later Skinner or another went through the whole and made small corrections; and finally Sumner made further corrections in pencil. Sumner's text seems to have been set up directly from the manuscript, which has since been bound in such a way as to conceal the edges of the text in places. In view of these facts the *Columbia* editors have rightly decided to treat Sumner's text, 'which is remarkably correct in all essentials', as an *editio princeps*; their text is accordingly based on Sumner's, collated with the manuscript. The original spelling and punctuation have been restored, but a few passages are repointed where the scribe has evidently misunderstood the sense and Sumner's pointing has necessarily been adopted where the manuscript is no longer legible; also a few inconsistencies in the scribal spelling are modernised. Some of Sumner's emendations have been adopted as reasonably certain, and his typographical display has been retained. Thus, with the aid of Sumner, the editors have attempted to reduce the manuscript 'to some such consistency as might have been given it if a seventeenth-century printer had set it, and Milton with his own eyes corrected the proof'. But they also provide all the data on which their judgments are based. In the notes they attempt a complete account of the scribal alterations in the manuscript, having deciphered most of the deleted passages and distinguished the added material from the original version; so that the three main stages in the making of the manuscript are set forth—Picard, the revisers of Picard, and Skinner. They have wisely retained Sumner's translation and reprinted his invaluable notes, in a few instances with corrections or additions.

There remain four volumes only of this edition to be published, and it is now possible to say with complete confidence that Professor Patterson and his collaborators have succeeded in their task of laying a sound basis for all future work on Milton.

B. A. WRIGHT.

GLASGOW.

*Milton's use of Du Bartas.* By GEORGE COFFIN TAYLOR. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1934. xvi+129 pp. 8s. 6d.

Since Dunster published his *Considerations* in 1800 Sylvester's *Du Bartas* has been recognised as one of Milton's sources, particularly for the minor poems; yet scholars have been in the habit of referring to Milton's debt with the deprecatory air of those who, not having read *Du Bartas* for themselves, play for safety. Mr Taylor undertakes to show that the influence of *The Divine Weekes on Paradise Lost* is definite and immense.

He first makes a bold frontal attack on the whole complicated question of Milton's sources. He claims that a study of hexæmeral literature and of what is called *mirrour* literature shows that the ideas and knowledge used in *Paradise Lost*, which scholars of late have been so busy tracking to various sources, are for the most part commonplaces not only of the Renaissance but of the Middle and Dark Ages. This literature converges in *Du Bartas*; and it is through Sylvester's translation of *Du Bartas* that the great body of commonplaces passed over into *Paradise Lost*. Mr Taylor reviews a great part of the material adduced as evidence of Milton's relationship to individual authors and works—Spenser, Tasso, Grotius, Cædmon, the Zohar, rabbinical and cabbalistic literature, Plato and the English platonists, Augustine and the Fathers, Servetus and Lactantius; he then shows that this material is to be found in various common types of mediæval and renaissance works, and nearly all of it in *The Divine Weekes*. He does not deny that Milton may have read other works on any particular topic; but he claims that Milton took most of his material from the heterogeneous epic of *Du Bartas*, since this is the only work that contains almost the entire body of the material of *Paradise Lost*, arranged in much the same form to the same end and repeatedly expressed in similar language and imagery.

Certainly the mass of parallel passages collected by Mr Taylor, many of them close enough, prove a connection between *The Divine Weekes* and *Paradise Lost*: the question remains as to what that connection was. The argument on which Mr Taylor so much relies, that *The Divine Weekes* is a compendium of traditional thought and knowledge, is surely a double-edged one: what *Du Bartas* did Milton could do from the same or similar sources. But Mr Taylor wants us to suppose that Milton had *Du Bartas* before him early and late as a model on which he worked, a quarry in which he industriously dug while writing *Paradise Lost*. I should prefer to explain the far-reaching influence on the grounds that *Du Bartas*'s poem was representative of the mind of the age and that Milton studied it, as we know he did, in his earliest days; that his imagination was thereby occupied from youth with the great theme that he was eventually to handle; and that his later reading was directed by or at least associated with his memories of *Du Bartas*. Thus his reading would be perpetually illustrating and extending what he remembered from *Du Bartas* (and his memory was tenacious), often from sources *Du Bartas* himself had used. For instance, Mr Taylor compares the two poets' accounts of chaos; but what about Ovid, to mention only one common source?

At all events Mr Taylor has performed a laborious task so well that no Milton scholar henceforth will be able to ignore Du Bartas. And he has driven a road through the jungle of Milton's sources that may help us to survey the ground with more method and eventual success. The only serious defect of his book is the mechanic style, of which the following is a fair sample: 'Here, however, it should be noticed how extraordinarily close Du Bartas is to the following passage quoted by Greenlaw in this connection from Spenser as contributing to Milton.' This is jigsaw English.

B. A. WRIGHT.

GLASGOW.

*Rochester. Portrait of a Restoration Poet.* By VIVIAN DE SOLA PINTO. London: The Bodley Head. 1935. 294 pp. 8s. 6d.

In this interesting and readable book Professor Pinto depicts another post-war age and generation some two hundred and fifty years earlier than our own—the age of the Restoration, when, as Wood tells us, 'the World of England was perfectly mad', because 'freed from the chaines of darkness and confusion which the Presbyterians and phanaticks had brought upon them' (p. 9). Across this 'gawdy and gilded stage' flashes Rochester, 'the Marlowe of the Restoration' (p. 257), poet, prince of the 'wild gallants', Hobbist, and withal seeker (in his last year, at least) after inward peace. Professor Pinto has for the most part avoided any wholesale whitewashing of his hero, but he succeeds in presenting him as a complex human being instead of as the mere 'petulant and ferocious rake' of Gosse and post-Johnsonian tradition in general.

Rochester was a leader of that emancipated band who, with Hobbes's philosophy behind them, set out to prove all things, and hold fast the things that were pleasant. The situation in his lifetime and environment was precisely that which can most readily produce 'Epicurean' living and satirical writing. The sanctions of traditional morality, the threats and promises of religion, the doctrines of orthodox theology—what were all these, some felt, but an ideal superstructure beneath which, all the while, the real life of man had been going on: the Hobbesian race after felicity and glory? The world was a dance of atoms in the void, and the 'soul' a fictitious entity, probably the invention of designing ecclesiastics.

After Death nothing is, and nothing Death;  
The utmost Limits of a Gasp of Breath.  
Let the ambitious Zealot lay aside  
His hopes of Heav'n; (whose Faith is but his Pride);  
Let slavish Souls lay by their Fear,  
Nor be concern'd which way, or where,  
After this life they shall be hurl'd:  
Dead, we become the Lumber of the World;  
And to that Mass of Matter shall be swept,  
Where things destroy'd, with things unborn are kept. (p. 210.)

So Rochester, enlarging in his finest manner on a theme from Seneca. Although he can excel in the 'diaphanous' kind of love lyric (cf. 'My

dear Mistress has a Heart', quoted p. 70) and in coruscating social satire like the *Letter from Artemisa to Cloe or Timon*, his most impassioned utterance is to be found in passages like the above, where, tired of the search for a positive amongst the negations of current scepticism, he implicitly worships Annihilation itself. Another fine instance is 'Nothing! thou Elder Brother ev'n to Shade', which Professor Pinto justifiably calls one of the last great 'Metaphysical' poems (p. 130). One is reminded here of Rochester's greater successor Pope, who was similarly moved, in one of his loftiest passages, by the thought of universal Darkness.

The writer of such verse, and of the *Satyr Against Mankind* (see p. 175), could not, or at any rate did not, remain for ever tossing upon 'Doubt's boundless Sea'. The brave new world, the Utopia of Gallantry, had turned too soon, for him, into the 'hell of the bored and jaded sensualist'. Shattered in health and sickened in spirit soon after reaching the age of thirty, he sought and found in religion the peace that the world could not give. The story of his conversion by Burnet is surely one of the choicest passages in seventeenth-century biography. Burnet's method of recommending religion was that of the Cambridge Platonists. Religion was no body of doctrines or myths imposed from above, but a way of life, an experience, a technique by which a man could attain inner harmony, and actually feel a heavenly temper irradiating his mind and heart. These extraordinary colloquies between an arch-infidel and a representative Modern Churchman of the Restoration form a fitting climax to Professor Pinto's narrative. They epitomise much of the controversy about natural and revealed religion which was to go on well into the next century. Rochester did not capitulate at once to his clerical friend, but disease and anguish had already given him the will to believe, and the battle was more than half won when it dawned upon him, thanks to Burnet's rational and sympathetic tone, that the basic truths of religion were such that they might indeed be intellectually doubted, but must yet be 'embraced' by the man who is set upon a changed life. It will perhaps surprise some readers to find Rochester using something like the language of the mystics to describe his final moment of illumination (on June 19, 1680), occasioned by hearing Burnet reading the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah (p. 248).

Rochester could leave no poetic record of his religious experience, but the same passionate intensity which made that experience possible is to be found, as Professor Pinto well shows, in the best of what he had written. Professor Pinto may seem at times to overvalue some of Rochester's minor productions in prose and verse, but this does not affect the quality of his book as a whole. He has produced a living portrait of a fascinating and paradoxical character, drawn against the background of Restoration life and thought; and as a literary critic he may claim to have done full justice at last to a poet who, as he says, was 'one of the first of the great Augustans as well as one of the last of the great Metaphysicals' (p. 158).

BASIL WILLEY.

*The Rivals, A Comedy. As it was first Acted at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden. Written by Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Esq. Edited from the Larpent MS. by RICHARD LITTLE PURDY. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1935. lii + 122 pp. 21s.*

*The Rivals* was produced at Covent Garden on January 17, 1775, and succeeded so ill that it was immediately withdrawn. On January 28 it was acted again, with complete success. In the interval the actors had learned their parts, Clinch had replaced Lee as Sir Lucius O'Trigger, and Sheridan had revised the play. The details of that revision could not be exactly known without a comparison between the two versions. That comparison is now for the first time made (within limits) possible by Professor Purdy, who prints side by side the version acted on January 17, and the first edition, published on February 11, 1775, 'as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden'. The version of January 17, now first printed, is taken from the Larpent manuscript of the play, formerly in the Bridgewater House and now in the Huntington Library. This was the manuscript (not in Sheridan's hand) sent to the Examiner of Plays for licence. The differences between it and the first edition show that Sheridan made Sir Lucius a much less offensive character, cut out (especially from Sir Anthony Absolute) some ribaldry, a good many malapropisms (and not only from the part of Mrs Malaprop), and some verbal jokes, shortened the play and tightened up (not always with care and discretion) the dramatic action—did, in fact, very much what his critics in the press had advised.

Mr Purdy does not stop short at comparison of the two versions. He points out that it is no longer possible to regard the first edition as the play precisely as it was acted on January 28. It is very nearly as long as the manuscript version, which was nearly an hour too long in performance; it shows traces of having been made up with the help of a manuscript older than the Larpent, and it contains many passages which are not in the Larpent—most of them merely ornamental, but some of them necessary to the full understanding of the dialogue sent for licence. It seems clear that Sheridan took the opportunity of the printing to put back, especially into the Faulkland-Julia scenes, some of the fine writing which Harris had persuaded him to cut out of the first acted version. The second edition, published in 1775, was printed from the same type as the first. In the third edition, dated 1776, but published in January, 1777 (the last in which he had any hand), Sheridan made more alterations, reducing the length of the play by about eleven hundred words and further pruning what coarseness still lingered in it. But Mr Purdy cannot be satisfied that this third edition gives *The Rivals* as it was acted on January 28, since it still contains undramatic material from which the Larpent version is free, material, that is, which would not have been put, or put back, into an acting version of a play that was already too long. Mr Purdy gives his reasons for declining to put faith in any of the versions printed in such collections as those of Mrs Inchbald, Oxberry, or Dibdin. Sheridan's approved stage version will probably never now be

recovered; but Mr Purdy's astute and scholarly work brings knowledge of it nearer than it has ever been before.

HAROLD CHILD.

LONDON.

*Coleridge on Imagination.* By I. A. RICHARDS. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner. 1934. xvi+237 pp. 8s. 6d.

Dr Richards, readers of his *Principles of Literary Criticism* and *Practical Criticism* will remember, is a 'bonny fechter', and is not likely to be surprised or greatly perturbed if his latest book (as seems probable from what I have seen of the reviews in the weekly journals) meets with a hostile reception. He will feel this—and up to a point I should be inclined to agree with him—to be a confirmation of one of his main contentions, that 'the capacity to read intelligently' has declined since the time of Coleridge. Yet it must be admitted that the standard of intelligent reading which he assumes is a high one. Even the student who is not a reviewer by trade will feel, I think, that this is a difficult book—more difficult, perhaps, than it need have been. There is some uncertainty in the arrangement of, or at least in the connections between, the various topics considered; and the whole work is really too short to achieve with complete success what it sets out to do. Such defects are of course a 'malady most incident' to books which grow out of courses of lectures (Dr Richards's hearers, by the way, must have needed stout hearts and tough heads); and inevitably they cause more than the usual amount of trouble when the problems dealt with are such abstruse and hitherto little-studied matters as the psychological aspect of poetry and the 'meaning of meaning'.

Dr Richards's general purpose is to vindicate the more philosophical parts of Coleridge's literary theory from the slight esteem in which they have often been held, to disengage their psychological from their 'transcendental' and theological implications, and to indicate the peculiar value of the former for the present age. For Dr Richards Coleridge is first and foremost a *semasiologist*, 'aware, as few have been, that to ask about the meanings of words is to ask about everything'; he is a pioneer in that psychological study of language to which Dr Richards himself has devoted most of his energies. Though patently one-sided and incomplete, this is not a distorted view of Coleridge's criticism. If Dr Richards, as a materialist, has little use for Coleridge's belief in Imagination as a revelation of ultimate truth (he brushes this aside in favour of the totally opposed view already put forward in his own *Science and Poetry* and elsewhere), the more traditional type of critic surely behaves in even more cavalier fashion in taking to his heart the famous 'inspired *obiter dicta*' on dramatic theory, poetic diction, and so on, while banishing the distinction between Fancy and Imagination, with the theory of knowledge on which it depends, to the limbo of useless logic-chopping.

Yet though Dr Richards does, I think, show that Coleridge's categories of Imagination, primary and secondary, and of Fancy must be taken seriously in any adequate theoretical analysis, he seems less successful in

demonstrating their practical usefulness. Here, for instance, is his comment on Coleridge's remark that Spenser had 'an imaginative fancy':

Though a poem may be Fancy as regards the mode of interaction, one with another, of its separable parts, the consistency of its *total meaning*, when it is such that 'the sense of musical delight' arises, is imaginative. The structure may be built of bricks, and brick be bound to brick with mortar—to use the image that accords with Fancy—and yet the whole structure have a unity of another order altogether, an architectural, which is here an imaginative, unity. (p. 120.)

This seems a dark saying in view of the notorious structural weaknesses of *The Faerie Queene*; at any rate it needs more elucidation than Dr Richards has provided.

Apart from its vindication of Coleridge, perhaps the most valuable task which the book performs is a mainly negative or destructive one; nor is it any the less important for that. It should help to clear some useless modern lumber out of the way, and to show the unreality of many literary controversies which arise merely from the careless use or misunderstanding of words; this is seen, for instance, in the brilliant pages on prosody (Chapter v) and on form and substance in poetry (Chapter ix). There is sometimes, it must be said, an undue asperity of tone in Dr Richards's animadversions on living writers; Chapter II in particular, which makes a somewhat unfortunate impression at an early stage in one's reading, might have been 'censored' a little with advantage. It is, however, fair to add that we only occasionally feel that fault is being found for the sake of fault-finding. And certainly no careful reader can fail to profit by the minute and scrupulously exact exposure of the ambiguities lurking in such common and innocent-looking words as 'Nature', 'poem', 'thought', and 'word' itself. Oddly enough the only term which Dr Richards himself seems guilty of using rather carelessly is 'science'. In one or two rashly worded passages (e.g., p. 137) he seems to be maintaining that literary criticism can be, or will become, a 'science' in the sense that psychology or biology are, or may become, sciences. But criticism can no more be an exact science than history or biography, though assuredly all three can and must make full use of the results of related sciences. This is indeed the real drift of Dr Richards's argument, as is shown by his endorsement (p. 140) of Coleridge's dictum: 'Could a rule be given from *without*, poetry would cease to be poetry, and sink into a mechanical art.'

I have noticed the following slips or misprints, only the first being of any importance. On p. 57 (foot) a line has unfortunately dropped out of the quotation from *Biographia Literaria*; read: '...in the *kind* of its agency, and differing only in degree, and in the *mode* of its operation.' The others are: p. 23, chapter-heading, for 'peace' read 'piece'; p. 46, third line from end of quotation, delete 'am'; p. 75, second line of first quotation, for 'and' read 'with'; p. 78, fifth line from foot, and p. 103, line 5, for 'that' read 'than'; p. 121, line 10, 'discernable'; p. 130, second line of quotation, read 'impressions'; p. 131, line 3, read 'that inward eye'.

R. W. KING.

*Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association.* Vol. xix. 1934 for 1933. Collected by D. NICHOL SMITH. 160 pp. Vol. xx, 1935 for 1934. Collected by GEORGE COOKSON. 151 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d. each.

These two volumes of *Essays and Studies* maintain the high reputation of the series; they cover a wide range of subject, though dealing mostly with literature from the seventeenth century onwards. In vol. xix Mr Edmund Blunden rescues from oblivion the Latin poems of George Herbert; Mr Arthur Sewell examines the religious beliefs underlying Milton's *De Doctrina Christiana*, bringing evidence to show that Milton revised and enlarged it as his beliefs changed and developed, and that *Paradise Lost* agrees rather with an earlier than with the final version—a subject to which Mr Sewell has returned in this *Review* and in the *Times Literary Supplement*. Mr John Butt discusses 'Izaak Walton's Methods in Biography', showing him to be both thoughtful and painstaking, anxious to verify facts and dates and to give a true picture, though sometimes allowing his impression of the man in later life to colour the whole biography. Sir E. K. Chambers reconsiders the 'somewhat conflicting evidence' for the exact dates of the ballads of Coleridge's *annus mirabilis*; Mr Gordon Bottomley treats of 'Poetry and the Contemporary Theatre'; Professor Bruce Dickins summarises the evidence of place and personal names with regard to the nature of Old English Heathenism, and Mr M. R. Ridley in a stimulating essay discusses the general nature of 'The Lyric', showing the effect of national character on the lyrics of Greece, Rome and England. But perhaps the most interesting and valuable essay in this volume is that of Mr C. S. Lewis on 'The Personal Heresy in Criticism', which makes a welcome and much-needed attack on the tendency of much literary criticism to interpret all poetry as the direct expression of the poet's personality; in some respects, however, Mr Lewis goes too far, making the interpretation of poetry too impersonal and laying himself open to Mr E. M. W. Tillyard's 'Rejoinder' in vol. xx. Mr Tillyard's paradox, that the poet is *ipsissimus cum minime ipse*, seems to get nearer to the truth.

Of the other essays in vol. xx, perhaps the most important are those of Professor V. de Sola Pinto and Mr W. R. Parker. Professor Pinto 'rescues Isaac Watts from the clutches of the devout', making good his claim to be regarded as a great poet and not merely as a saintly writer of hymns and moral verses; Mr Parker argues, in opposition to Jebb, that the spirit as well as the form of *Samson Agonistes* is Greek rather than Hebraic. Mr T. C. Macaulay surveys French and English drama in the seventeenth century, noting their contrasts and parallels; Mr George Sampson traces to its source the wrong kind of literary teaching in the schools; Mr R. H. Charles surveys with sympathy and understanding 'The Writings of W. H. Hudson'; and Miss Rose Macaulay writes pleasantly 'On Linguistic Changes'. A reprint, from the *Empire Review*, of Miss Mona Wilson's essay on 'The Twilight of the Augustans' completes the volume.

*Archetypal Patterns in Poetry: Psychological Studies of Imagination.* By MAUD BODKIN. Oxford: University Press. 1934. xiv+340 pp. 12s. 6d.

This book as an exploration of what may be done 'towards enriching the formulated theory of the systematic psychologist through the insight of more intuitive thinkers' (p. 1) is a study in applied psychology. The 'intuitive thinkers' or poets supply the psychologist with her *corpus*. Any judgment of the purely scientific side of the undertaking lies outside the scope of this review and is certainly beyond the power of this reviewer. It has, however, become imperative for literary criticism to take some stock of the now well-established relation between psychology (including the 'medical') and the interpretation of poetry. In the form of authoritative pronouncements by leaders like Freud and Jung, in the theory and practice of some of our strictest critics and poets and in more or less hideously garbled popular versions, it meets us on all sides. There could be no more reassuring book than Miss Bodkin's from which to gauge the fruitfulness of the alliance. To the balance and judiciousness of the trained scientific outlook she adds the sensitiveness and scrupulous honesty of an unusually responsive reader of poetry.

The 'archetypal patterns' (the Re-birth pattern, Paradise and Hades, the Woman-image, the Devil, Hero and God) declare that Miss Bodkin's major allegiance is to Jung. Though Freud is often used, references to him seem sometimes ambiguous or, at least, reserved. The patterns are the author's apparatus for the quest of the meaning and stimulus of great poetry. If we reserve opinion as to what kind of reality or individual or communal process lies behind these archetypes we can follow her quest to the sharpening and deepening of our own perceptions. Her concern is with the best and greatest of the past—Virgil, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, the quintessence of Coleridge—and with the most germinal of the moderns. The quotations in the book are an anthology of grave and moving poetry.

If poetry as 'intuitive thought' contributes to the psychologist richly iridescent material, it is also a part of Miss Bodkin's claim that 'the psychological insight of our own day enables us to apprehend emotionally a richer meaning' than the nineteenth-century critic could do in the poetry of earlier ages (p. 188). As, the somewhat stiff and unaccommodating first chapter over, she works her way from one heart or core of poetry to another, it is this latter preoccupation which obtrudes itself. What poetry needs above all, especially in these industriously biographical times, is to be read and re-read as poetry and not as something else. It is the critical justification of the archetypes that they demand a perpetually alert, sensitive, many-sided experiencing of poetry and hold the explorer true to the essential nature and scope of the poet's inspiration. Miss Bodkin's pursuit of primordial symbols serves her determination to show, at least from one angle of approach, what poetry is and how it works. She holds herself back from slipping down the easy slope of paraphrase into prose meanings; neither does she drift into allegories and typifyings. As

a brief example of the trueness of her aim can be taken her little exposition of the Orpheus and Eurydice story (p. 203).

The pathway of psychology, like that of other sciences, is, and will be, strewn with discarded hypotheses. Miss Bodkin is aware that no finality can be claimed for the concepts with which she approaches her subject. Some of the tools she uses may break in the hand, but in the meanwhile they work very well and have dug into rich and promising ore. I found particularly well worth doing the consideration of the *Ancient Mariner* beginning where Professor Livingston Lowes left off, and it was interesting, though not unexpected, to find how well Milton responded to this method. The disciplined and scholarly discussions of Virgil and Dante provide a measure of Miss Bodkin's strenuous quality. On Shakespeare's plays (such as *Hamlet* and *Othello*) and *Faust* I found her less satisfying. The final impression left by the book is one of unusual sensitiveness in reading and sincerity in recording experience. Upon this experience has supervened the psychologist's analysis fortified by wide reading in all cognate subjects from anthropology to æsthetics, but the groundwork is never hidden. What is analysed remains poetry and not something unconsciously substituted.

G. D. WILLCOCK.

ENGLEFIELD GREEN, SURREY.

*Der Einfluss der Psychoanalyse auf die englische Literatur.* By REINALD HOOPS (*Anglistische Forschungen*, Heft 77). Heidelberg: Winter. 1934. 239 pp. 10 M.

*Die englische Literatur der heutigen Stunde, als Ausdruck der Zeitwende und der englischen Kulturgemeinschaft.* By BERNHARD FEHR. Leipzig: Tauchnitz. 1934. 97 pp. 2 M. 50.

Herr Hoops puts all of us right, not excluding the present reviewer. We have been too loose and hasty in calling any novel going deeply into mental phenomena an example of psychoanalysis. He knows all about the theory and the technique, and is a stickler for exactitude—just what is wanted in these days of hit-or-miss terminology. The fallacy has been to assume that psychological analysis and psychoanalysis are the same thing. But 'the novel of psychological analysis has at bottom nothing to do with the psychoanalytical novel'. The English novelists who have been conversant enough with the doctrines of the psychoanalysts to employ these unerringly in working out the problems of life and character might be counted on the fingers of one hand. As Herr Hoops points out, the English novel of psychological analysis in the twentieth century derives from that of the nineteenth century, of which the leading exponents were Mrs Gaskell, George Eliot, and Meredith. The tendency to plunge farther and farther into the deeps, to reveal the play of unconscious impulses and attach a special importance thereto, owed nothing to the German school. It took up the same problems very often, but found, or at least sought, other solutions. The line of development led directly to such writers as Joyce, Mrs Woolf and Dorothy Richardson, who are intent on what they call 'the stream of consciousness'.

On the other hand, the teaching of Havelock Ellis, Samuel Butler, and others, who applied a frank and more or less scientific treatment to sex problems, heredity, and the like, paved the way for the general interest shown in psychoanalysis later on, especially during the years 1917-25, when everybody was talking about it, and novelists made great play with the technical terms when they had but a cloudy notion of what they meant. The first genuine psychoanalytical novels in English were by May Sinclair and D. H. Lawrence, whose previous works, however, had been in the older tradition. May Sinclair showed from the outset the influence of Walt Whitman and Butler, of Havelock Ellis and Edward Carpenter, and of the teaching of Spencer, Haeckel, Maudsley, and Ribot, on heredity. Her novels fall into four chronological groups. The first are already characterised by rigorous and searching psychology and an interest in pathological questions. In the next period, beginning with 1913 or 1914, when she says she first studied psychoanalysis, she brings this in, and thus gives more depth to her realism. In the third, from *Romantic* (1920) to *Cure of Souls* (1923), she openly applies the theories to explain her psychological cases. In her later novels, she abstains from dragging in psychoanalysis. Her finest work belongs to the two middle periods, and dates from *The Three Sisters* (1914). This, however, is not the first psychoanalytical novel in English; that honour belongs to *Sons and Lovers* (1913), by D. H. Lawrence. The long chapter on this novelist is the most interesting in the book; at any rate it corrects more misstatements and critical misjudgments, some by those who claim to have enjoyed the most confidential intimacy, than any of the rest.

There were anticipations of the later developments even in *The White Peacock* and *The Trespasser*; and *Sons and Lovers* in its original form dealt with a situation arising out of what has been termed the Œdipus complex. But no psychoanalytical theory was implied; the situation was simply allowed to unfold itself. The original novel, to which Lawrence proposed to give the title 'Paul Morel', was returned by Duckworth, with strong criticisms by Edward Garnett. Lawrence meanwhile went to Germany, and met the lady who presently became his wife. She read the manuscript. She introduced him to the new theories, which they proceeded to study seriously together. Herr Hoops gives no credit to Middleton Murry's assertion that Lawrence arrived independently at the main conclusions of the psychoanalysts and that Freud's disciples came to visit him in England. The revised *Sons and Lovers* appeared in 1913, and was variously saluted by the reviewers; but its real significance escaped them, and it was not till the next year that they identified *The Three Sisters* as psychoanalytical fiction. Lawrence published two treatises, *Psycho-analysis and the Unconscious* (1921) and *Fantasia of the Unconscious* (1922), after which there could be no mistake about the inner meaning of his novels. But his doctrine never coincided exactly with orthodox Freudism, and became more and more peculiar to himself. Herr Hoops finds his *Lebensanschauungen* most artistically and completely exhibited in *The Plumed Serpent* (1926).

Traces of the German influence are discoverable in the novels of Hugh

Walpole, Somerset Maugham, and Algernon Blackwood. A more authentic exponent is J. D. Beresford, but only in two of his numerous stories, *God's Counterpoint* and *An Imperfect Mother*. As to James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, Katherine Mansfield, and Dorothy Richardson, they are not true psychoanalysts: the resemblances are superficial. As Herr Hoops puts it with regard to Mrs Woolf's *Night and Day*, one might even interpret *Hamlet* by the help of Freudian lore. Rose Macaulay brings in psychoanalysis, but usually only to make game of its devotees. Rebecca West is 'an example of those writers who display a knowledge of the doctrine without making much use of it'. Just as superficial and as ephemeral, for after the *psychoanalytische Hochflut* of 1917-25 they tended to disappear, are the traces to be found in the work of G. B. Stern and Aldous Huxley, whose psychological vision does not seem to Herr Hoops thoroughgoing and piercing enough to enable them to benefit by Freud's theories.

There is only space left to note the third part of Professor Fehr's survey of contemporary English literature, which is suggestive, and warranted to stir wholesome disagreement. It is a pity the proofs were so negligently read that even the table of contents displays misprints.

ERNEST A. BAKER.

LONDON.

*Virgil the Necromancer. Studies in Virgilian legends.* By JOHN WEBSTER SPARGO. (*Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature*, 10.) Harvard and Oxford University Presses. 1934. xii+502 pp. 21s.

Comparetti's famous book on Vergil in the Middle Ages contained one remarkable *volte-face*. Having established in the first part that Vergil's reputation was exclusively the creation of the schools, for whom he was the sole arbiter of grammar and style, he proposed in the second to make a single exception in favour of the Neapolitan populace. Stories presenting Vergil as a necromancer were the creation of the 'people' of Naples. The Romans had other heroes to boast of; Naples had but one, and therefore the popular memory set to work to make the most of Vergil. Professor Spargo regrets that Comparetti 'did not produce these local records dealing with Vergil's tomb at Naples'. The demand for 'records' depends on a mistranslation by Benecke; what Comparetti offered were *ricordi*, 'memories, reminiscences'. Still, the demand is just. There is absolutely no evidence that the 'people' of Naples remembered Vergil in any way until the legends themselves break in on us in the twelfth century. The present book does not attempt to do again what Comparetti did definitively in his first part; but it investigates in a masterly fashion the mediæval legends concerning the necromancer, and is a perfect inventory. The accumulation of legends between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, their iconography, the Vergilian sites, and the redactions of the *Virgilius* romance, are treated with complete objectivity in chapters that leave no more to be said, while the annotation is superb. A middle group of chapters deals with the single legends: 'the talismanic art' (*musca*,

*macellum, ovum incantatum*), 'Saint Virgilius?', 'the pneumatical sage', 'Virgil in the basket' and 'the mage's revenge', '*la bocca della verità*', 'Caesar's sepulchre'. These chapters continue the inventory and add a more elaborate analysis, but they involve an attempt at explanation and so are open to question. Perhaps their special feature is to explain rather too much. Wherever houses are high, baskets are used to haul provisions and other things to an upper storey. Professor Spargo's erudition enables him to heap up a number of tales which increasingly approximate to the mediæval tale of the necromancer's wooing; but it is not likely that many of these were the actual sources of the occidental tale, and it is rather straining the evidence to insist that the lady's tower was a harem, and that the poet's exposure in the basket implied necessarily a reminiscence of the Germanic basket punishment for bakers who sold bad bread. On the other hand, the plethora of parallels seems to obscure the almost certain dependence of the Vergil legends on those of Apollonius of Tyana.

The order taken by Professor Spargo to develop his thought is that of an investigator. There would be an advantage in adopting a more didactic order, as Comparetti did. Two things stand out inviting confidence. Firstly, there is Roger II of Sicily, who sent to Naples to look for Vergil's bones. What moved him was, no doubt, the statement in the life ascribed to Donatus that the grave was at the second mile-post on the road to Pozzuoli, that is, a scholastic reference. This Norman predecessor of the later Hohenstaufens, ruling in Byzantinised southern Italy amid an Arabic court, was admirably placed to collect, once Vergil's name and fame were mentioned, those Byzantine and oriental types of legend which accumulated round the necromancer, and at the same time to disseminate the information in the precise fashion that we see in the earliest authorities, English, French and German exclusively for the first century and a half. The same thing happened to Aristotle's relics at Palermo (which probably suggested the search for Vergil's), to Arthur discovered in Mount Etna, and to Arthur again at Glastonbury: an enquiry instituted concerning certain relics not only produced the relics themselves but a sudden crop of legends which were rapidly diffused over Europe along Norman channels. The other fact is the existence of monuments inviting a name. They were abundant not merely in Naples, as Comparetti argued in his special pleading, but at Rome. At Rome the *Mirabilia Urbis Romæ* already in the twelfth century described not merely monuments, but attached to them their legends, still unadorned with Vergil's name. The history of the mediæval legends, once interest in Vergil's bones had been aroused by Roger II's action, consists in the gradual spread of his name partly over monuments that possessed their legends already (*salvatio Romæ, la bocca della verità*), partly over monuments to which Byzantine or Arabic legends were now attached for the first time (*musca, macellum*, etc.). The place for considering topography is thus, in my opinion, earlier in the investigation than Professor Spargo has put it. Vergil also attracted reminiscences which had no monumental attachment, such as those which describe his skill in making automata. Professor Spargo makes clever use of Hero's *Pneumatics* to account for the mechanism of those

ascribed to the necromancer, and in so doing names, no doubt, the source at some removes. The immediate sources of the automata must have been sight, or hearsay descriptions, of particular toys, such as those in the palace at Constantinople, which are described by all travellers. It is doubtful whether the story-tellers troubled about the feasibility of the models, though, when their memories did not play them false, they may have described automata that could be constructed. It is again a case in which Professor Spargo's documentation seems richer than the case absolutely requires. But apart from a slight shift of stresses made by each reader in a matter incapable of a yes-or-no solution, it is not likely that anything can be added to this very distinguished piece of work, fully equal in breadth and depth to Comparetti's masterpiece.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

*Wortgut und Dichtung. Eine lexikographisch-literärgeschichtliche Studie über den Verfasser der altfranzösischen Cantefable Aucassin et Nicolette.* VON HERMANN SAUTER. (*Arbeiten zur Romanischen Philologie* herausgegeben von Eugen Lerch, Nr. 14.) Münster: Selbstverlag des Romanischen Seminars. 1934. xxii + 208 pp. 7 M.

The author is a pupil of Professors Vossler and Lerch; we are therefore not surprised to discover that in this doctorate thesis things like 'künstlerisches Wollen' and 'geistige Potenz' loom very large. Most of us expect to find plums in a plum-pie; we take them for granted, and are apt to gobble them. Not so your Idealistischer Philolog. He has each plum out, discusses its peculiar flavour, and tells you exactly why it was put where he found it, and why no other plum would have done quite so well. Sometimes he is right, and shows us that there goes more to the making of a plum-pie than we thought. Often, alas! he is merely loquacious, and withal as elated and self-satisfied as Jack Horner.

Mr Sauter, despite many repetitions, is neither tedious nor complacent. His characteristics are rather Schwärmerei and Begeisterung, and his eloquent enthusiasm almost carries us with him when he claims to have established that his author is 'the first of the French Romantics', the first to have ventured to make use of the 'mot propre'; that his poetry has its springs deep down in the heart of the people; that in *Aucassin*, where the 'speech of the people rings out so mightily, and blends so harmoniously with the stylistic forms of the artist', we have poetry that is genuine and eternal, as against the ephemeral achievements of the other writers of his age, mere amusers of the idle, triflers of a day!

These pronouncements are the result of a careful scrutiny of the peculiarities of vocabulary of *Aucassin et Nicolette*, examined under various heads: Loan-words, Speech-chronology, Stylistic, Dialect and Technical, Hapax Legomena. To the conclusions drawn from this analysis is appended a tentative but highly probable association of the author with the County of Ponthieu. Then comes the main body of the book: some hundred pages of lexicographical matter, followed by a long

and useful list, in chronological order of texts examined, with, lastly, an index of the words studied.

Under the heading 'Loan-words' Mr Sauter includes learned words from Latin and *garris* from Provençal. I have no observations to make upon the learned words. They show, as Mr Sauter points out, that the author was familiar with the current 'educated' vocabulary of his time. As for *garris*, it would be odd that a writer who showed such Shakespearean unconcern for topographical accuracy as to set Beaucaire by the sea, its castle in the centre of the town, and a great forest with lions, wolves and 'serpentine' within easy reach of it, should have displayed such a zeal for local colour as to introduce this 'Provençal' term. It is, of course, the fact that the word is spelt with a *g*, and not with a *j* as in *jarrre*, quoted by M. Roques, that has led critics to count it as Provençal. But I would point out that the scribe writes *dongon* for *donjon* (and *argoit* from *ardoir*), so that the *g* of *garris* may well have a *j* value. Moreover, a Picard scribe, who writes *gardin* for *jardin*, might well Picardise \**jarris* into *garris*. Thus, to say the least, the Provençal origin of *garris* is too uncertain to allow safe conclusions to be drawn.

Under the heading 'Zeitsprachliches', Mr Sauter considers the use of words like *carbouclée* 'charcoal', *campegneul* 'mushroom', and *cropir* 'squat', which he has only found in texts of the thirteenth century, together with the numerous diminutives (see below), as convincing proof that the text is not of the twelfth century, as Bourdillon would have it in view of the large percentage of assonanced lines. I cannot follow this argument. If it were known that these words were coined in the thirteenth century, well and good. But the fact that words of this popular type do not occur in the kind of literature characteristic of the twelfth century is no argument for a text which is admittedly of a completely different order.

Under 'Stilistisches', we are convincingly shown that the author is familiar with the stock phraseology of the *Chansons de geste* and of the courtly literature of his period, to which he adds a spice of the *fabliaux* and of the *Roman de Renard*: he was clearly, as M. Roques had already said, an 'écrivain de métier'.

The section on the diminutives is perhaps the most interesting in the book; but it needs correction. First of all, a word upon Mr Sauter's 'idealistiche' conception of the diminutive. 'Das Diminutivum bezeichnet nämlich keine Verkleinerung, sondern immer, ob nun im Vlt. oder im 13. Jh., etwas dem schlichten Menschen besonders Liebes, Trautes, von ihm als besonders herrlich oder wunderbar Empfundenes.' And so, to take a few examples, *maquele* 'shepherd's crook' is not a mere diminutive of *maque* but 'der liebe, feste Schäferstab', *les galopiaux*, not 'le petit galop', i.e., 'canter', as in modern French, but 'der schneidige Galopp', and, worst of all, the *mameletes*, which occur in the delightful description of Nicolette wending her way through the dewy daisy-strewn grass, and which the author compares to two walnuts, are merely, to Mr Sauter, 'die schöne feste Brust', and the *mescinete*, who was so lissom and slender that 'in your two hands you might encircle her' is but 'das liebe Mädchen!'

Mr Sauter does, however, make his point that the diminutive is characteristic of the *pastourelle* and kindred genres, and it is true that by far the greater number of them are accumulated in the *laisse* where the shepherds appear (xxi in M. Roque's edition). But instead of seeing in this merely a playful and appropriate use of a conventional mode, Mr Sauter will have it that, on the one hand, the *levretes vremelletes* and the *mameletes* are evidence of bourgeois realism, and that, on the other, the accumulated diminutives show us the author caricaturing and holding up to the derision of his bourgeois compeers the empty and tasteless traditions of the *pastourelle*, which is 'zu Tode gehetzt' and 'mit wortgewandtem Witz persifliert'! Mr Sauter exaggerates greatly the popular and realistic bias of his author. His shepherds are very definitely of a conventional type, while his ploughman is made, physically, as ugly and repulsive as he can paint him. One almost thinks of La Bruyère's portrait of the peasant, contrasted with the shepherds of the *Astrée*.

Similar exaggerations and errors of judgment are to be found in the sections headed 'Dialektisches und Terminologisches', 'Der Mot propre' and 'Unika'. Dialect words there certainly are: *cateron*, *waumoné*, possibly *campegneul*, *nimpole* and *gauge*, and perhaps a few others; but to consider *puie*, *tille*, *abatre*, *dessaisir*, *esvertin*, *envers*, *gaïne*, and even *vace*, *brebis*, *carue*, *cerise*, *raisin* and *narine* as technical terms and evidence of the author's passion for the 'mot propre' and of his intimate contact with the realities of life, is not only to commit a critical anachronism, and bring into the field of twelfth- and thirteenth-century literature conceptions which have their rightful place in the period of the *Pléiade* or of the Romantic writers, but to commit as well a serious error of reasoning. It may be true that many of these words are uncommon in the texts that have come down to us, but what do we know of those which have not survived? Like the *Grand Siècle*, the twelfth century had certainly its libertines and its writers of burlesque. There were certainly plenty of *fabliaux* before the thirteenth. The oldest of the extant troubadours mingles courtliness and crudeness, the conventional and the 'mot propre', not to say the 'mot sale'. The *Charroi de Nîmes* is as amusing and as technical, in the episode of the peasant and the barrels, as is the author of *Aucassin*. To Mr Sauter, the latter is the creator of the 'cantefable', not only of the name, but of the genre, which deliberately cuts across and intermingles the existing kinds, epic, romance, *pastourelle* and *fabliau*, and by this very confusion, 'the *sine qua non* of real poetry' (poor Racine!) shows his greatness. To this we simply reply: 'How does he know?' Until comparatively recently *Boèce* was the only known Provençal poetry of the pre-Troubadour period. Then the *Sainte-Foi* was discovered and through it the existence of a much earlier French poetry (see M. Hoepffner's introduction) that has been entirely lost.

It were therefore unwise, not merely on purely logical grounds, to subscribe to Mr Sauter's tacit deduction: *Aucassin* is the only *cantefable* extant, therefore there was no other, therefore the author was the creator of an entirely new genre, an artist unappreciated by his hidebound generation, whose full greatness only now shines forth in the searching

ray of modern 'idealistische' interpretation. Bourdillon, who knew his *Aucassin*, if any one did, regretted that almost all editors, and many translators of *Aucassin*, had 'approached the light whimsical effusion in too serious a spirit... without catching its air of inconsequent gaiety'. What would he have thought of this magnifying of his author? Yet Mr Sauter's book has merit. Its lexicological store and rich bibliography will be there to draw upon for those commenting *Aucassin* in the lecture-room. His enthusiasm for his author is pleasing and infectious. With more restraint and a ripened critical sense, poor substitutes for enthusiasm, but necessary adjuncts, he is bound to do valuable work. I think he will be heard of again.

I should like to add certain observations of a more detailed character concerning three points of the text or vocabulary of *Aucassin* which have been much discussed in the past, and for one of which Mr Sauter brings a new suggestion.

(1) *xxi, 8: Et le mescine au cors corset.*

Thus the manuscript. The line is a syllable too long, and most editors, including Bourdillon and M. Roques, adopt the reading: *Et le mescine au corset*, i.e. 'corsage'. Some (e.g., Bartsch and Gaston Paris) read: *au cors net*, and M. Brandin: *Le mescine au cort corset*, i.e., either 'of the short little body', which runs counter to the mediæval conception of beauty, or of the short 'corsage', which is counter to what is known of the shape of the *bliaut*, if, indeed, *corset* and *bliaut* are synonymous. Mr Sauter would omit the *Et* like M. Brandin, and read *Le mescine au cors corset*, seeing in *corset* an adjective meaning 'plump' (Engl.). This he backs up by reference to a Picard *corsé* 'corpulent', registered by Corblet, and by the assertion that Nicolette refers to herself in *xxxiii, 5* as *grasse et mole*. He maintains that an adjective seems called for on the analogy of the following two lines, which end in *poil blondet* and *cœur vairer*, and that the jingle *cors corset* is paralleled by *campegneus campes* in *xxxi, 8*. The suggestion is at first attractive. But on reflecting that the maid is so 'graille parmi les flans qu'en vos deus mains le peusses enclorre', one is a little dubious. Nicolette does not really describe herself as *grasse et mole* in *xxxiii, 5*. She says 'quant mes dox amis m'acole et il me sent grasse et mole', i.e., 'soft and succulent', not 'fat and flabby'. My own feeling is that the underlying original is merely a variant of the banal *au gent cors*, which occurs in five other places (*iii, 15; xxiii, 13; xv, 6; xxiii, 2 and 9*), all in descriptions of Nicolette. I would therefore read either *La mescine au gent corset* or *au cors gentet*. It would seem just as possible to make a diminutive of *gent* as of *joli*, and quite in keeping with the author's style, though the novelty of this diminutive might well have disturbed the scribe.

(2) *v, 4: En une cambre vautie*

*Ki faite est par grant devise  
Panturée a miramie.*

The meaning of a *miramie* is clearly 'beautifully' or 'wonderfully', or something of the kind. I am of the view that there is no need to see in this some outlandish word of possibly Arabic origin as some editors have suggested. It seems to be quite in keeping with the genius of the language and the nature of our text to regard this as a popular expression and merely *à mir* 'amie', where *mire* means 'look!'. The compound of imperative plus vocative, 'look my love!', is popular and not infrequent: Nyrop, *iii*, p. 275, quotes, *broute-bquette*, *gobe-mouton*, *pique-poule* (cp. *vogue la galère*); and sense and syntax are scarcely stranger than in such expressions as *fait à la va-vite*, *à la va-te-faire-fiche*, or in the following examples of well-known phrases culled from Kastner and Marks' *Glossary of colloquial French*:

*Le bâtard s'élevait au hazard, va comme je te pousse.* Coppée.

*Le capitaine partit en sacrant à bouche que veux-tu.* Maupassant.

*Vestu à mire-amie!* would be an excellent description of a youth in his Sunday-best and 'out to kill'. The expression may well have originated in this sort of connection before being generalised to mean 'handsomely'.

(3) XIV, 20: *En son le cateron de sa mamele.*

The word *cat(e)ron* 'nipple' is registered by certain glossaries of the Picard dialect with the meaning 'cow's teat'. There is thus no doubt as to its authenticity. In the January number of this *Review*, p. 109, I discussed a number of French and Italian words which showed and explained the association of the ideas of 'nipple' and 'doll' through the intermediary of the child's 'comforter'. One of the basic words for 'nipple' throughout the Romance domain is *puppa*, and this and its derivatives *poupée*, *poupette*, etc., are to be found in plenty in the *ALF* map, 'Poupée'. Now a very widespread equivalent for 'poupée' is *catin*, with variants *catine* and *catot* (cp. *Marot*, *Margot*), all pet forms for *Catherine*. *Cateron*, to my mind, is also a form of *Catherine*, analogous to *Madelon*, *Marion*, *Margoton*, *Jeanneton*, etc. If this is so, the use of the word to mean 'nipple' arose in a dialect where *puppa* meant 'doll' (as at present in Walloon) and still retained its early meaning of 'teat', at a time when a derivative from *Catherine* was coming in for 'doll'. We note that *catin* 'doll' is still quite frequent in the Picard (or *Aucassin*) region.

The question arises: why should a derivative from *Catherine* be used for 'doll'? Two answers are possible. One, that images of St Catherine were at one time numerous enough to prompt a development analogous to *Marie* > *marotte*, *marionette*; another, that may appear fanciful, but which is far from improbable, seeing we are in a domain where the erotic and the hypocoristic meet, again brings in the 'comforter-doll' as the intermediary; I mean that *catin* first meant 'teat' before meaning 'doll'. This could come about by the riming association of *catin* with *télin* or of *catine* (cp. Gilliéron, *Abeille*, p. 314 and *ALF*, 1074, points 458, 459, 619, etc.) with *tétine*, the latter through the intermediary of *Titine* which is a frequent pet-form of names ending in *-ine*, like *Valentine*, *Augustine* etc. (cf. Haust, *Dict. Liégeois*, s.v. *Titine*). There is, at all events, a curious parallelism in the series: *catin*, *catine*, *catot* (*Cathau*), *Cathon*, and *télin*, *tétine*, *tétot* (v. Godefroy), *télon*. It is not without significance that some of the latter words are found as terms of endearment (cp. for example, Godefroy, s.v. *Tétot*). The two series have thus in common a hypocoristic value, and are inevitably brought more closely together, in this very special domain of speech, in form as well, by the common substitution of *t* for *k* in nursery, and consequently, hypocoristic utterance. *Cateron*, with its companion *téleron*, would but add another link to this very interesting chain.

JOHN ORR.

EDINBURGH.

*La Passion d'Autun*. Publiée par GRACE FRANK. (*Société des Anciens Textes Français*.) Paris. 1934. 234 pp.

In 1904 M. Roy (*Revue Bourguignonne*) brought to the notice of scholars two fifteenth-century texts (Bib. Nat. MS. n. a. fr. 4085 and MS. n. a. fr. 4356). Mrs Frank has printed them for the first time in their entirety. They complete a group of French Passion Plays, already published, based on the thirteenth-century narrative *Passion des Jongleurs*. The literary merit of the two texts is slight, but students of mediæval drama will find in them much of interest and will feel greatly indebted to Mrs Frank's scholarly labours. The plan of the edition is that usually followed in publications of the Société. The introduction (pp. 1-63) deals with the literary history of the texts, with the manuscripts and with linguistic characteristics; the texts and critical notes follow (pp. 65-221); and the book is completed by an index of proper names and a glossary. This

arrangement restricts the space for discussion of literary problems, which in the case of these texts does not lend itself readily to summary treatment; but Mrs Frank examines all essential matters and gives bibliographical references to enable readers to follow up controversial points.

The intimate connection between the two texts (which Mrs Frank designates the *Passion de Biard* (B) and the *Passion de Roman* (R)) justifies the retention of the general title used by M. Roy, the *Passion d'Autun*. A third text, a fragment from a Sion manuscript, published by M. Bédier in *Romania* (1895), xxiv, is reprinted in the critical notes. These three texts cannot be considered apart, and they also should not be disassociated from the larger group which they compose with the *Passion du Palatinus* and the *Passion de Semur*. As regards the two groupings Mrs Frank reaches the following conclusions: (1) B and R had a common source which has not come down to us; (2) although traces of an earlier 'jeu' based on the *Passion des Jongleurs* can be detected in each member of the larger group, this earlier 'jeu' has undergone revision in every instance, except perhaps in the Sion fragment, and therefore nothing is to be gained by attempts to represent inter-relationship in the group diagrammatically. Mrs Frank after summing up what is to be said, positively, in each case (p. 22) observes 'Nous croyons qu'aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles, comme c'était assurément le cas au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, il ne se trouvait pas dans toutes les petites villes de la France des auteurs capables de composer des mystères. On se contentait alors d'un texte déjà connu que l'on adaptait à une représentation particulière.' Her verdict on the common source of B and R (which she dates towards the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century) is as follows. 'Il est difficile de préciser le lieu d'origine de textes plusieurs fois remaniés, dont quelques étapes nous sont connues, mais dont d'autres nous échappent. Toutefois nous croyons pouvoir dire que le dernier rédacteur de B a été un bourguignon comme son copiste et que R, quoique copié dans le Midi, nous laisse encore entrevoir son origine bourguignonne. Nous adoptons d'autant plus volontiers cette opinion, fondée sur les particularités linguistiques de nos poèmes, qu'au moins trois textes apparentés aux nôtres semblent se rattacher à cette partie de la France.'

A number of narrative passages, distinguishable in the text by the contrasting use of the past tense, are worked into the dialogue of the *Passion de Biard*. This peculiarity has given rise to divergent opinions as to the nature of the composition. Mrs Frank shows that these narrative passages are not relics of the *Passion des Jongleurs* but additions clumsily introduced into the play by a reviser. She does not entirely reject the hypothesis that the modified version may have been intended for a dramatic monologue, but she prefers to regard it as an adaptation for reading as a narrative, and mentions points of detail in support of this view. In a criticism of the theories of M. Schumacher ('Les Éléments narratifs de *La Passion d'Autun*', *Romania*, 1908, xxxvii), Mrs Frank, while sharing his general conclusion, seems almost to miss the main intention of his article which was not so much to explain the cause of the

'caprice du remanieur' as to demonstrate how the habits of transcribers might have prepared the way for such interpolation. Although she is justified in saying 'B dans sa forme actuelle n'est pas un mystère', M. Schumacher's contention is also true, that 'tous les éléments narratifs... se rencontrent aussi dans des indications scéniques des autres mystères'. There still appears to be room for some enquiry concerning the possible influence of stage directions on the drafting of these narrative passages.

This short notice does not permit any appreciation of Mrs Frank's examination of linguistic characteristics. It must suffice to say that her scholarship and the nature of the publication are guarantees of satisfactory treatment.

E. A. FRANCIS.

OXFORD.

*Héloïse dans l'Histoire et dans la Légende.* Par CHARLOTTE CHARRIER. (Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature Comparée, cii.) Paris: Champion. 1933. 75 fr.

Until recently, it was still possible for readers whom Faguet would have called *de très honnêtes gens*, to retain belief in the genuineness of Abelard and Heloisa's famous correspondence, despite the fact that as early as the mid-nineteenth century, Orelli and Lalanne had their doubts. Even when S. M. Deutsch in 1883 and Dr B. Schmeidler in 1913 brought forward convincing arguments to show that her letters must have been tampered with by him, the exposure received little publicity. Dr Charrier, going over the whole ground, recounts the many points which arouse suspicion: unaccountable omissions such as the silence preserved by Heloisa on the subject of her son, and on Abelard's scandalous unfaithfulness to her at one stage. Abrupt changes of tone, from passionate directness to placid erudition: interpolations to a certainty. A presentation of facts which includes uncalled-for synopses of past events, falls into self-contradiction, is at variance, again and again, with the unquestionably authentic *Historia Calamitatum*. Then the Latin displays all Abelard's favourite mannerisms (that the disciple imitated her master's diction, is an explanation considered only to be rejected); and the epistles retrace the story in such a way as to enhance Abelard's one-time prestige as a lover, as well as his great fame as a scholar, very much at the expense of the woman. Dr Charrier holds that appearances of reckless sensuality, shamelessness under seeming austerity, maternal indifference and chilling pedantry, have been most unjustly fastened upon her. What happened was that the letters were faked by Abelard, unable to resist the desire to make known the love he had evoked, also, perhaps, laying the flattering unction to his soul, that he had saved Heloisa from him and from herself. He must have used genuine letters with which every kind of liberty was taken.

The rest of Part I (chaps. II-XI) deals with a task described by the author as 'la tâche la plus neuve, mais la plus délicate, la plus ardue et aussi peut-être la plus hasardeuse de ce travail': a tentative reconstruc-

tion of the true story, based largely on a sifting of the authentic from the spurious passages. All other documents bearing on the case have been carefully analysed (they are enumerated and discussed on pp. 4-9, also in footnotes to chap. I and pp. 371-8). But they are scanty, and conjecture must fill up many blanks. The real love-letters have most likely been destroyed, we do not even know whether they were in Latin or in the vernacular. Abelard's love-lyrics have not come down to us. The *Historia Calamitatum*, written twelve years after the lovers had parted, exhibits the same craving for self-glorification as the forgery, for all the self-accusation it contains.<sup>1</sup>

The piecing together of such certainties and probabilities as remain needed much skill and ingenuity. Occasionally, in the absence of any reliable information, the author is tempted to draw upon her store of mediæval knowledge, but never so as to admit of any confusion between imaginative reconstruction and definite assertion. Only after declaring that we cannot know whether Heloisa was 'black, brown or fair', that we can hazard no guesses as to her form or features, and that the first disinterment of her remains in 1780 (there were eight altogether!) yielded but insignificant clues; only then does she, to provide some sort of picture, fall back on a description of costume derived from the statues in Chartres cathedral. A picturesque sketch of Fulbert's house is preceded by a warning that the house pulled down in 1849 may or may not have stood on the site of his. These are concessions made to 'une âme romantique, moins soucieuse de vérité historique que d'émotions'. Whereas there are very good grounds for believing that the austerity, goodness and wisdom of the Abbess of Paraclete were real, and meant no shameful concealments. If we cannot always agree with Dr Charrier in all her conclusions, if some of us may be less shocked than she is by Abelard's ungentlemanly behaviour or less certain of Heloisa's maternal solicitude, it is only because the emotional storms and readjustments of such exceptional natures do perhaps defy common standards.

Part II is a survey of the Abelard and Heloisa legend, in its innumerable forms, up to the present day. A fact, incidentally, which at once stands out, is that no vindication of Heloisa could apparently increase the ardent sympathy and reverence lavished upon her from the first. From Jean de Meun to Arsène Houssaye, all have ranked her personality as far higher than her lover's; if he sought fame at her expense, no attempt could have defeated itself more completely. The Middle Ages had singularly few comments to offer (Jean de Meun, Molinet, Villon). The first edition of *The Works of Abélard and Héloïse* appears in 1616, in 1675 begins a long series of fictitious versions. Pseudo-translations, free adaptations, *nouvelles*, grotesquely reflect the main features of the best-sellers of the day. Eighteenth-century fashions are mirrored in Pope's poem, Colardeau's *Héroïde*, the twenty-six imitations of these produced in French,

<sup>1</sup> Since this review was written, M. Baldensperger, in the *Revue de Littérature Comparée* (avril-juin 1935) has put forward a theory that the *Historia Calamitatum* too is a forgery, and expressed scepticism concerning the existence, at any time, of love-lyrics produced by Abelard.

English, Italian, Portuguese and German; and a number of novels, plays, parodies and other variations on the modernised theme. Romanticism was no less enthusiastic, contributions flowed in from essayists, poets, novelists, painters, engravers, etc.; either flippant or historically serious treatment prevailed after 1870. Dr Charrier's acquaintance with the literature and iconography of the subject is exhaustive. Bibliographies extending to fifty-seven pages (covering iconography) and an index of names complete a book of reference which no writer on the subject can henceforward ignore.

One regrets, however, that with so much fresh, comparatively new and little-known matter, it should have been thought necessary to include page after page of well-worn generalisation on the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Compression here would have been a gain. Those sweeping statements are, at their best, irksome, and at their worst, misleading. Alluis and Bussy and Rémond des Cours undoubtedly made Heloisa 'précieuse' and 'galante' (where should we be without those invaluable words?), but what irritates the student of the period is the suggestion conveyed that nothing else could be expected. These were second- and third-rate men, Bussy could only sneer at *La Princesse de Clèves*. It is surprising to hear that 'au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, la société polie eût dédaigné de s'intéresser à un pédant'. Why did Molière write *Les Femmes Savantes*? Is any useful purpose served by the lumping together (p. 444) of Dante, Shakespeare, Richardson, Young, Hervey, Ossian and Goethe, as 'les étrangers' who brought pre-romantic France 'leurs outrances romanesques, leurs brouillards, leurs cimetières, leur mal du siècle'?

In a work of this nature and length, it was hardly to be hoped that some misprints should not appear. The following have been omitted from the errata sheet: p. 451, the rather unfortunate 'And saints with wonder heard the vows I made'; p. 454, '... what host thou to dread... Nature stands chek'd... Prompt (for Propped) on some tomb...'; p. 456, 'celle vieille histoire'.

H. BIBAS.

CAMBRIDGE.

*Histoire de la Poésie Française de la Renaissance au Romantisme*, VII: Voltaire; VIII: *Les Poètes secondaires du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (1700-1750)*. Par ÉMILE FAGUET. Paris: Boivin. 1934. 15 fr. each.

The late Émile Faguet planned a great history of French poetry from the Renaissance to Romanticism. In the first six volumes he traced the main and even the subsidiary figures of French poetry from d'Aubigné to J.-B. Rousseau. The seventh volume is devoted entirely to Voltaire, whose poetic work extends over three quarters of the eighteenth century and who is, when all is said and done, the most typical, the most representative, and in some ways the most interesting and important poet of his time. It is fitting that Faguet should isolate Voltaire in this distinguished way, and doubly fitting too, for the purposes of this study, that Faguet's mind has something of the incisive clearness, vivacity and

intelligence of Voltaire's own. Even Voltaire, sensitive to criticism as he was, would turn with a sigh of relief from the memory of La Baumelle's *Commentaire* ('revu et corrigé par M. Freron!') to find that something like real justice had been done by Faguet to *La Henriade*. For here, anyhow, is fair criticism, based on a sound literary judgment and intelligent understanding. (Not that Voltaire's poetry is obscure in any way; he could be understood by a child. Of all French poets, he would have been the last to ignore Boileau's dictum concerning clear enunciation, and the first to deprecate and vilify the Symbolists.) And Faguet, least obscure and metaphysical of critics himself, moves with easy confidence through the considerable mass of Voltaire's verse, effectively separating the wheat from the chaff.

Faguet begins by showing the three influences which shaped Voltaire's talent: the French classical tradition of the seventeenth century; Lamotte, J.-B. Rousseau and Fontenelle; and England, the most important of the three, because he visited it at just the right time. He then gives a very complete survey of what could be called Voltaire's poetics. This section is, if anything, too full. Interesting as Voltaire's opinions on Montaigne and Rabelais are, they throw little light on Voltaire the poet. The same remark applies to Voltaire's criticisms of Shakespeare, which bear directly on his conceptions of drama and very slightly and indirectly on his attitude to poetry. Chapter VII, 'Voltaire poète', at last comes to grips with the subject. Here it is impossible to resist the general conclusion: despite gifts of eloquence, a notable facility for versifying, a command of the *mot juste*, Voltaire is not what this age calls a poet; he lacks imagination; reason plays too large a part; he is a poet of the head rather than of the heart; his wit and critical sense are too predominant and stifle that indispensable element of all great poetry, the lyrical note. Faguet notes only one instance of true lyricism in Voltaire—his famous invocation to liberty on the shores of the Lake of Geneva. At the same time, he hardly does justice, I think, to the elegiac poet. Voltaire was capable, more so than critics admit, of real emotion, which found its expression in true poetic language, as, e.g., in the ode to Mlle Lecouvreur, or the epistle *Aux Mânes de M. de Gémonville*. On the other hand, *le poète léger, le poète de circonstance* receives just praise. Faguet finds him 'délicieux' and supreme in his class. More might have been made of this section, in which Voltaire not only shows considerable poetic grace and finesse, but the lighter, happier, more brilliant and more attractive side of his own character, as well as that of his age.

*La Henriade* is fully and faithfully dealt with. Voltaire gets credit for his 'lapidary' concision of judgment, for certain descriptions, as, e.g., the duel between old d'Ailli and his son (one of the most brilliant and pathetic passages of the epic), but the weaknesses are fully stressed: ineffective allegory; his ignorance of the art 'de remuer les grandes masses'. As for the colourless picture of Henri IV, I think Faguet is unjust. The virile, martial, human qualities of the King are there, even if he is slightly etherealised to fit into what Voltaire considered to be the necessary dignity of the epic style.

A full and admirable account of Voltaire as a philosophic poet completes the book.

To sum up, this is a competent and complete study. It also has the merit of being attractively written, like all works of Faguet. One final (and minor) criticism only: it errs a little on the side of the general and the abstract. One would not gather from this book that Voltaire's poetry is so rich in revelation of the *man*.

The eighth volume is devoted to the minor poets between 1700 and 1750—beginning with Louis Racine and ending with Rulhière. Why the latter, by the way? He was born in 1735, and what poetic life he had was all after 1750. And if Rulhière, why not Parny—a typical eighteenth century poet? It is an interesting volume, none the less, although it is a raking up of a dead past, of forgotten names and bubble reputations. Dorat, Grécourt, Colardeau, Desforges-Maillard, who reads them now? Louis Racine, too, eclipsed by the brilliance of his father's name, yet no mean poet, as Faguet shows—with flashes of true poetic inspiration. The interest and value of the volume lies in this—that it fills in gaps between the greater names and so gives us a better understanding of the typical eighteenth century literary mind. A good sprinkling of anecdote and biographical details, notably in the essay on Piron, makes this volume light and pleasant to read.

F. A. TAYLOR.

OXFORD.

*Die Namen der Fledermaus auf dem französischen und italienischen Sprachgebiet.* Mit 19 sprachgeographischen Karten. Von EMIL EGGENSCHWEILER. (*Leipziger Romanistische Studien*, 1, 4.) Engeldorf, Leipzig: C. und E. Vogel. 1934. 299 pp. 12 M.

L'auteur a pris pour base de son travail *l'Atlas de linguistique de la France* de Gilliéron et Edmont, le *Sprach- und Sachatlas* de Jaberg et Jud et la deuxième partie des *Antroponimie nel campo della zoologia popolare* de A. Garbini. Il a aussi utilisé les ressources que ses différents professeurs avaient mises à sa disposition et de nombreux renseignements obtenus par correspondance avec des experts locaux. Enfin, pour compléter sa documentation, il a lui-même parcouru plus de 200 localités, de Porto Maurizio (en Ligurie) jusqu'au Gothard en passant par Voltri, Voghera, Plaisance, Bergame et Come. Ainsi organisée, cette chasse à la chauve-souris a donné un fort beau résultat: l'inscription de plus d'un millier de pièces au tableau du tenace Nemrod. Si l'on doit féliciter M. E. E. d'un tel succès, on doit surtout lui savoir gré de la méthode avec laquelle il a inventorié, classé, et décarcassé les trésors amassés dans ses carnassières. Et ce n'était pas chose facile! Tout semblait conspirer à lui nuire et à l'empêcher de mettre un peu d'ordre dans les nombreuses variétés de dénominations de son gibier: comparaisons avec les animaux les plus divers depuis la souris jusqu'au ver de terre en passant par l'engoulevent, la libellule, le chat, la chouette *e tutti quanti*; avec certaines parties du corps des oiseaux (*cucozzaru* = queue de pigeon) ou avec telle

particularité d'un insecte (*tarañade* = toile d'araignée); déformations dues à l'étymologie populaire (*babastrello*, de *vespertilio*, influencé par *bab*, *bau*, c.-à-d. horrible, qu'on retrouve dans l'italien dialectal *babao* avec le sens de *diable*); contaminations (*pipistrello* = *trepestille* + *pestello*); complications par reduplication (*roccola-pernoccola*); formations onomatopéiques (fréquentes en Sardaigne, comme *tsutsureddu*, *džindžireddu*); pénétration dans certaines zones de mots provenant de zones étrangères (*rattsu pindutu* à Santa Teresa, immigré de Corse); nombre considérable de formes isolées (*itra*, *appicca-muro*, *rulott* etc. pour l'Italie dans le domaine de *vespertilio*; *ciapacavéi*, *mezzosorcioe-mezzuccello* etc. pour l'Italie dans le domaine de *noctua*, etc.); influences folkloriques (*pioyuladu* en sarde septentrional, c.-à-d. morpion, par suite de la croyance populaire qui attribuait aux excréments de la chauve-souris la formation de croûtes analogues à celles dues au *phthirius pubis*). A travers ce chaos de phénomènes qui se mêlent, s'entrecroisent, se superposent, s'attirent, se contrarient, M. E. E. se meut avec une légèreté, une adresse, une dextérité consommées. Nulles formes qu'il n'explique de façon satisfaisante, même quand elles se présentent sous un aspect aussi photogénique que *tšintureddu*, *tuzzuvigghula*, *yattanikula*, *tirriolumalaβedde* auprès desquelles *bat*, *chauve-souris* et même *Fledermaus* paraissent bien pâles, bien maigres et presque pitoyables. Il n'éprouve pas non plus la moindre peine à sérier ses résultats. Son traitement du français peut, à ce point de vue, servir de modèle. Il y distingue trois principaux groupes. I. *Chauve-souris*; II. *ratapenada*; III. *souris*-, *ratte-volante* avec l'addition de *pisso-ratto*, *crapaud*-, *bo-volant*, *tignâis*. I. Sous la forme *chauve-souris* (Île-de-France, Wallonie, Bourgogne, Jura bernois), sous la forme *chaude-souris*, *sourischaude*, *chausouris* (Ouest, Sud-Ouest, départements de l'Aisne et de la Marne et partie de l'Est), et les formes dérivées: *kosouris*, *ka*-, *kat-kok*-, *kroksouris*, *koko*-, *kodkodsouris*, *koetsori(t)*, *sourigog*, *sourigol*, etc. II. *ratapenada*, principal type du Midi, d'où: *ratapená*, *ratapéna* et *ratapléna*. III. *Sourisvolante*, *rattevolante*, *ratte-vol* + suffixes (dans les Ardennes, l'Alsace-Lorraine d'une part et d'autre part dans le domaine franco-provençal, à l'ouest jusque dans l'Allier), ces deux aires séparées par *chauve-souris*. En Alsace *crapaud*-, *bo-volant* disparaît de plus en plus devant l'invasion de *ratte-volante* et de *chauve-souris*. Enfin *pisarata* est propre au Limousin et *tiñâis* aux Hautes-Pyrénées et au val d'Aran.

L'historique des formes est aussi retracé avec beaucoup de soin. Signalons cependant deux points sur lesquels on aurait aimé avoir l'opinion de l'auteur. D'abord *chauve-souris* est déjà traduit par *talpa* (où l'a final indique un *e* fortement prononcé) dans Gerschom de Metz (cf. *Revue des Études Juives*, 1901, glose 99, p. 93). Cette appellation est-elle admissible autour de l'an mille en Lorraine, alors qu'on ne la retrouve actuellement que dans les Hautes-Pyrénées et en quelques parties de l'Italie? Ensuite Raschi, qui vivait à Troyes au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, seconde moitié, emploie *chalve soriz* (cf. *Revue des Études Juives*, 1907, T. 53, p. 188, T. 54, p. 7, et 1908, p. 29 et aussi Arsène Darmesteter et D. S. Blondheim, *Les gloses françaises dans les commentaires talmudiques de*

*Raschi*, Paris, 1929, glose 183, p. 23). M. E. E. n'aurait-il pas été amené, en ayant égard à la présence de *chauve souris* en champenois vers 1050, à rejeter toute influence germanique sur la composition de ce mot (cf. p. 10)? Ne l'aurait-il pas considéré comme d'origine purement française?

La conclusion qui ressort très nettement de cette monographie c'est la survivance du latin classique *vespertilio*, du latin tardif *noctua* et du grec *νυκτερίδα* dans les parties de langue italienne autres que l'Italie du Nord et la victoire d'une profusion de nouvelles formations, purement romanes celles-là, dans l'Italie du Nord et les autres parties de la *Romania* examinées par M. E. E.

Un tableau sommaire des phénomènes linguistiques, une table des noms d'animaux ayant servi à désigner la chauve-souris et un index alphabétique des dénominations de ce chiroptère terminent l'étude de M. E. E. et en facilitent le maniement de façon très appréciable.

LOUIS BRANDIN.

LONDON.

*El Libro de Alexandre*. Texts of the Paris and Madrid manuscripts prepared with an introduction by RAYMOND S. WILLIS, jr. (*Elliott Monographs*, 32.) Princeton and Oxford University Presses. 1934. xl+461 pp. \$5.

At the time of his death, the late Professor Carroll Marden was engaged on an edition of the vast *Libro de Alexandre*, and had analysed, we are told, more than half of the poem. The editors of the 'Elliott Monographs' have taken the wise, and also generous, course of making the texts available to scholars immediately, while promising the commentary by instalments, as soon as each section is completed. Mr Willis has already issued part of the latter in the 31st Monograph, which compared this work with Gautier de Châtillon's *Alexandreis*. He will proceed to similar confrontations with the *Roman d'Alexandre* and the *Historia de Præliis*, and then attempt the commentary of the Spanish texts. The present edition prints the Paris manuscript on the even pages and the Madrid one on the odd, together with the fragments preserved by Francisco de Bivar, the *Vitorial* and the *Medinaceli* library, where they are apposite. A composite numbering of stanzas, with blanks and cross-references, bring the two main manuscripts into line with each other; and failing a third similar authority, that is as far as an editor can take us with certainty. The introduction minutely describes all these authorities, abstaining from controversy. The editor reads the last stanza of the Madrid manuscript as containing the attribution to 'Juan Lorenzo...natural de Astorga', which was Baist's reading; not '*Segura*'. Though a work of this type is not open to critical discussion, save by one in a position to compare the text with the manuscripts, it is a pleasurable duty to remind readers that it is of capital importance to the hispanist.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

*A Mocidade de Herculano.* Por VITORINO NEMÉSIO. Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand. 2 vols. 1934. xxxii+408 and 310 pp.

These volumes are the first-fruits of a work which will undoubtedly be decisive for the history of the Romantic period in Portugal. They carry the story of Herculano's life from his birth down to the return to Portugal in 1832. This is the formative period of his genius, and the time of his best poetry, before Herculano gave himself over to his massive tasks as novelist and historian. But not only Herculano appears in these pages. Indeed he disappears from entire chapters; and in other cases, thanks to his remarkable reticence, only fugitive glimpses can be obtained. Thus Sr Nemésio commences the eighth chapter of the second volume:

Na falta de dados minuciosos sobre a permanência de Herculano no território francês, deixámos esboçada a história dos depósitos da Bretanha e o ambiente geral de que a França rodeava o emigrado.

That is the method and merit of the book: Sr Nemésio gives us the atmosphere breathed by Herculano, and reconstructs his times as much from the voluble reminiscences of Garrett and other *prófugos* as from the sober recollections of Herculano. It is, however, not quite the line taken by the traditional 'life and times'. Sr Nemésio refuses to share his hero's belief that men's minds are the product of their circumstances. It is rather Herculano's mind—the fact that he was moving somewhere within the corners of a given situation—that makes the times significant. So Sr Nemésio has taken the utmost pains not merely to gather autobiographical detail from his subject and the latter's friends, but to show from *Éurico*, *O Monge de Cister*, *História de Portugal* and *O Panorama*, how certain major experiences (the exile, residence among the English, the Bay of Biscay, France, etc.) took form as elements of Herculano's thought. As each of these matters is developed across the whole breadth of Portuguese Romanticism, the biography includes most detailed studies on such subjects as the German, French, English and Italian influences on Portuguese letters, and (à propos of *Alcipe*, the Marchioness de Alorna) a penetrating analysis of Portuguese pre-Romanticism. The effect, in fact, is encyclopedic, and I trust that when he concludes his task Sr Nemésio will give it the Index it deserves.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

*Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters.* Von GUSTAV EHRLSMANN. Erster Teil: *Die althochdeutsche Literatur*. Zweite Auflage. 1932. xi+474 pp. 16 M. 50. Zweiter Teil: *Die mittelhochdeutsche Literatur*. I. Abschnitt: *Frühmittelhochdeutsche Zeit*. 1922. xviii+358 pp. 12 M. II. Abschnitt: *Blütezeit*. I. Hälfte. 1927. xvii+350 pp. 14 M. 50. Schlussband: 1935. xviii+699 pp. 24 M. München: C. H. Beck.

Professor Ehrismann has now finished his great history of German literature from the beginnings to 1500. The first section, dealing with the Old High German period, was ready for the press more than twenty years ago, and a second edition was published in 1932. The second

section, in two volumes, deals with the early Middle High German period and the 'three masters' of Court epic. The last volume continues the history of German literature during the thirteenth century (pp. 3-442), and then gives the first detailed, comprehensive, and systematic description of the literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, including Middle Low German (pp. 445-690). The plan of this last volume is like that of the earlier volumes, but, owing to the mass of material, the author has, in some cases, given a select bibliography instead of a full one, and combined the bibliography and short notes in other cases. Thus, since complete bibliographies of the *Nibelungenlied* are easily accessible, Ehrismann confines himself to a selection of the more important publications already noted with a full list of more recent publications, and even this occupies more than six pages; whilst works on science and medicine are dealt with in short notes.

The author has had to face the problem of space in every section of his work. By treating certain parts concisely he has obtained space for greater detail in other parts. Thus the growth of the Nibelungen story demanded no lengthy treatment since a full account was given by H. Schneider a few years ago, and it was possible to deal with many of the lyrical poets in groups in order to devote more space to those of more importance.

Throughout this volume, as in the earlier volumes, Ehrismann calls attention to the works dealing with international material, and shows precisely wherein the specifically German treatment of the material lies. He also continues the development of certain types of literature beyond 1500, where such a continuation is required.

It is impossible to do more than to indicate some of the more attractive features of the book. The sections on Konrad von Würzburg (pp. 35-54), on *Meier Helmbrecht* (pp. 101-6), on the *Nibelungenlied* (pp. 123-44), and on Walther von der Vogelweide (pp. 244-54) are outstanding in their excellence. They are perfect essays, treating the material from every angle; and whilst the matter is dealt with in such a manner that these essays are not beyond the general reader, they satisfy all the reasonable demands of the specialist. And this is what makes Ehrismann's whole book so admirable. The youngest student can read sections of the book whilst he is studying his texts, and the more advanced student finds in it a perfect guide and reference book.

Here follows a list of misprints noted. For *Zeitgenosen* (p. 23) read *Zeitgenossen*, for *Otte* (p. 42) read *Otto*, for *die Rüstungen* (p. 51) read *der Rüstungen*, for *Johanns* (p. 92) read *Johannes*, for *autorship* (p. 102) read *authorship*, for *Yetro* (p. 181) read *Jethro*, for *Wulloughby* (p. 185) read *Willoughby*, for *von der Kunst* (p. 193) read *von der Gunst*, for *ellin wip* (p. 197) read *elliu wip*, for *Thannhauser* (p. 260) read *Tannhäuser*, for *Normann* (p. 365) read *Norman*, for *Lutrins* (p. 585) read *Lutwins*, and for *Knight-Bostock* (p. 641) read *Knight Bostock*. Further, on page 253 the first and third lines should change positions, and on page 248 the date of Walther's 'lehen' should be 1220, not 1200.

A. C. DUNSTAN.

*Social Conflicts in Medieval German Poetry.* By ERWIN GUSTAV GUDDE. Berkeley: University of California Press; Cambridge: University Press. 1934. viii + 140 pp. 7s.

This work deals with social conflicts as reflected in literature up to about 1500. The Introduction (pp. 1-6) classifies society in mediaeval Germany in somewhat cursory fashion and contains many dubious statements. Thus there can hardly be pagan reminiscences in the *Lucidarius*: the theme quoted is perfectly accounted for by a reference to the biblical story of Noah. *Die ungleichen Kinder Evas* by Hans Sachs cannot possibly show pagan survivals, whatever Jacob Grimm may have said in 1842, nor can we assume 'social poetry' in Old High German literature. On pp. 3 ff. the 'period under consideration' is treated as a unit, though there are great dissimilarities in social structure in the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, and this method of treatment leads to a curious jumble of unrelated facts and persons. The ten classes of society given by Berthold von Regensburg on analogy to the ten angelic choirs, and the seven classes of the *Sachsenspiegel*, are relegated to a short footnote. Here there should have been a more searching enquiry. Chapter II (pp. 7-15) discusses the beginnings of social criticism. Here, again, there is much unnecessary vagueness, e.g., a reference to 'one poem by Der wilde Mann'. Since he wrote at least four poems, and since two of them deal very directly with the problems the author is investigating, and the other two indirectly, the reference is not very helpful. To this chapter would seem to belong a discussion of the relevant parts of the *rede vome glouben* by Der arme Hartman. There is no reference to this important text anywhere. The classical Court Epic, apart from *Willehalm* and *Der Arme Heinrich*, is entirely neglected. There should have been some discussion, under this heading, of the fisherman in Wolfram's *Parzival*, Book III, and of the fisherman in *Gregorius*, to mention only two outstanding examples. In this chapter occur also Konrad von Würzburg and Rudolf von Ems. Why are they discussed at the 'beginning' of the thirteenth century, and why do they occur before *Willehalm*? On p. 13 we hear of a three-cornered fight (!) between the Pope, the King and the Princes. On the same page an important poem by Walther von der Vogelweide, of which the date is certain and known to everybody, is misdated, and Walther is said to have expressed 'his pride in his own noble origin'. Where? On p. 17, when dealing with the early thirteenth century, we are suddenly confronted with 'contemporary *Meistersinger*'!

The author takes it for granted that *arm* never refers to a knight. Thus many of his supposed juxtapositions of knight and peasant are certainly juxtapositions of rich noble and poor noble: *arm man* is a technical term for a retainer of noble origin. The remarks made on *Meier Helmbrecht* and *Seifried Helbling* (pp. 42 ff.) need some qualification. Helmbrecht does not boast of being an illegitimate son of a knight in the passage quoted: *tote* means godfather, and this statement refers to the belief that the 'qualities' of the godfather passed over to his godchild. The later sections of the book bring together much interesting material from fourteenth- and fifteenth-century authors. One could have wished, however, for a fuller

discussion of Heinrich Wittenweiler's *Der Ring*, which is passed over rapidly on p. 97. Throughout his work, the author quotes extensively from original sources, and English translations which are not invariably accurate are given in footnotes. There is a bibliography (pp. 127-36) which arranges original texts under alphabetically classified editors. Since many texts have been frequently edited, and since the author often quotes old editions which cannot be regarded as authoritative nowadays, it is difficult to find any text unless one reads right through the list every time.

F. NORMAN.

LONDON.

*Les Apports français dans l'œuvre de Wieland de 1772 à 1789.* Par ALBERT FUCHS. Paris: Honoré Champion. 1934. 750 pp. 85 fr.

*Geistiger Gehalt und Quellenfrage in Wielands Abderiten.* Von ALBERT FUCHS. Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres'. 1934. 313 pp.

The first of these volumes is formidable at first sight, but the admirable 'Table des matières' leaves the reviewer no ground for complaint. The plan of the book is clear. It is divided into ten parts, of which the first, *Wieland poète, conteur et auteur dramatique*, occupies 185 pages. M. Fuchs insists rightly on the importance of the dates which limit the period he has chosen. The first marks the beginning of a new freedom, the second the general awakening of political interests in the excitement of the French Revolution, and the whole interval is filled by Wieland's major preoccupation, *Der teutsche Merkur*. M. Fuchs deals first with Wieland the creative artist, affirming that it is due to *Geron der Adelige* and to *Oberon* that Wieland the poet survives at all. But it is in Wieland the publicist, that is to say, the student, interpreter, and populariser of French literature and ideas that the chief interest of these years is centred. M. Fuchs therefore regards Parts II-IX—*Wieland historien et connaisseur des lettres françaises; Wieland et la langue française; Wieland et le problème des traductions; Wieland comparatiste; Les beaux-arts; Wieland débiteur de l'érudition française; Recueils, revues, etc.; La France, organisme vivant*—as the major portion of his work. Part X, *Wieland et la pensée française*, is regarded as the least important. In Part I, M. Fuchs finds that of all the tales in verse belonging to the period only one, *Sist und Klärchen*, owes nothing to France. Of the remainder two, *Der verklagte Amor* and *Titanomachia*, exhibit only slight French associations. Five, *Das Wintermärchen*, *Hann und Gulpenheh*, *Schach Lolo*, *Pervonte*, and *Clelia und Sinibald*, come, via France, from oriental or Italian sources, and five, *Gandalin*, *Geron der Adelige*, *Das Sommermärchen*, *Der Vogelsang*, and *Oberon*, have French subject-matter taken direct from a French source, usually one of the many volumes of the *Bibliothèque des Romans*. M. Fuchs's method in each case is to outline the story as contained in the source and then to discuss its treatment by Wieland. His general conclusion is that Wieland had a predilection for foreign subjects though not exclusively for French subjects, and that

he exploited French sources for his tales in verse because they provided him with 'matières déjà dégrossies' and relieved him of the labour of invention. What Wieland adds in the main to his subject-matter is the merit of superlatively elegant form: he can even give poetic value to 'subjects in themselves trivial or dull.

Still more dependent on French sources are the twelve prose tales contained in *Dschinnistan oder auserlesene Feen- und Geistermärchen*, to only one of which, *Der Stein der Weisen*, does M. Fuchs, differing from Seuffert, concede the merit of complete originality. The rest are in the main paraphrases of selections from the forty volumes of the *Cabinet des fées* or *Collection choisie de contes de fées et autres contes merveilleux*. 'Dschinnistan constitue l'emprunt le plus massif que Wieland ait fait à des textes français... Mais jamais, dans toute son œuvre, le contact avec la France n'a été rencontre plus stérile.'

The second part of this book deals with a dozen biographical sketches of French writers, chiefly women, from Héloïse and Marie de France to Linguet. Wieland's chief sources were *Mélanges tirés d'une grande bibliothèque* and Bayle's *Dictionnaire*. The choice of subject and method of treatment were dictated largely by Wieland's requirements as editor of *Der deutsche Merkur*. He was particularly anxious to interest feminine readers, witness also his attempt to establish an *Allgemeine Damenbibliothek* in imitation of the *Bibliothèque universelle des dames*, an enterprise which collapsed with the sixth volume. Taking Wieland's view of French literature in periods, M. Fuchs is struck with the wide range of his curiosity, ranging as it does over six centuries of literary history from Héloïse to Voltaire and Rousseau, and with the capricious incidence of his choice, which was determined mainly by a journalistic or a moralising interest. Wieland makes no attempt to provide the readers of his *Deutscher Merkur* with a systematic view of French literature. He is, however, concerned, as M. Fuchs shows in Part v, to discover the broad currents of development in literature. He has more than a suspicion of the 'évolution des genres' and a distinct notion of the interdependence and solidarity of national literatures, and he may justly be regarded as a pioneer in the field of international literary relations.

Part III, *Wieland et la langue française*, suffers somewhat because it is impossible to confine a review of Wieland's practical knowledge of French within the limits of the period 1772-89. M. Fuchs himself suggests that there is room for a separate inquiry into the frequency of the use Wieland made of French at different times, and he confines his discussion in the main to the influence of French on Wieland's language and style and to Wieland's own observations on the history and character of the French language.

If we omit more particular reference to the later chapters of M. Fuchs's exhaustive survey, it is not because we find them less thorough or less informing, but because the doubt raised by Part III as to the advisability of restricting the discussion to a rigidly limited period again arises. Of Part III we are inclined to say that the critical factors which determined Wieland's use of French must be sought at a date much anterior to 1772,

whereas Parts VI and X leave a sense of incompleteness, a feeling that the discussion should extend far beyond 1789, in fact to Wieland's death. This is the only criticism of substance we have to make of a most conscientious and thorough piece of research, clear in plan, meticulous in documentation.

In the second work M. Fuchs seeks to establish the intellectual content and the sources of *Die Abderiten*, omitting all the allusions of a mere biographical, topical or anecdotal nature already investigated by Seuffert and others. He approaches the book from the positive side, that is, he regards it not merely as a satire on objectionable people and things but as offering positive views on ethics, æsthetics, politics, the administration of justice, and religion. His aim is thus to trace Wieland's indebtedness to a host of thinkers from Plato to Shaftesbury, Sterne, and Helvétius. In Democritus Wieland exhibits the ideal man who, educated less by book learning than by contact with the world, sees in the progressive perfection of the soul and the attainment of intellectual equilibrium the sure way to the art of moral living. The first two books of *Die Abderiten* show direct contact, on the ethical side, with Shaftesbury, Helvétius, and Sterne, with distinct tendencies towards cosmopolitanism, agnosticism, and a relative valuation of good and evil. In æsthetics and, passing to the third book, poetics, Wieland parts company with Shaftesbury in preferring relative to absolute values, agreeing rather with Crousaz on the one hand and Aristotle, Boileau, and Racine on the other. In politics (Book IV) Wieland shows himself an aristocrat and a sceptic; the question of sources other than his own experience hardly arises. In the fifth book, while recognising a distinction between religion and sacerdotalism, Wieland aligns himself with Shaftesbury, Helvétius, and Lucian. As far as the form of *Die Abderiten* is concerned, Wieland may have thought of Swift for the broad outline,<sup>1</sup> but the obvious source of the bantering style is Sterne. Among learned works of reference, the *Encyclopédie*, Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, Bonnet's *Considérations sur les corps organisés*, and Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* contributed their share of historical or scientific fact.

M. Fuchs limits his discussion of the sources to (1) Die nichtantiken Stoffgebiete, (2) Gelehrtes Wissen, Literatur und Literaturgeschichte, (3) Formale Beeinflussungen, (4) Die Antike. As he quotes Wieland's *Werke* either in the Hempel edition or in the new critical edition sponsored by the Kgl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, we assume that he has ignored older editions such as Gruber's (1825). The smaller modern editions of Klee and Jacobi are briefly mentioned. Taking the notes to the Vorbericht and Erster Teil as a basis of comparison, it is clear that Gruber's 57 notes are out of date and negligible. Klee has 162 notes, including about 10 per cent. of grammatical matter, and M. Fuchs has 262, none of them trivial. An exact analysis of a smaller sample—the Vorbericht and Chapters I and II of Part I—shows that Klee provides concise and positive information where M. Fuchs enters into a full discussion of sources, with exhaustive quotations. There

<sup>1</sup> The sub-title 'Eine sehr wahrscheinliche Geschichte' recalls Lucian's *Historia Vera*.

can be no doubt that M. Fuchs has enormously enriched the annotation of *Die Abderiten* and has co-ordinated his observations with the main currents of thought indicated above; nevertheless, he has not yet written the definitive commentary. This appears in small matters such as the 'note on 'Melusine' (Hempel, VII, 9, 31), where he writes: 'Wohl nach dem Volksbuch: *Die Historie von einer Frau, genannt Melusine, die eine Meerfei und dazu eine geborene Königin gewesen*, 1456.—Später (1780) erwähnt Wieland Melusine unstreitig nach einer französischen Fassung: Hempel, xxxvi, 36.' Klee (IV, p. 150) says: 'Eines der damals noch verachteten sogenannten "deutschen Volksbücher", nach dem lateinischen Gedicht eines Franzosen bearbeitet, erster Druck, Strassburg 1474.' Each of these notes is deficient in essential information, and owing to these deficiencies they appear to contradict one another in the matter of date. Any note which *compels* but *omits to direct* the reader to look elsewhere for facts is a bad note. In this case each is partially right, yet each alone is misleading and both taken together are incomplete. This need for the pooling of information in matters of detail suggests at once that the ideal commentary remains to be written. Its substance will be an amalgamation of the work of Seuffert and M. Fuchs.

G. WATERHOUSE.

BELFAST.

*Rudolf Erich Raspe, ein Wegbereiter von deutscher Art und Kunst.* Von RUDOLF HALLO. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer. 1934. 325 pp. and 15 illustrations.

This work, the product of ten years of painstaking and scholarly research into the archives of the Landesmuseum in Kassel, is not simply the biography of an interesting and in many ways unique personality; it represents also a valuable contribution to the 'Geistesgeschichte' of the second half of the eighteenth century in Germany.

As is stated in the preface it is an attempt to rehabilitate in some degree a man, who, because of a tragic moral lapse, has so far not been granted his rightful place in the history of German scholarship and cultural history.<sup>1</sup> It is claimed, and in the course of the book adequate proofs are brought, that Raspe was a pioneer in many fields of thought—mineralogy, numismatics, literature, philosophy and art—and that he was one of the most versatile and inspiring men of the Sturm und Drang period.

Raspe is known, if at all, as the author of the famous adventures of Baron Münchhausen. Many people do not even know that. Münchhausen is even to-day often attributed to Bürger, who as a matter of fact only translated the stories from English into German. Although Bürger's biographer von Reinhard expressly declared in 1824 that Bürger was

<sup>1</sup> Hallo maintains—with justification—that Raspe has been sadly neglected. He points out that in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, with its 50 volumes, Raspe is only given half a page (eine versthohlene halbe Seite), and that too under the heading 'Münchhausen'. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* is a little better: it does at any rate give Raspe separate, if inadequate treatment.

merely the translator, Raspe's authorship was not generally recognised till Adolf Ellissen wrote the preface to his well-known edition of the stories in 1849. Then came the astonishing statement made by Georg Büchmann in his *Geflügelte Worte* in the edition of 1879 (see under Münchhausen), that the seventeen main stories which Raspe brought out in England in 1785 had already appeared in German in the *Vademecum für lustige Leute* published by August Mylius in 1781 and 1783 in Berlin. Dr Hallo succeeds in proving by means of a detailed examination of the evidence—often wearisome to the reader, but a model of scholarly patience and acumen, that Raspe was also responsible for these original German versions.

Raspe is branded as the unfaithful steward, who as Keeper of the Museum owned by the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, stole and sold coins and other valuables, and in 1775 fled to England in order to escape the warrant issued for his arrest. Hallo does not try to prove him 'not guilty', or to defend him. On the contrary he shows that Raspe was guilty of certain other acts of peculation, hitherto not known. But he does not allow these failings to blind him to Raspe's intellectual qualities and achievements.

There is no attempt in the book to deal fully with the problem of Raspe's influence upon the philosophy of the age. Hallo simply points out what may be regarded as an established fact, namely, that the edition of Leibniz which Raspe brought out in 1765 had a great influence on Kant. The edition included the 'Nouveaux Essais sur l'entendement humain', which had been lost for 60 years. According to Ernst Cassirer (*Kants Leben und Lehre*, 1923, p. 103) 'stand Leibniz, wie von den Toten auferstanden, noch einmal mitten unter den Zeitgenossen... In diesem Werke handelte es sich nicht um ein vereinzelt gelehrtes Produkt, sondern um ein Ereignis, das in die allgemeine Geistesgeschichte entscheidend eingriff.' As regards Raspe's connexion with English literature, full value is of course given to his translation of Ossian, and more particularly to his services in making Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* known in Germany. On August 24, 1771, he wrote to Nicolai: 'Herder hat etwas über die Nationallieder unter Händen. Hiezu habe ich ihm die vortrefflichen Reliques of Ancient Poetry übersenden müssen.' Hallo quotes from H. F. Wagner: *Das Eindringen von Percy's Reliques in Deutschland* (Dissertation, Heidelberg, 1897): 'Es ist höchst wahrscheinlich... dass Herder die Idee zur Sammlung und Veröffentlichung seiner Volkslieder erst infolge der Aufforderung Raspes fasste'.

It is clear that the author's chief interest was centred on the changing ideas about art and architecture. By means of evidence collected in the course of a wonderfully exact and painstaking examination of the archives of the Landesmuseum in Cassel, he seeks to prove that it was above all Raspe's work in this field which enabled him to play such a great part in the new orientation of spiritual and artistic activities, which make the period so important in German 'Geistesgeschichte'. He proclaimed ideas which were later to appear in the reform programme developed by the young Goethe and Herder and Moeser in *Von deutscher Art und Kunst*.

At a time when Rococo dominated art and life, he preached a return to Gothic. It was then customary to minimise the importance of Gothic style as lacking form and refinement; the influence of French classicism was dominant. Raspe broke with tradition: he recognised and made clear that Gothic had its own, and indeed very high, cultural values. He pointed to the achievements of German architecture in the Middle Ages, and defended the simple greatness of artists like Dürer. For Raspe 'das Gotische' was essentially German—or at any rate Germanic, and was therefore to be cultivated by the German people.

Dr Hallo admits that for the years which Raspe spent in England he was compelled to use printed secondary sources. Would it not be worth while to make a similar study of the original sources available in England, and thus complete the picture?

S. D. STIRK.

BRESLAU.

*Germany in the Eighteenth Century: the social background of the literary revival.* By W. H. BRUFORD. Cambridge: University Press. 1935. x+354 pp. 15s.

It is now fifty-five years since the last section of Karl Biedermann's massive work, *Deutschland im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, was published and eighty-one years since the first edition of the first volume describing in great detail eighteenth century 'politische, materielle und sociale Zustände' in Germany. Biedermann, whose lengthy professorial career in Leipzig was interrupted by his varied political activities, was the first historian to attempt to give 'ein vollständiges Bild des gesamten Culturlebens' of eighteenth-century Germany. As he spent more than a quarter of a century over his task he was able to sift and collect a vast wealth of material which included even the observations of eighteenth-century travellers such as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. His work, however, needed some revision, for he had but little sympathy with or understanding for the aristocratic element 'welches nicht blos sich selbst, sondern auch das Bürgerthum, ja die ganze Nation in geistiger und sittlicher Hinsicht in eine ebenso entwürdigende, als entnervende Abhängigkeit vom Auslande gestürzt hatte'. The time was then surely ripe for a well-documented work on eighteenth-century Germany written without too strong a condemnation of the eighteenth-century nobleman, who for at least three generations after the Thirty Years' War gave indispensable help towards Germany's slow recovery, until the burgher was ready to play a more prominent part politically and socially.

Such a book which incorporates much of the relevant material published since Biedermann's time has been written by Professor Bruford, who has already contributed a valuable article to the *Publications of the English Goethe Society* on 'Wilhelm Meister as a picture and a criticism of society'.

It is difficult to write a work on eighteenth-century Germany without implicit or explicit reference to recent conditions which many suppose to

have no relation to those of the classical age. Professor Bruford has not wished to omit explanation of the latest developments, for he hopes his work will interest the general reader by the light it throws on the evolution of the German character. This attitude towards 'Kulturgeschichte' can find support in the works of some of his predecessors, though the greatest of all, Jacob Burckhardt in his *Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*, has excluded all reference to the Italy of his time, then abandoning particularism. Biedermann was of opinion that the 'Kulturgeschichtschreiber' had above all merely to describe the past. When, however, the 'leichtgläubige Masse' was in danger of being misled by its contemporaries, he considered it necessary to compare the past with the present. 'Das aber zu thun, ist recht eigentlich Aufgabe der Kulturgeschichte.' A still wider view of the subject is taken by Georg Steinhausen, who is not content merely to contrast the past with the present, but considers it his duty to describe his own time in his book: *Deutsche Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte von 1870 bis zur Gegenwart* (Halle (Saale), 1931). His object is to preserve historical continuity, for in his opinion 'die Vorkriegszeit wie die Nachkriegszeit' are closely connected 'trotz dem Einschnitte durch Weltkrieg und Staatsumwälzung'. Professor Bruford's task of showing how a comprehensive study of eighteenth-century Germany may help us to understand recent conditions is perhaps even more difficult than that of Georg Steinhausen. Mr Bruford remarks: 'It will not do when modern Germany offends her neighbours in the field of politics or trade, to appeal against her to that older, better Germany that we imagine. What we conjure up is in the main a poet's dream; so far as it corresponded to any features of reality, these were but a fraction of the whole.'

Of the four parts into which Professor Bruford has divided his book, the first section containing chapters on particularism and benevolent despotism is by far the slightest, since 'political structure and system of government' are certainly not the main business of 'Kulturgeschichte'. Skilful use has been made of Ritter von Lang's posthumous memoirs, specimens of which will be found translated in the *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1843, pp. 327-64. Professor Bruford, however, omits discussion of the trustworthiness of K. H. von Lang's *Memoiren*, which would have been all the more welcome, as their accuracy until the appearance of A. v. Raumer's book (1923) had been much disputed; cp. also *Historische Zeitschrift*, cxxx, pp. 103-8. Lang, for he was not ennobled until 1808, was a man of so many talents aided by wide knowledge and keen powers of observation that he found suitable employment in whichever state, large or small, he tried his fortune. To him 'Kleinstaaterei' then was an advantage. In this connexion it may be remembered that even the French cavalry officer, the duel-loving spendthrift Chasot, weary of military glory and of Frederick the Great's uncertain friendship, found at last generosity, happiness and consideration in the pleasant service of the free town of Lübeck where he spent the last forty years of his life, without regretting courts and camps.

The second part of Professor Bruford's book is concerned with the old order of Society, the court and country nobility and the long-suffering

peasantry. The author has rightly called attention to the great influence of the French court and language on German rulers. Reference might have been made to the fact that imitation of German court life and administration was to be found not only in Scandinavian countries and Russia but even in England, through the change of dynasty in 1714. Imitators of German courts did not, however, often surpass their models. Professor Bruford has described in detail capitals such as Karlsruhe which were built 'at the whim of a prince'; cp. also Biedermann, II, i, p. 115. In his useful appendix on the statistical survey of Germany before the Napoleonic wars he cites the following figures as the population of two towns in Hessen-Darmstadt, Darmstadt 9500, Pirmasens 9000, but has not explained how the latter town came to have nearly as many inhabitants as Darmstadt. Pirmasens is perhaps a stranger example of a town built merely to gratify a prince's hobby than Karlsberg (Zweibrücken), the origin of which has been so vividly depicted by Professor Bruford. When Ludwig, the last Graf von Hanau-Lichtenberg, in 1735 first visited Pirmasens, the place consisted of hardly forty houses. Ludwig, who became the best drill-master of his time and who loved his soldiers so much that he refused to sell them to foreign powers, began his 'Pirmasenser Militärstaat' in 1741 with 46 men. The army consisted of over 1500 men in 1768, when he succeeded his father as Landgraf von Hessen-Darmstadt. In 1782 the town had a population of nearly 8000, three-quarters of whom were soldiers, their wives and children. Eight years later Ludwig IX died during the French revolutionary troubles. His son, Ludwig X, who did not share his father's military passion, gradually disbanded the Pirmasens army so that the town suffered much financial distress in attempting to adapt itself to new conditions. Further details of life in this town, as well as information on Ludwig's financial difficulties, will be found in A. Eberlein's well-documented *Landgraf Ludwig IX von Hessen-Darmstadt und seine Pirmasenser Militärkolonie*, Pirmasens, 1911.

Though Ludwig IX had the good fortune to serve in Frederick the Great's army, he cannot be considered his most intelligent imitator. A more illustrious sovereign and a more enlightened man, the Emperor Joseph II, was a humaner though hardly more critical admirer of Prussian efficiency. Professor Bruford has given an account of some of Joseph's hurried and ill-considered reforms in his vast dominions, especially in an illuminating chapter on agrarian economy which may profitably be compared with Mr C. S. Orwin's chapter on 'Agriculture and Rural Life' in *Johnson's England*, I, pp. 261-99. It has been clearly demonstrated by Professor Bruford that German agricultural methods were somewhat less advanced than those of England in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The third and longest section in Mr Bruford's book deals with the new order of society, the middle class. An excellent account is given of the main differences between the 'Reichsstädte' and the 'Landstädte', between the free and territorial towns, of which Hamburg and Frankfurt-on-Main, Leipzig and Berlin are particularly well treated. Among the

towns which deserved fuller treatment than that which is here meted out is Königsberg, if only to explain why Kant chose to spend the whole of his life in his native place with only occasional visits to outlying seats, either in earlier life as tutor or in later life as guest. As may be seen from his letters and from the posthumously published accounts of him by his friends, Borowski, Jachmann and Wasianski, he was satisfied with the local society of cultured officials, of colleagues and of well-informed English residents such as Green and Motherby. Königsberg, with its 60,000 inhabitants, may, in the last years of Frederick the Great's reign, with its philosopher worthy of the toleration then enjoyed, perhaps be considered as having the best society in northern Germany. Aachen, too, should have been mentioned, not so much because this 'Reichsstadt' was full of distinguished strangers, but because the old and new parties in the town were still quarrelling when in 1792 the revolutionary armies put an end to the Aachener Reich with its eighteen villages; cp. *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, xxxiv, pp. 227-96 and xxxv, 1-101.

The fourth section of Germany in the eighteenth century consists of two chapters, one on the profession of letters and the other on the influence of political, economic and social factors on literature. Professor Bruford suggests that the German people pay 'Weimar only lip-service, neglecting in practice the humanistic teaching they had received at school'. It is to be hoped then that the teaching of literature in schools will improve. No one will deny that those German and English schoolmasters whose subject is literary history are devoting their best energies to the teaching of this difficult subject.

There are in English good books on German studies. Last year appeared Professors Priebisch and Collinson's great work on the German language, and we have now this excellent *Germany in the eighteenth century*, to be followed, it is hoped, by other volumes on allied topics.

H. GORDON WARD.

LIVERPOOL.

*Die Thierseer Passionsspiele 1799-1935. Ringen um Bestand und Gestalt eines Tiroler Volksbrauches.* By A. DÖRRER. Innsbruck: Mar. Vereinsbuchhandlung. 1935. 150 pp. 1 Sch. 50.

Dr Dörrer is the leading authority on the literature of the Tyrol. As librarian in the Innsbruck *Universitätsbibliothek*, he has access to a vast number of unpublished manuscripts, and there is scarcely a library in the Austrian or Italian Tyrol that he has not visited and searched. His published work covers the whole period of German literature from the fourteenth to the twentieth century. In all his writings he combines the critical faculty of the scholar with the enthusiasm of the patriot and the poet. His unrivalled knowledge of the history, literature, language and customs of his native province is once more revealed in this, his latest treatise. He had already written the history of the Erl Passion Play; in 1922 and 1932 he acted as stage manager of this play.

The investigation of the origins and the evolution of the Thiersee drama was no easy task. The documentary evidence is scanty, local tradition not very reliable. But Dr Dörrer has discovered travellers' descriptions, old handbills, accounts, legal documents and the like. From these he has succeeded in reconstructing the history of this unique literary survival, which is as racy of its native soil as is the folk-song. In the Middle Ages and afterwards, various forms of popular drama flourished in the Tyrol and the adjacent portions of Bavaria. Under Maria Theresa and her son, Joseph II, the Passion Plays were prohibited under severe penalties. The love of music, dancing, and acting is, however, deeply rooted in the soul of the Austrian peasant, and no legal enactment can suppress it. Representations which to the town-bred spectator, especially those nurtured in the atmosphere of the *Aufklärung*, appeared to be a parody of sacred rites, may have been to the peasant a religious experience. Dr Dörrer maintains that the *Theaterfieber* of the Tyrol cannot be explained away as a mere consequence of the drama of the Jesuits or the processions of the Capuchins. He stresses the strong mimetic instinct of the peasantry. He refers to the plays produced by guilds or crafts of miners, smiths, boatmen, by strolling players from the Vintschgau and the Unterinntal, by peasants, journeymen and even by young women.

Thiersee is now the only village of the Tyrol which still has its own Passion Play. The productions of Erl and Brixlegg have come to an untimely end. The Thiersee drama dates from 1799. It is highly probable that it had its antecedents, but no records have been preserved. At the end of the eighteenth century Austria was at war with France. The valley of Thiersee was particularly vulnerable. The villagers vowed to perform a Passion Play every year three times in Lent if their native place was saved from attack. The proceeds were to be devoted to the erection and maintenance of a Holy Sepulchre in the parish church. There was nothing unusual about the occurrence. As Dr Dörrer shows, similar vows had been made by Tyrolese villagers from the fourteenth century onwards and had been kept for centuries until the state intervened to abolish the ecclesiastical peasant drama. The original Thiersee text was based on the Passion Play of Oberaudorf, in Bavaria. It contained some allegorical scenes which were distinctly mediæval in character, and also pastoral poetry such as was in vogue in the eighteenth century. The metrical form was also mixed: Alexandrines and long *Knittelverse*.

The first production was in 1801: twenty-four actors played fifty-one parts. In 1805 official persecution began, as a result of a complaint by Metternich. The inevitable prohibition was at first enforced, then gradually relaxed. In 1811 the Tyrol came under the Bavarian monarchy. A Thiersee peasant who appealed to the King for permission to resume the Play was severely punished for his presumption. But the men of Thiersee were tenacious and their Play was performed in 1812, 1816, 1821 and 1833. Then came a break, but after the revolutionary events of 1848, a revival was possible and the Passion Play was acted in 1855, 1865 and in decades till 1905. The Great War prevented the performance of

1915 from taking place, but production was resumed in 1921. In 1927 a new theatre was inaugurated and in 1935 the Play is once more being performed.

Dr Dorrer is to be congratulated on his book. In his hands the evolution of the peasant drama in this Tyrolean village becomes a fascinating story of dogged effort and idealism in the face of heart-breaking misfortune, persistent opposition, persecution, economic suffering of the acutest kind and even political boycott. It is to be hoped that the courageous act of the Thiersee peasantry in 1935 will meet with the success it deserves, and to that success Dr Dörrer will have contributed in no small measure. In the case of so excellent a work, criticism of detail may seem churlish, but I notice two misprints: p. 19, line 6, *Wetterlösung* for *Welterlösung*; p. 146, l. 7, *keuzzugpredigend* for *kreuzzugpredigend*. The type in which the volume is printed, though picturesque and *volkstümlich*, is tiring to the eye of a jaded scholar.

JAMES M. CLARK.

GLASGOW.

*Antike und antikes Lebensgefühl im Werke Gerhart Hauptmanns.* (Deutschkundliche Arbeiten—Veröffentlichungen aus dem Deutschen Institut der Universität Breslau. Schlesische Reihe, Band 5.) By FELIX A. VOIGT. Breslau: Verlag Maruschke und Berendt. 1935. 140 pp.

This study reveals Gerhart Hauptmann from a new standpoint. It is the first really thorough examination of Hauptmann's connexions with the literature, life, and thought of the ancient world. In the brief space of 140 pages is packed a tremendous amount of knowledge and enthusiasm. One feels from the start that the writer is well acquainted with the classics, and that he is also on the most intimate terms with Hauptmann and his work. A happy and perhaps unique combination, which at once gives the book distinction and real worth.

Dr Voigt knows the Archiv in Hauptmann's almost princely mansion at Agnetendorf in the Riesengebirge, and the Hauptmann Sammlung in Neustadt (Upper Silesia), which was for years the great hobby of the late Kommerzienrat Pinkus, better than anybody else. Thus he has been able to make use of much unprinted and hitherto inaccessible material, and his book is brimful of new and valuable ideas. All along he does what only a writer thoroughly steeped in Hauptmann could do, namely he succeeds in linking up the literary product with the spiritual and material conditions of the years which produced it. He traces the gradual growth of Hauptmann's interest in, and knowledge of, the 'Antike', culminating in 1907 in the happy months spent in Greece. The ideas and experiences thus accumulated found expression not only in works like the *Griechische Frühling* but in practically everything Hauptmann afterwards wrote. The conclusions to which this treatment of Hauptmann's later works leads are to be seen in such striking statements as 'Kein Werk Hauptmanns steht innerlich der Antike näher als der *Ketzer von Soana*', or the

illuminating suggestion that *Till Eulenspiegel* is 'eine grosse Synthese von urgermanischem Mythos und hellenischem Geiste'.

One of the great services rendered by Dr Voigt in this book is to reveal the debt which Hauptmann owes to Hölderlin. It was from Hölderlin more than from any other writer that Hauptmann got his yearning for ancient Greece. After prolonged spiritual struggles, Hauptmann, like Hölderlin, came to the happy 'synthesis' of Dionysus and Christ. The influence of Nietzsche on Hauptmann is here minimised, and limited—apparently with justification—to the years 1896 and 1897, to the time when Hauptmann was brought to the verge of despair by the unaccountable failure of *Florian Geyer* and by the break-up of his first marriage and the happy home in Schreiberhau.

There has been a marked tendency in recent years to single out Hauptmann's early 'naturalistic' works for special praise, and to neglect the later works as of less value, perhaps because less intelligible. Dr Voigt is clearly opposed to this view: in his opinion the later works—and above all because they contain so much of the ancient world—represent a distinct advance on the earlier. The comparison with Goethe is here inevitable. The later works of Goethe, e.g., *Westöstlicher Divan*, were not understood and appreciated by contemporaries. Will it be the same with Hauptmann? At the end of the book Dr Voigt expresses his full agreement with a quotation from an article which appeared in the *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna) in January, 1914: 'Und so darf ich mich zu dem Glauben bekennen, der schon vor Jahren ausgesprochen worden ist, "dass unsere Enkel den Frühlingsmonat 1907, als Gerhart Hauptmann nach Griechenland fuhr, segnen werden, wie wir jene Herbsttage des Jahres 1786, da Goethe nach Italien wanderte".'

It must not be thought that Dr Voigt offers the 'Antike' as the *only* key to Hauptmann's character and achievement. He is certainly very conscious of the other ways of approach, and the study under review is simply an attempt to fill in a gap. The following characteristic quotation reveals the balanced yet stimulating nature of the author's attitude: 'Der ganze Gerhart Hauptmann ist ohne das antike Lebensgefühl in seinem Werke nicht zu verstehen. Deutschtum und Hellenentum vollziehen in ihm eine mit christlichen Elementen durchtränkte unio mystica, so eng und unlöslich, so ganz organisch, wie wir es seit den Tagen Goethes und Hölderlins in der reinen Dichtung nicht mehr erlebt haben.'

Dr Voigt mentions several times that he is planning a comprehensive biography of Gerhart Hauptmann. One may express the hope that he will be able to carry out his plan; for the need for such a biography is real, and he is probably better fitted than anybody else to write it.

S. D. STIRK.

*Thomas Mann, A Study.* By JAMES CLEUGH. London: Martin Secker. 1933. 204 pp. 6s.

*Thomas Mann's Novel Der Zauberberg.* A Study by HERMANN J. WEIGAND. New York and London: D. Appleton Century Company. 1933. 183 pp. 15s.

*Das Leitmotiv bei Thomas Mann.* Von RONALD PEACOCK. (*Sprache und Dichtung*, Heft 55.) Bern: Paul Haupt. 1934. 68 pp. 3 fr.

In a recent review of Hans Naumann's excellent survey of modern German literature, W. Linden, the literary propagandist of the new regime in Germany, protests against the space still devoted in the new edition to the work of Thomas Mann: 'dieser Standpunkt muss einmal überwunden werden!' But if Nazi Germany sees fit to reject its greatest contemporary novelist because of his divergent outlook upon life and politics, the English-speaking world does not apparently intend to follow suit, as the above list of works testifies. For the cultured reader unacquainted with Arthur Eloesser's lively sketch in German the book by Mr Cleugh will prove an excellent substitute, and it will provide him with full and cogent reasons why he cannot afford to neglect the work of the Nobel Prize winner of 1929. A glance at the Bibliography will reveal how fully his work is already represented in English translation (thanks mainly to the unflagging energy and skill of Mrs Lowes-Porter), and it is to be hoped that this new book of Mr Cleugh's, which though addressed primarily to the general reader is not without interest to the scholar, will still further spread the fame of Thomas Mann in England and America. The list of Mr Cleugh's German authorities, though it makes no pretence to completeness, yet affords useful hints to the reader anxious to penetrate more deeply into the work of this profound and difficult author.

Mr Cleugh logically divides his study into two portions: the man and his work. While the former is wholly adequate, the latter, though stimulating and informative and eminently sane and sound in judgment, is just lacking in that interpretation against a wider background of German intellectual and spiritual life which is so characteristic and fascinating a mark of all Thomas Mann's work.

This deficiency Professor Weigand supplies with knowledge and discernment. Not every critic would subscribe (as he himself admits) to his conviction that *Der Zauberberg* is 'the supreme Bildungsroman of the world's literature', but no one after reading this scholarly and sympathetic analysis could fail to appreciate the significance of this novel as a repository of the thought and sentiment of the modern world. Professor Weigand has trained his judgment in the school of Friedrich Schlegel, and it is no derogation of his critical powers to state that his appreciation of *Der Zauberberg* is reminiscent of Schlegel's famous review of *Wilhelm Meister*. In the novel of Thomas Mann he finds a similar comprehensive treatment of life, of its philosophy, symbolism, mysticism, science, politics—'Universalpoesie' in the Romantic sense—all suffused with the indispensable attribute of irony. Just as for Friedrich Schlegel *Wilhelm Meister* was one of the chief tendencies of the time, so for Professor

Weigand *Der Zauberberg* is 'one of the most significant landmarks of our age'. He analyses its style according to the well-worn Romantic epithets, musical and plastic, and finds running through its structure the 'Leit-motive' which are so characteristic of its musical composition. He is even ready, it would seem, to take its occultism on trust, and there are constant references to its 'hermetic' qualities. The greatness of *Der Zauberberg* is for Professor Weigand an article of faith, although it is not true, in his case, that where faith begins argument ends, for he almost succeeds in carrying conviction to the reader. But granting all the brilliance and exuberance of style, the psychological depth of thought and the supreme artistry of the composition, there are times when the ordinary man wonders whether form and content are really so evenly matched as Professor Weigand would have him believe, when he tires of the mental gymnastics in which Thomas Mann is such an adept, and when he is tempted to cry out in the words of Goethe: 'Bilde Künstler, rede nicht!'

Professor Weigand modestly entitles his book 'a study of a novel'. It actually provides an epitome of a whole century of German thought. He is particularly informative in his analysis of the characteristically German elements of the novel. This, the longest and the most original chapter in the book, has immediate and topical interest, for it draws a vivid picture of that spiritual Germany which, in the eyes of the world at large, has always stood for something more than 'blood and soil'.

In the *Sketch of my Life* Thomas Mann has himself stressed the importance for his prose composition of the linguistic 'Leitmotiv'—the descriptive phrases typical of a character or situation—which recur with such telling effect in *Buddenbrooks* and especially in *Der Zauberberg*. Dr Peacock has made it his business to pursue these 'Leitmotive' throughout the work of our author, and since they form, as it were, the backbone of all his stories, Dr Peacock's discussion of them amounts in practice to an appreciation of Thomas Mann's work as a whole. He brings out the initial importance of *Tonio Kröger* for the application of the 'Leitmotiv' to psychological purposes, thus anticipating the supreme technical virtuosity of *Der Zauberberg* in this respect. He concludes an interesting and useful study with an account of Thomas Mann's special affinities with music. Of all the arts, music, for him, stood in closest contact with disease and death, both of which loom so large in his philosophy of life.

L. A. WILLOUGHBY.

LONDON.

## SHORT NOTICES

Miss E. E. Wardale's *Chapters on Old English Literature* (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. 1935. ix+310 pp. 8s. 6d.) form an excellent guide to Old English literature, being suitable for the educated general reader as well as for university students. As befits its greater importance, the poetical literature is treated at much greater length than the prose. The translations of the passages selected for illustration are literal without being crude and give a much better idea of the original than the curious jargon affected by so many translators from Old English. There is no attempt at fine writing; the tone is throughout sober and objective, yet it makes the subject interesting. The author uses her own judgment when choosing between theories advanced by scholars on debatable points. References are given in footnotes to the work of the more prominent specialists, but not to the periodical literature of the subject, so that in some minor particulars their latest contributions have not been utilised. A useful short bibliography adds to the value of the book. We have detected very few inaccuracies. Altogether Miss Wardale may be congratulated on giving students a most useful and attractive account of our earliest literature.

W. J. S.

Professor H. J. C. Grierson's Andrew Lang Lecture, *Lang, Lockhart and Biography* (Oxford University Press. 1934. 38 pp. 2s.), deals with Lang as the biographer of Lockhart and with Lockhart as the biographer of Scott, especially in the light of documents which were either not available to them or not used by them. Of Lang his estimate is high: 'What a close study reveals is—his unwavering regard for the truth, his deep sense of justice, his high standards of conduct.' Of Lockhart he can speak with less certainty: 'His character is still to me somewhat of a mystery, though I have no sympathy with those who dispute his ability.' To some extent Lockhart suffers to-day from changes in ideals of accuracy and editorship, but on the evidence adduced by Professor Grierson it can hardly be said of him, as it can be said of Lang, that 'his prejudices and sympathies never obscured his loyalty to truth': he would not deliberately lie, but he coloured the facts to suit his interpretation of them. It is perhaps fairest to agree with Professor Grierson in suspending judgment on a man who, with all his faults, deserved the championship of Lang.

E. C. B.

*Chateaubriand et le Tasse* (*The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages*, xxiv. Johns Hopkins and Oxford Univ. Press. 1934. 80 pp. 6s.) is a detached portion of a larger work, not yet completed, on *La fortune littéraire du Tasse en France*. Professor C. B. Beall gathers together all the mentions of Tasso to be found in Chateaubriand's works, dividing these into 'Tasso in Chateaubriand's life', and 'Chateaubriand as a critic of Tasso'. Then follow actual borrowings from the *Gerusalemme liberata*, apparently the only work of Tasso utilised by

Chateaubriand. These are not extensive, 'quelques descriptions épiques et de nombreux détails pittoresques', though Chateaubriand was an admirer of Tasso all his life. The peculiar peril of studies of this kind is the attributing of an influence to a disciple—in this case it would be Tasso—when the real inspiration is perhaps an older master, say, Homer or Virgil. There is, however, now very little danger of error of this sort for Chateaubriand, whose reading and its influence has already received much attention. Professor Beall does not forget other possible influences, and his careful survey of his limited field is to be commended, and promises much for his longer work.

J. G. E.

Ernest Renan's *Prière sur l'Acropole*, which is not so well known in England as it deserves to be, has been admirably edited with an adequate Preface and Notes by a French and a Classical scholar, E. Vinaver and T. B. L. Webster (Manchester: University Press. 1934. 45 pp. 2s.). It takes the form of an invocation of Athena, who is addressed by all the titles under which she was known in antiquity. It is the homage of a scholar, whose temperament led him more in the direction of what used to be called the 'romantic', to the 'classical ideal' as embodied in the Athenian goddess—an ideal which with Renan does not take account of some of the more primitive elements in her character but is incomplete rather than untrue. The considerable learning shown here can hardly all be the result of original study and therefore scarcely calls for a detailed mention of the Greek sources; but the reader might perhaps have been referred to a book like Farnell's *Cults of the Greek States*. The real importance of the piece, which, it must be confessed, belongs to a species of rhetoric rather alien from English taste, lies in its beauty as an example of French prose and in its bearing on the mind and literary methods of Ernest Renan.

J. A. K. T.

*Le Cultivateur Américain, Étude sur l'Œuvre de Saint-John de Crèvecoeur* (Paris: Champion. 1933. 263 pp. with seven plates) is an exhaustive study by Mr H. C. Rice of the work and personality of Crèvecoeur which will be welcome to students of the eighteenth century and the early Romantic period. After a parallel, detailed study of the English and French editions of the *Letters from an American Farmer*, Mr Rice is able to throw new light on the character of his hero who was obviously torn between his desire to portray American life as he knew it from ten years' experience and his racial urge to make it fit in with the *a priori*, naturalistic ideas of the eighteenth-century *philosophes* and *âmes sensibles*. This is well brought out in chapters III and IV. Mr Rice's book is richly documented, not only in the parts dealing with the repercussions produced by the *Letters* in Europe, but also in the important chapters which consider Crèvecoeur as a historian of the American Revolution. What will strike the observant comparative student of French and Anglo-Saxon literature is the reception accorded to Crèvecoeur's book by the eighteenth-century French public and the recurrence of that trait

ignored by so many scholars. I allude to the persistence of the traditional, national spirit which prevents a country from ever being fundamentally 'influenced' by a foreign work of the imagination.

F. C. G.

The fragmentary *Historia Troyana en prosa y verso* (publicada por R. Menéndez Pidal con la cooperación de E. Varón Vallejo. *RFE*, Anejo xviii. Madrid. Centro de Estudios Históricos. 1934. xlix + 225 pp. 15 ptas.) is found in two manuscripts, written in the middle and late fourteenth century. These descend from another, but their source also differed considerably from the author's text. The copyists turned his participles in *-udo* into the later *-ido*, destroying rhymes like *perdudo : escudo*; they write *e* or *ee* in verbs like *ver ser creer* contrary to metre; and they were particularly unskilful in preserving the apocope of personal pronouns, as in *dixol dixom todol not quezavas*. These signs point to an original contemporary with the oldest part of the *Primera Crónica General* (1270). The contents correspond to verses 5703-15567 of the *Roman de Troie*, of which the prose is a generally faithful translation, frequently illegible and much mutilated in the manuscripts. The verses are free paraphrases, five or six times the length of the corresponding passages in the original, in a style midway between epos and melos. Their age makes them interesting, and so does their technique. The poet has been at pains to use a variety of lines and stanzas, based on the prosody of hymns and Galician *cantigas de amor*. Moreover, Sr Menéndez Pidal observes in him a deliberate intention of adapting the metre to the theme, so that alexandrines appear in a narrative section, but short plangent lines, like the later *endechas*, in Cassandra's prophecy. To the characteristics of Spanish literature, therefore, the distinguished editor feels justified in adding *polimetria* (the use of varied metres for varied emotion), as against the manifest attachment of French poets to uniform metres. Examined in more detail, the writer's technique is that of *silabas cuntadas*, and when allowance is made for the errors linguistic change has induced in the copies, his verses are almost numerically perfect. This marks him off from the poets of the fourteenth century, who accepted rougher equivalences. The verses are undistinguished, but not quite without charm, notably in some stanzas of Briseida's return to the Greeks and Cassandra's warning. W. J. E.

Sister Mary Paul Goetz in *The Concept of Nobility in German Didactic Literature of the Thirteenth Century* (Washington: The Catholic University of America. 1935. viii + 138 pp.) considers three works: *Der Winsbeke* (together with its imitation, *Die Winsbekin*), Thomasin von Zirclare's *Der welsche gast* and Hugo von Trimberg's *Der Renner*. 'Didactic' is thus defined very narrowly, although it is admitted that 'the literature of the thirteenth century... is mostly didactic'. Chapter 1 (pp. 14-38) deals with the concept of nobility up to the year 1200 and gives a rapid survey of Homeric conceptions, Aristotelian ethics, Roman developments of Greek notions, new elements introduced by the Church Fathers, Germanic ideals and their gradual fusion with Christian elements. The survey is

adequate, and adds a little by quotation from lesser known Fathers. It does not deal, however, with the real problem: In how far are the ethical notions handed down through the ages, in how far are they independently developed. There are some curious reflections. Where, for instance, is the 'peculiarly refined atmosphere' in Eilhart von Oberg (p. 35)? Chapter II (pp. 39-72) treats of the feudal nobility in its more external aspects, chapter III (pp. 73-100) of the rise of the middle classes and the ethical code of the nobleman, under familiar headings (*reht, bescheidenheit, hôher muot, mâze, mîlte*, etc.), chapter IV (pp. 101-16) of nobility and Christian ideals according to the didactic writers. A short summary (pp. 117-19) attempts to define and compare the attitude towards knighthood and nobility in the three works chosen for the investigation. The work has been carefully done, though after Teske's work on Thomasin von Zirclære, Leitzmann's on *Der Winsbeke* and particularly Ehrismann's on *Der Renner* there was really nothing left to do; at least, not on the lines pursued in the present investigation. There is an excellent bibliography.

F. N.

*Der Junge Herder und Shakespeare*, by Hertha Isaacsen (*Germanistische Studien*, Heft 93. Berlin: Emil Ebering. 1930. 103 pp.) is a short investigation of a carefully defined problem, and succeeds, to an unusual degree, in suggesting the deeper significance of such investigations. This success is chiefly due to the care with which the author has collected data from Herder's writings, and to the delicate appreciation of linguistic values with which she has approached the critical part of her task. The work is divided into two main sections (which are somewhat too elaborately subdivided); the first deals with Herder's criticism and appreciation of the form of Shakespearean drama, the second with his translations from Shakespeare. The account of the successive stages in Herder's criticism of Shakespeare is remarkable for its clear perception of the vital principles underlying Herder's views; a point of special interest is the analysis of his growing tendency to consider Shakespeare in relation to his own ideas on national poetry. Herder's actual translations of extracts from Shakespeare's plays are subjected to a careful analysis which yields interesting results. Here Dr Isaacsen's feeling for differences of emphasis in the two languages, her understanding for Herder's predominantly musical conception of translation, lend unusual attraction to a kind of investigation which is all too frequently infertile. The study, which emanates from the University of Hamburg, is a suggestive contribution to Herder-criticism.

E. P.

*Heine as a Critic of His Own Works*, by Frank Higley Wood, Jr. (privately printed for the author, New York. 1934. 182 pp.) is an industrious compilation of Heine's own pronouncements on his work, with a running commentary on the works themselves, the criticism of which, however, adds nothing to our knowledge or appreciation. In some cases this criticism is frankly misleading, as when we are told that 'the *Harzreise* was a real literary innovation, without precedent or pattern,

(which) may well have filled the jauntiest writer with trepidation'! For the style the following may serve as examples: 'Signs of an inferiority complex, an angle that must also be taken into consideration in dealing with Heine, are strongly in evidence' (p. 19) or 'The sojourn of less than a year in the Bavarian capital... shows a low barometric reading in poetic productivity' (p. 32). Separate chapters deal with Heine's 'Poetry' and 'Prose' at different epochs and his 'Dramatic and Epic Intermezzi', while the most interesting is entitled 'Heine and his Literary Personality'. No selection is exercised in the record of Heine's views, and the arrangement of the work necessarily involves endless repetition. The book presents a mass of information, but what it does not give is a real evaluation of Heine as a self-critic. If it had been more systematically worked out it might have formed a valuable aid for students of Heine.

H. G. A.

Miss Jean Wright's *Camille Selden. Sa Vie—Son Œuvre* (Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature Comparée. Tome 80. Paris. 1931. 259 pp.) explains its chief theme in the subtitle: 'Un Intermédiaire entre l'esprit germanique et l'esprit français sous le Second Empire'. Little more than a quarter of the book is devoted to Camille Selden's brief and romantic appearance at the bedside of the dying Heine, about which there was little new to be said, though we have a very adequate review of the relationship in its various aspects. All the contradictory accounts and various hypotheses concerning the life of Heine's 'Mouche' are marshalled, and probably we are told as much as we shall ever know, but even then the smoke-screen is not pierced, and it looks as though that strange and enigmatic character had definitely succeeded in her deliberate mystification.

The book is a vindication of Camille Selden's claim to have conquered for herself an independent niche in the temple of fame, and of her protest against the assumption that she lived only in the reflected glory of Heine. The two great men in her life were Heine and Taine. Heine stimulated all the extravagant sensibility of her romantic nature, while from Taine she learnt philosophic thinking and literary method. The ten years of her intimate association with Taine are dealt with at length, and it is maintained that he owed to her sympathy and understanding a debt which he was too small-minded to acknowledge. Her own most important original work was her novel, *Daniel Vlady*, a typical German *Künstlerroman* in French, and here a belated German Romantic failed to find a sympathetic hearing in a France of the sixties, which was far removed from the ideals of its own Romantic days. Miss Wright's book presents a very full and scholarly treatment, with an exhaustive bibliography, and may doubtless be accepted as the final word on its subject.

H. G. A.

Dr G. Klemm, the author of *Christian Morgensterns Dichtungen von 'Ich und Du'* (*Mnemosyne*, 12. Bonn: Röhrscheid. 1933. 71 pp. 3 M.) believes that the key to the understanding of Morgenstern's difficult later poetry is to be found in his love lyrics, which contain a substructure, rooted in the poet's personal experience, for the theosophical-anthropo-

sophical climax of his life and work. Besides emphasising the connexion between Morgenstern's love experience and his ultimate attachment to the teachings of anthroposophy, Herr Klemm assigns to his love poetry an important place in the contemporary current of ideas which aimed at the establishment of a new love relationship between man and woman, a relationship on a more intellectual plane in place of the sexual conflict. The attempt to evolve such a relationship is seen most strikingly in the poetry of Richard Dehmel, and the new attitude to woman is an important element in the literature of Expressionism, notably in the dramas of Fritz von Unruh. Of the three chapters in this book the two most important are those devoted respectively to an analysis of Morgenstern's volume of poems *Ich und Du*, the object of which is to estimate their significance for his poetry as a whole, and a discussion of their place in contemporary German literature. Though it is written in what we are accustomed, unfortunately, to regard as dissertation style, the treatise is sufficiently illuminating to justify its place on the library shelf.

W. R.

In *Morphologischer Idealismus und neue Lyrikdeutung* (*Mnemosyne*, H. 17; Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid. 1934. 81 pp. 3 M. 25) the authoress, Elsa Hellwig, applies H. Friedmann's terms 'haptic-optic' in her most painstaking analysis of German poems. The work is based on the fundamental truth that expression must be transfused with form, and therefore a category which has been used more happily by the art historians A. Riegl and A. Schmarsow hardly in itself inaugurates the new method which the authoress claims. In stressing the 'haptic' (the mechanical aggregate) as subjective and the 'optic' (the reconciliation of world and ego to an organic unity) as objective we see again the relativity of words, as when, e.g., Drost reverses Wölfflin's terms with regard to Renaissance and Barock. On the other hand so very sensitive is E. Hellwig's insight into the German lyric that the theoretical section need not be emphasised too much. Dadaism is discarded as not being art. 'Haptic' elements are clearly shown in Hofmannswaldau's 'Was ist der Tod?' 'Pro-optic' poetry is represented by Stramm's 'Der Ritt', Arnim, Brentano, and Uhland. Compression of style born of intensity versus compression as the result of romantic passivity ('Lass rauschen'...) is excellently differentiated. 'Optic' forms are demonstrated by examples from Storm, Goethe, George and others, in which the element of mystery is shown to prevail in spite of clarity. The publisher, L. Röhrscheid, is to be congratulated on this lucid contribution to his valuable series on the lyric.

A. C.

In *Daniel von Czepko, Persönlichkeit und Leistung* (Breslau: Trewendt und Garnier. 1934. iv + 287 pp. 12 M.), a supplement to an edition of the writings (*Geistliche Schriften*, 1930; *Weltliche Schriften*, 1932), Herr Werner Milch hopes that the way is prepared for a more detailed study of special aspects of the works of Daniel von Czepko. One cannot help feeling that Milch overestimates the importance and the achievement of

the Silesian poet, to the study of whose works he has devoted seven years. Can a writer whose principal work in verse is 'ein unhandliches und ungliedertes Epos' (p. 86) be acclaimed a great poet (Intro.)? It is 'geistesgeschichtliche Methode' admitting the importance of mediocre talent which has saved Czepko the poet, an examination of the thought of transitional figures which has saved Czepko the philosopher. The 'Geistesgeschichtler' could scarcely find a more welcome subject of study than this 'Mittelsmann für sein Jahrhundert... Kreuzungspunkt vieler divergierender Tendenzen' (p. 178), than this 'Synkretist'. Herr Milch's monograph is an interesting study of the intellectual and emotional life of seventeenth-century Silesia and a well-documented biography of Daniel von Czepko.

F. P. P.

The twelfth section of the monumental *Deutsch-Österreichische Literaturgeschichte* (cf. *M.L.R.* October 1934) has now appeared. Schnitzler and Schönherr (chapters by Fr. Kainz) figure in it as the two greatest modern Austrian playwrights. Schnitzler's essential characteristics, to which R. F. Arnold in his analysis of the 'Komödie der Verführung' had already drawn attention, are shown to be equally typical of other dramas. Schönherr's robust character studies are considered as a parallel to Egger-Lienz's broadly outlined paintings (cf. the 'Dreipersonentechnik' in *Weibsteufel* and 'Zweipersonentechnik' in *Es*). The interrelationship between Schönherr's dramas and short stories would provide material for interesting research. The influence of the 'Rembrandtdeutsche' (Julius Langbehn) and Stefan George (chapter by Castle) on Jung-Wien is sketched briefly. Hofmannsthal (chapter by E. Rieger), whose new Hellenism and collaboration with Reinhardt and R. Strauss are dealt with comprehensively, is portrayed as a European influence, but lacking the *naïveté* of the true genius. Stefan Zweig took over Hofmannsthal's role of librettist (e.g., in *Die schweigsame Frau*) for R. Strauss. To brand Schaukal, who resuscitated the fame of E. T. A. Hoffmann, as a decadent is rightly opposed by J. Černý. The chapter on Rilke deserves special praise. Fr. Koch traces the influence of Russia, Rodin, Jacobsen, Kierkegaard and others on Rilke, and betrays great insight in his elucidation of the poet's mysticism, particularly in the *Duineser Elegien* and *Sonette an Orpheus*. But we cannot quite agree with Koch that the 'Weisse Fürstin', probably inspired by Maeterlinck, lacks tension, or at any rate the word 'Spannung' would need closer definition. Ginzkey (chapter by Castle), the author of 'Hatschi Bratschis Luftballon'—a second Struwwelpeter—in his sketchy backgrounds reminds one of C. F. Meyer's technique. 'Kirbisch' by Wildgans (chapter by Castle) is justly given a high place. The section concludes with K. Kraus.

A. C.

The present series of Old Norse texts (*Altnordische Übungstexte*, Nos. 2-5, under the general editorship of E. Mogk and K. Reichardt. Halle: Niemeyer. 1934), prepared for beginners, is well chosen and carefully edited, with brief introductions and a glossary for each number. The

texts usually follow the conventional rules of normalisation, with the exception of No. 4 (*Aus der Thidrekssaga*, ed. H. Reuschel, 48 pp., R.M. 1.20), which gives the tale of Wayland Smith in the original Norwegian spelling, stating briefly how far this differs from normal Icelandic.

No. 5 (*Aus der Heimskringla*, ed. Annie Heiermeier, 54 pp., R.M. 1.40) comprises an excellent selection of passages describing the introduction of Christianity into Norway, often more Pagan than Christian. It is unfortunate, however, that the editor has not always followed her rules of normalisation consistently, and that her glossary is incomplete. No. 2 (*Egill Skallagrímsson*, ed. K. Reichardt, 47 pp., R.M. 1.20) gives the three great poems of Egill with comparatively full textual notes, while No. 3 (*Ausgewählte Stücke aus der Egilssaga*, ed. Elisabeth Karg-Gasterstädt, 42 + xxiv pp., R.M. 1.60) consists of some striking chapters from Egill's life, with an appreciative introduction to the saga.

The series should be of great service to students of Old Norse, not only in Germany, where the absence of a dictionary makes the need for elementary texts greater, but also in England, for those who wish for a straightforward and enjoyable introduction to Old Norse literature.

G. T. P.

Werner Ludwig's *Untersuchungen über den Entwicklungsgang und die Funktion des Dialogs in der isländischen Saga* (Niemeyer. 1934. 114 pp. R.M. 5) contains much that is interesting, if little that is new. In the use of the dialogue in Old Norse prose, the author sees a heritage of Germanic narrative style, and a tendency to be observed, not only in West Norse literature, but also to a lesser extent in Saxo, and even in Paulus Diaconus. As has previously been suggested, the Norse partiality for direct speech shows itself not least in translations from Romance literatures.

The work contains a discussion of the fragmentary version of *Harðar Saga* in relation to the complete text, and estimates, with many examples from Family Sagas and from *Sturlunga*, the influence of oral transmission on the growth of direct speech.

In his investigation the author usually applies the theories of Liestøl and Heusler, and supports his arguments with full statistical evidence.

G. T. P.

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July—September 1935

With the collaboration of Dr A. GILLIES and  
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WHAT HAPPENS IN 'HAMLET'?<sup>1</sup>

## AN OPEN LETTER

DEAR DOVER WILSON,

You say it is all my fault. If so, I have a lot to answer for. Fourteen volumes of Shakespeare's comedies, and four volumes on *Hamlet*, besides a swarm of articles and pamphlets. It is a sobering thought. Still, I am not going to stand in a white sheet for the consequences of my rashness, seeing the pleasure you have had in writing and I in reading, and the sometimes exasperated admiration it has won from all judicious Shakespeareans.

When you first read the essay that you describe—far too generously, despite a touch of malice—as 'for sheer audacity, close-knit reasoning and specious paralogism. . . unique in the history of Shakespearean criticism', you wrote, 'Greg's article devilish ingenious, but damnably wrong'. For your full rejoinder we have had to wait eighteen years, but it has been worth it. I am not surprised that you should remark: 'Whether you actually believed in your theory I have never been able to discover'—for I have never discovered it myself. However, you have challenged me to defend it: so, have at you!

For the sake of others I shall have to say some things that you know very well yourself, and others that may make you blush, if you are capable of it. Do I agree with your book? Do I like it? On the second point suffice it to say that I have read you thrice from cover to cover with sustained delight. For the other I am myself surprised to find with how much of it—most of it, I think—I am in whole-hearted and even enthusiastic agreement. After reading, it seems almost a desecration to lay 'forced fingers rude' upon the beautiful edifice you have built up with all, and more than all, your usual brilliance of imagination and subtlety of learning. It seems doubly ungrateful when you have dedicated it to me in a letter of such charm and candour. Still, you do not expect me to agree with you throughout, and I must not disappoint your expectation.

Our most fundamental point of disagreement obtrudes itself on the very threshold of enquiry—the nature of the Ghost. On this your researches into Elizabethan demonology and spiritism have shed a flood of light. Needless to say that eighteen years ago I wrote in naïve igno-

<sup>1</sup> *What Happens in 'Hamlet'*, by J. Dover Wilson. Cambridge University Press, 1935. viii + 334 pages. 12s. 6d. net.

rance of those subtleties of catholic and protestant doctrine that you have now so eloquently expounded, and naturally misinterpreted in some ways the doubts which Hamlet entertains concerning the Ghost and upon which I was, I think, the first to insist. My only criticism here is that you seem to have done less than justice to the position of men like Reginald Scot and Johan Weyer, and have perhaps underestimated their following among the judicious. It was to the latter that Sidney turned on his death-bed with the pathetic cry, 'veni, veni, de vita periclitator et te cupio'; though, as you will point out, whether this implied faith in more than his medical skill is uncertain. By the way, I don't think I ever assumed even tacitly that Shakespeare could no more believe in ghosts than I did (p. 16): I merely *doubted* whether he believed, or rather whether he actually based his play on the necessity of such belief. And in passing let me mention the only other trifling point, I think, on which you have misrepresented me. Is it quite fair to say (p. 58) that I compare the ghost scenes to 'a grotesque fresco' and so forth? The scenes as a whole are strikingly effective—they have need to be: I was alluding only to a portion of the Ghost's story.

You are, I think, conscious that in spite of the learning with which you have illuminated its details, the cellarage scene is as much a stumbling block in the way of your interpretation as of mine—albeit for a different reason. But futile as may have been my special pleading, I doubt whether it gave the Philistine greater scope for ribaldry than your suggestion (p. 81) of a sort of conspiracy between the Hamlets *père et fils* to pass off the Ghost as a devil! And the pretence seems to have imposed on the conjurer himself. At least, according to you the scene ends with renewed doubts of the Ghost's honesty, in evidence of which you surprisingly quote Hamlet's words,

The time is out of joint, O curséd spite,  
That ever I was born to set it right!

Unless the Ghost was honest, where was the obligation?

For the rest of your account of the setting for the action I have nothing but admiration. Further, on the whole question of the antic disposition and the nature of Hamlet's distemper I doubt whether your treatment (except at one point) could be improved, and I should like to add my own experience that it is only when one reads the play through without break, as you have invited us to do in your edition, that one becomes fully aware of how the King's allusion to Hamlet's 'transformation' at the beginning of II, ii dramatically reinforces Ophelia's description at the end of the previous scene to offer us a picture of Hamlet as he has

appeared throughout the vaguely marked interval since his encounter with the Ghost. And never have I admired your mastery more than in your treatment of Ophelia. Your hypothesis of a lost stage-direction is audacious—yet how easily it could have happened!—but it is justified, even if it be not proved, by the fact that it allows the subsequent scenes to be played with dramatic logic instead of the slab sentiment we are accustomed to.

No less delightful and illuminating is the study of character which you so justly and suggestively call 'Hamlet's make-up'. To one aspect of it I shall return later, but with almost all you say I am in hearty agreement, except where you drag in Essex. How acutely, how challengingly you put it, this 'heart of the mystery'! 'That it has a heart is an illusion; the mystery itself is an illusion; Hamlet is an illusion.' This is of course in some measure true of every play. What is particular here is that Shakespeare has used the trick—so to call it, for it is in fact nothing but the condition of dramatic composition—to produce the effect of mystery. The illusion he has created is just that there should be a formula of solution, a heart to the mystery, could we but pluck it out. For this he must allow us to advance some way towards a solution. No wonder that none of us agree exactly how far we should go.

Under the heading of 'Dramatic emphasis' you have much to say of dramatic and literary æsthetics with which I only partially agree, but this is no place in which to thresh the matter out. Let me only remark in passing that I think you exaggerate both the difference between drama and narrative literature, and the extent to which Elizabethan playwrights—Shakespeare more particularly—were uninfluenced by the possibilities of print. And even apart from this, we must surely allow for repeated performance and for discussion. You seem sometimes to imply that Shakespeare wrote for first-nighters only. Not that you really think so. 'We do not, of course, realise all this at once as we sit and watch the scene in the theatre. It is *there* ready to be seen as we later ponder or talk . . . Shakespeare, . . . in this play above all others, offers us a double plane of vision, the one for reflection and the other for immediate apprehension' (pp. 270-1). It is for this reason that, for instance, I think you dismiss the Gonzago coincidence rather lightheartedly as 'part of the architectural scheme of the play as a whole, which Shakespeare never intended us to observe' (p. 144). If 'three centuries of spectators and readers have found no difficulty in swallowing the coincidence' (p. 141), why all this pother about the dumb-show? For in the same time how many have been conscious of the difficulty it raises? Yet that this difficulty is vital is the basis of your interpretation no less than it is of mine.

And this brings me to the play scene and to the heart of our difference. I have honestly tried to read your great fifth chapter with a willing suspension of disbelief, for I am not so much in love with my own theory but that I would gladly accept an alternative interpretation on cause shown. But, much as I admire your perspicacity and resource, I remain unconvinced, and you certainly will not expect full agreement from me. It is still not obvious to me, any more than it was, I believe, to Horatio, that the King breaks down 'upon the talk of the poisoning'. (You yourself notice (p. 240) what very lukewarm support Hamlet gets from his friend.) The alleged necessity of the dumb-show seems to me the weakest point in your case. Nor am I convinced that the King did not see that remarkable piece of pantomime. I appreciate your ingenious point about the 'argument', but this fails to take account of my contention that the dumb-show contains the action of the first act only. What we see cannot possibly be the whole play; that must have included a revenge motive: what the King asks is how the whole thing is going to end. And it seems to me far-fetched to suppose that when Hamlet says, 'they do but jest, poison in jest', he is introducing a new theme—he must be referring to action which the King has already witnessed.

Yet it is delightful to find how many points there are even here on which we agree. There is no quarrel between us as to the general effect of the play upon the assembled court; you cannot believe more firmly than I do that the dumb-show and posy-prologue were no part of Hamlet's plan, or that the 'second-tooth' theory will not work; and I am willing to accept almost as fully as I enjoy the whole of your gloss on the dialogue that surrounds the performance. And 'Lucianus, Nephew to the King'! I could kick myself for not having seen his full significance twenty years ago. *Of course* to the courtiers, ignorant as they are of the real poisoning, the action they witness on the stage must appear, not as the murder of one Hamlet by Claudius, but as that of Claudius by the other! Naturally the King departs in choler—had he not broken off the play the indignation of the whole court would have done so—and the only wonder is that Hamlet is not arrested on the spot. The behaviour of the King leaves no doubt in the mind of the courtiers that it is outraged majesty and not craven conscience that causes his distemper. This disposes of the idea that he cowers from the room like a detected pickpocket as usually represented, or totters out 'squealing' with terror as you suggest. It is Hamlet alone who misinterprets the situation—not even Horatio, he is merely 'moderating', soothing—and Hamlet is in no state to form a critical judgment. He has already, as you yourself suggest (p. 189),

misinterpreted the finching of the Queen; he is now suffering from one of his attacks of 'ungovernable agitation' (p. 213), clearly 'out of hand' (p. 223), to be 'played in a state of frantic excitement' (p. 214). Hamlet has caught nothing; indeed, what he has sprung is not a trap but a mine!

And now, if you will bear with me, I should like to let my fancy range abroad and pick up disjointed trains of thought suggested by the reading and re-reading of your book. Those who are disinclined to follow you blindly through all the byeways of interpretation—and I admit I am sometimes of their number—will no doubt accuse you of overstressing every detail that can be made to support your view, of twisting others into accord with it, and even perhaps of sometimes overlooking points that conflict. To which, in my case, you will reply that this is exactly what I did in the article that started all the mischief. And I shall cry, 'A hit, a very palpable hit!' It is only natural that one should discover subtlety and meaning in any point that appears to support one's thesis, and dismiss or explain away whatever seems inconsistent as what you call—rather euphemistically I think—'dramatic emphasis', or the like. It is natural—and proper, so it be done honestly. After reading your book three times I am convinced that in every instance you have said what you really believe, that for all your shrewd passes you have never once made a mere debating point. I would not vouch as much for myself. But we have each used what ingenuity we had at command—and rightly. There *is* subtlety in *Hamlet*, and without corresponding appreciation we can make nothing of it. Now, the test of legitimate ingenuity is that it shall illumine and make clear the meaning of the play. The trouble with subtlety in the application is that often in solving one difficulty it involves itself in others, that call for further ingenuity to overcome. The sort of thing I have in mind may become clearer if I take a few instances, though some of them are probably little more than oversights.

In the graveyard scene you insist that Hamlet's love for Ophelia 'had been dead and buried long before she was—...he is careful to say, "I *loved* Ophelia"' (p. 270). Pray, what else could he say? We do not use the present tense in speaking of the dead. To support your interpretation he should have said, 'I loved Ophelia *once*', as he had done before (III, i, 115). You are right that he had long ceased to love her, but now in the presence of death temporal sequence is forgotten.

The danger of seeing more than Shakespeare meant appears again, I think, when after the play scene you represent Polonius and the rest as carefully anxious 'to keep [Hamlet] from the King' (p. 243). On the contrary, so negligent are they that they let him walk straight in upon

Claudius at prayer! Here too you have seen the situation correctly, but have credited Shakespeare with an intention he surely never had.

Similarly Hamlet in the bedroom scene says, 'I must to England, you know that?' and you ask how *he* came to know it (p. 258). Out of this you weave quite a little drama of diplomatic etiquette, your point being that the King had determined on Hamlet's mission some time before, and that Hamlet must have been informed. But does this agree with the text? It had been proposed; but Polonius had suggested, and the King had agreed, to postpone decision till after the interview with the Queen (III, i, 188). Shakespeare knew that the audience knew, and he did not trouble to ask whether Hamlet had been told or not. We must not apply Scotland Yard methods!

Speaking of the incest motive and the sullied flesh—and very excellent your treatment is—you ask, 'Why are Hamlet's "imagination . . . as foul as Vulcan's stithy"?' (p. 42), and you imply again later on (p. 260) that it is to this taint that Hamlet's words refer. But it happens to be the very thing they cannot refer to; the 'imagination' are those dependent on the Ghost's revelation, that is adultery and murder (III, ii, 80)—the incest has nothing to do with them.

More important is Hamlet's treatment of Gertrude. You make a great point of his need to spare his mother; it is almost a cardinal point in your interpretation of the plot. But how is this consistent with his attitude in the play scene? That the whole second-marriage business is aimed at her is obvious, and you insist more than once (pp. 173, 192) that it must have been obvious to everyone present. But if so, the line

None wed the second, but who killed the first

is nothing short of an accusation of murder. That such is only 'hinted at' (p. 189) won't do at all. And what could be more gross than Hamlet's answer to the King's protest some sixty lines later? He says in effect: Your Majesty will observe that the outrageous knavery of the play is directed not at you but at the Queen; why bother? let your jade of a wife show her galled withers, it has nothing to do with us! Is not this shielding of Gertrude an invention of your subtle fancy?

Again, about this catholic-protestant business of the Ghost. Are you not a little too ready to see the black gown? To doubt the *bona fides* of the Ghost was no proof of Lutheran heresy. Le Loyer himself suggests that he is most likely the devil and should be strictly examined (p. 83). Denmark is England: very well—but opinion in England was, and still more had recently been, in a state of flux on matters of religion. Wittenberg certainly suggests protestantism; but what of him whom

you, I think unwisely, call the 'King of Lutheran Denmark'? It is, pardon me, *not* beside the point to quote the Ghost's words (p. 70): he was 'Unhousel'd, disappointed, unaneled', not because of an unfortunate lapse into heresy, but simply because his death gave no time for the rites of the church. And I may add that though I fancy you are right in seeing a double meaning in the word 'nunnery', there can be no doubt that its ordinary sense is present, as I think you recognise (p. 133).

And now I am going to put myself at your mercy, and perhaps expose myself to the ridicule of others, by finding subtleties where you have seen only convention or dramatic artifice. In the first place, how exactly does the idea of the mouse-trap take root in Hamlet's mind? Your suggestion is, I think, that it comes as a sudden inspiration in the course of the Pyrrhus speech, and that in the subsequent soliloquy Hamlet merely explains it to the audience (pp. 141-2). That this would be possible in Elizabethan dramaturgy is true enough, but it seems to me far too crude a device for such a play as *Hamlet*, and moreover disproved by the words, 'About, my brains', which show him deliberately setting his wits to work upon the plot. As I see it what happens is this. Hamlet's first idea is to have the *Murder of Gonzago* played merely as a sort of challenge to the King, and he proposes to insert a speech of his own to give it sting (II, ii, 540-5). It is, I think, this notion of defiance he has in mind when he uses the expression,

Make mad the guilty and appal the free,

—the idea is to overwhelm rather than to probe or entrap. But when the hysterical excitement of the ensuing speech has worn itself out and he realises the futility of his passion, his brain does get to work. His doubts of the Ghost, and therefore of the King's guilt, return; he remembers stories of murderers who confessed on beholding their deeds mimicked on the stage, and he determines to use the *Gonzago* piece for a different purpose, namely as a test of the King's conscience. I would even suggest—though it would tell against my own theory—that the words, 'I'll have these players *Play* something like the murder of my father', have a specific rather than a general meaning, that he has in mind a particular piece of stage business—namely pouring poison in the sleeper's ear—that he intends to introduce into the performance.

Another and much more important point, where—forgive me—I think you have shirked the difficulty, is Hamlet's speech to Laertes before the fencing match. It is the most important of those that 'put his sanity in doubt', for in it he excuses his actions on the ground of madness. Now you insist—rightly, I believe—that Shakespeare can never have meant

us to question Hamlet's sincerity in this (pp. 217, 275). Yet on the two occasions he is referring to—the death of Polonius and the struggle by Ophelia's grave—we have ourselves seen Hamlet, and we *know* he was not mad—'we never see him in a condition of unmistakable insanity' (p. 221). To say that 'we are quite ready to accept Hamlet's word for [his] insanity an hour later' (p. 223), or that 'when Hamlet tells us that he...killed Polonius in madness we are expected to believe him' (p. 217), seems to me to make altogether exorbitant demands on 'dramatic emphasis'. To my prosaic mind it reduces the play to nonsense.

But let that pass, for there is a much more important matter involved. That Shakespeare never meant us to know the exact extent of Hamlet's 'sore distraction' is true—it is one of the best points of your analysis. But it is essential that he should retain 'moral responsibility for his actions' (p. 224). Hamlet's responsibility is the ethical and dramatic foundation of the play, and any calling of his sanity in question that does not 'gingerly' leave that unconfounded must wreck the whole structure. Yet this is exactly what Hamlet himself does in his speech to Laertes. He denies his responsibility. Here there can be no question of 'dramatic emphasis', there is no opportunity for a convenient lapse of memory on the part of the audience, it is not that 'in the study the artifice shows a little too nakedly' (p. 223)—the contradiction is there stark before us on the stage.

Now the speech, when we examine it closely, is a rather remarkable one, which seems to deserve closer attention than (in print) you have bestowed upon it. The opening and closing lines hang together and contain a straightforward and dignified apology that may well 'win our hearts' (p. 275):

Give me your pardon, sir. I have done you wrong,  
But pardon't, as you are a gentleman....  
Let my disclaiming from a purposed evil  
Free me so far in your most generous thoughts,  
That I have shot my arrow o'er the house,  
And hurt my brother.

But between them stand twelve lines of involved and stilted argumentation, curiously unadapted, it appears to me, to make the emotional appeal to the audience so necessary at this point.

What I have done...I here proclaim was madness.  
Was't Hamlet wronged Laertes? never Hamlet.  
If Hamlet from himself be ta'en away,  
And when he's not himself does wrong Laertes,  
Then Hamlet does it not, Hamlet denies it.  
Who does it then? his madness....

In considering this there are two points, I think, to be borne in mind.

One is, that when he gives madness as his excuse Hamlet is no doubt adopting what was the official explanation of his conduct: he says, 'This presence knows'. Secondly, Hamlet is now free from his 'sore distraction', he is 'a changed man, with an air of self-possession greater than at any other time of the play' (p. 267). I suggest that Hamlet, at last fully sane and calm, is really himself in doubt how far his distraction went, and is seeking to convince himself quite as much as Laertes of his innocence. He is genuinely ashamed of his behaviour in the churchyard—

I am very sorry, good Horatio,  
That to Laertes I forgot myself;

he is shocked in memory at having killed Polonius (however little he thought of it at the time); and—as in the case of his sparing the King at prayer—he is quite honestly making excuses for behaviour he himself does not understand.

Lastly, no critic of *Hamlet* but is sooner or later tempted by the problem of what is called Hamlet's procrastination, his failure to sweep to his revenge. 'Shakespeare, as everyone knows, never furnishes an explanation for Hamlet's inaction' (p. 204); he deliberately keeps us guessing. There are a dozen reasons or excuses, real or imaginary, suggested or that could be put forward; yet none that obviously goes to the root of things. All the same, I sometimes doubt whether the matter is so very mysterious after all. You appear to me now and again to approach the truth, only to shy off once more, but I don't suppose you will be at all pleased with what follows.

Let us see how the matter stands. 'Shakespeare makes us *feel* that Hamlet is shirking a plain duty, and that he is blameworthy for this neglect' (p. 224). You repeatedly insist on this view. 'I believe Shakespeare wished us to the end to think of Hamlet as sinning as well as sinned against' (p. 262), he is 'the less excusable' (p. 268), he fails through a 'fatal flaw' (p. 236) and 'weakness of character' (p. 268). Now, if I may say so without offence, this seems to me much too crude. Let us get away from these self-righteous terms of moral censure. Of course Hamlet thought in these terms, but did Shakespeare? Let us rather say that the Ghost laid on Hamlet the burden of revenge, which Hamlet accepted. He believes himself (generally speaking) to be always on the point of execution—but he never executes. It is not, in fact, a case of procrastination at all, but of incapacity. Left to himself Hamlet never would have acted. You see this clearly enough: 'Shakespeare shows us that, but for the discovery of the crowning treachery... he never would have killed the King' (p. 272). He can only act on impulse: 'How easy

is killing when one does not have to think about it!' (p. 247). I suggest that Hamlet was simply a civilised human being who was *ipso facto* incapable of deliberately planning and executing a cold-blooded murder. Very regrettable of course; it would have been much better for everyone if he had acted promptly—though incidentally there would have been no play, and he would therefore never have existed. I don't think Shakespeare anywhere blames Hamlet. And those stern critics who are for ever crying, 'Hamlet, revenge!'—must I number you among them?—I wonder what would be their reaction if he did strike. Would he still be 'the most adorable of heroes'? Would Shakespeare be our Shakespeare if he had allowed Hamlet to run Claudius through at his prayers? It is not the dram of evil that paralyses the hero, but the noble substance itself. The tragedy is not one of particular circumstance, but of conflicting loyalties in a world that no neat ethical formula can comprehend.

Shakespeare has passed no moral judgment one way or the other on Hamlet's failure to take vengeance, but he seems to me to give a broad hint to our sympathies. No sooner has Hamlet allowed himself to be deported to England, than Laertes reappears. Here is a man with a motive and a cue for passion very similar to Hamlet's own, but unlike Hamlet a man of action with no refined or morbid inhibitions. Shakespeare, you observe, points the contrast in every way he can: 'All that [Laertes] says and does is a reflection upon Hamlet' (p. 263). Here then is the admirable hero the moralists are looking for. And Shakespeare shows him up as a shallow braggart whose 'ranting insincerity' (p. 271) lets him be cajoled by the first flattering tongue he meets, and who eagerly involves himself in a vile and despicable, and withal a very clumsy plot. Is not the inference obvious?

No two readers have ever seen quite the same in *Hamlet*, and the deeper criticism goes the more widely views are like to differ. There are some major issues, and many minor points, on which I dissent more or less strongly from your interpretation; but what impresses me is less the fact of our disagreement than the extent of our accord. You have, I believe, brought us nearer than ever before to the truth of the matter. I may be a heretic in some ways—but how I should like to see your *Hamlet* acted!

Meanwhile, I am affectionately but unrepentantly yours,

W. W. GREG.

## THOMAS DEKKER AND THE 'OVERBURIAN' CHARACTERS

• In the ninth impression of the 'Overburian' Collection of Characters (1616) appear for the first time six characters which deal with the life of a debtor in the early part of the seventeenth century. They are *A Prison*, *A Prisoner*, *A Creditour*, *A Sarieant*, *His Yeoman*, and *A Iaylour*. Not only are these six Characters linked together by a similarity of material and style, but they introduce into the Collection a type of subject which is entirely original. The Collection which appeared first in 1614 with the name of Sir Thomas Overbury and other 'learned Gentlemen' upon its title page was augmented in later impressions by the contributions of anonymous authors. The work of Overbury and his gentlemanly collaborators was probably confined to the first impression which itself appeared after his death. The majority of Characters added in later impressions were, it is likely, the work of professional writers, attracted by the popularity of this type of literature, and of this particular Collection, rather than of dilettantes who contributed to the first impression.

The identity of these anonymous contributors can only be conjectured by a close examination of the material and language of the Characters themselves except in the case of three (*A Tinker*, *An Apparatur*, *An Almanacke-maker*), which are claimed by I. Cocke in a poem preceding the second impression of Stephen's Characters (1615). In the six Characters under discussion (they may be conveniently referred to as the 'Prison Characters') are to be found some indications which suggest the identity of their author.

They were probably all the work of one man who had himself suffered the misery of imprisonment for debt: they appear together in the same impression, and deal with the same subject in a common style and spirit; they reveal an intimate knowledge of prison life and of legal terms, and they attack with a bitter invective the penal system of the day. In their material, their language, and their temper, they present many similarities with the work of that indefatigable Elizabethan, Thomas Dekker.

Dekker was himself confined in prison for debt during the years 1613-19, as we learn from his pamphlet *Dekker His Dreame* (1620). He had dealt with the subject of prison life as early as 1607 in a work 'Iests to make you Merie: With *The Coniuring vp of Cock Watt*, (the walking Spirit of Newgate) To tell Tales. Vnto which is Added, the miserie of a Prison, and a Prisoner. And a Paradox in praise of *Serieants*. Written

by T.D. and George Wilkins'.<sup>1</sup> In 1616 appeared another pamphlet of Dekker, 'Villanies Discouered by Lanthorne and Candle-light, and the helpe of a New Cryer called *O per se O*', which contains Essays and Characters written by a prisoner, dealing with Prisoners, Creditors, Choice of Company in Prison, Visitants, and Jailers. A comparison of these two works with the 'Prison Characters' in the ninth impression of the 'Overburian' Collection reveals many similarities of material, style, and spirit. The following are some examples.

And whereas some suppose that this Iland (like that) is haunted with deuils it is not so, for those deuils (so talked of and feared) are non else but hoggish Iaylours.... They in the common Iayle ly vnder hatches and helpe to ballasse it: Intricate cases are the tacklings, executions the Ancors, capiasses, the Cables, chancery Bills the huge sailes, a long tearme, the mast, the law the helme, A Iudge the Pylot, a counsell the Purser....  
(Character of *A Prison.*)

More now then a three-yeares-voyage, haue I made to these infortunate Ilands: a long lying haue I had vnder Hatches, during which time, my Compasse neuer went true. No Star of comfort haue I sayld by: no Anchor to cast out. Top-saile, Fore-saile, Sprit-saile, Mizzen, Mayne-sheat, Botlings, and Drablers are all torne by the windes: and the Barque it selfe so weather beaten, that I feare it shall neuer touch at the Capo Bona Speranza.  
(Dekker, *Villanies Discouered.*)

In both passages metaphor drawn from the language of the sea is used. In both the sentences are long and rhythmical, and constructed upon a similar pattern. The final succession of metaphor which concludes the extract from the Character is typical of Dekker's style, as are also the parenthetical remarks inserted within the body of the sentence.

Dekker, in addition to his use of maritime metaphors, reveals a fondness for employing military expressions in the imagery of his descriptions. A similar device is found in the 'Prison Characters'. The following examples will serve to illustrate this:

...to the one he comes like Tamberlaine<sup>2</sup> with his blacke and bloody flags, But to the other his white hangs out. And (vpon the parle) rather then faile he takes ten groates i'th'pound for his ransome and so lets him march away with bagge and baggage.  
(Character of *A Creditour.*)

It thundered and lightened all night, yet was it a faire day the very next morning for furious *Tamberlaine*, who as you heard, was cutting out 3 sorts of banners for his 3 sworne enemies.  
(*Iests to make you Merie.*)

and

For these art thou bound in the bonds of Nature, to take pitie of thy selfe, and to hang out a Flagge of Truce to thy bloudie minded Creditor, and for Ransome to pay all, so thou maiest march away with life onely.  
(*Villanies Discouered.*)

In the prose of Dekker is a phraseology which is often biblical in choice of expression, simplicity of diction, and rhythmical arrangement of words. A like phraseology is to be found in the 'Prison Characters'. For example

<sup>1</sup> The prison material is most probably the work of Dekker.

<sup>2</sup> A character and an incident which Dekker mentions several times in his works.

in the portrait of *A Creditour* occurs the following passage which is, in this respect, typical of Dekker:

...and a lawyer is his God Almighty, in him onely hee trusts, to him he flies in all his troubles, from him he seekes succour, to him he prayes that he may by his meanes overcome his enemies, him does he worship both in the Temple and abroad, and hopes by him and good Angels to prosper in all his actions.

The two final puns on 'Angels' and 'actions' are characteristic of Dekker who, even in his most solemn style, could rarely resist a play upon words.

In many cases the spirit as well as the matter and expression of these 'Prison Characters' are also reminiscent of that author as the following passage taken from the Character of *A Iaylour* will illustrate:

If it were possible for all creatures in the world to sleep euery night. He only and a Tyrant cannot. That blessing is taken from them, and this curse comes in the steade, to be euer in feare, and euer hated, what estate can be worse.

(*A Iaylour.*)

This passage may be compared in thought, sentiment, and language, with an extract from *Villanies Discovered*:

The Prisoner cries ont [sic] hee lyes vpon an ill bed: But vpon what bed sleepes his Keeper? I think he sleepes vpon none: I thinke he cannot sleepe: for his pillow is not stufte with Feathers but w<sup>th</sup> Feares. Euery Prisoner sinks vnder the waight of his owne Debts, but his Keeper feesles the burden of all.

Other passages in the 'Prison Characters' contain further echoes of an expression and spirit which suggest that they may be associated with Dekker's name. The following are a few examples.

(a) He hath lost his way & being benighted strayed into a wood full of wolues & nothing so hard as to get away without being deuoured.

(*A Prisoner.*)

... it is a wildernes where all that wander vp and downe grow wilde, and all that come into it are deuoured.

(*Of a Prison in Iests to make you Merie.*)

(b) His house is a picture of hell...

(*A Iaylour.*)

The deuill calles him his white sonne, he is so like him that he is worse for it. And he takes after his father, for the one torments bodyes as fast as the other tortures soules.

(*A Sarieant.*)

...no, no, it stands not next doore to hell, but it is hell it selfe... The keepers of it are churlish, and so are Diuills, the officers of it tormentors, and what are torments?

(*Of a Prison, Iests to make you Merie.*)

(c) ...whiles he lyes by it, hee's traueling ore the Alpes and the hearts of his creditours are the snowes that ly vn melted in the middle of sommer.

(*A Prisoner.*)

He whom neither Snowes nor Alpes can vanquish, but hath a heart as constant as Hannibals, him can the Misery of a Prison delect.

(*Villanies Discovered.*)

A reference to the Bermudas ('haunted as all men know with Hogs and Hobgoblins') in Dekker's *Bankrouts Banquet* (1613) is paralleled by a description with a similar ring of the 'Iland' in the Character of *A Prison*:

...some suppose that this Iland (like that) is haunted with deuils it is not so, for those deuils (so talked of and feared) are non else but hoggish Iaylours.

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Certain resemblances may be also found between the 'Prison Characters' and scenes in the dramatic works of Dekker wherein figure the officers of the law.

'Hanger' is the name given in the *Roaring Girl* to the Sergeant's Yeoman; in the Character of *His Yeoman*, the officer is described as 'the Hanger that a sargeant weares by his side'. In the same play Sir Alexander couples Bedlam with a Prison, and also likens the latter place to a University. Both these comparisons are also to be found in the Character of *A Prison*.

In the *Honest Whore*, pt. 2, Matheo's words upon his prison:

Oh braue fresh ayre, a pox on these Grates and Gingling of Keyes, and rattling of Iron...

are echoed in *A Prison*:

No it is not halfe so sweet an ayre, for it is the dunghill of the law...by which meanes it coms to be a perfect meddal of the Iron age, sythence nothing but Iengling of keyes, rattling of shackles, Boults and grates are here to be heard.

The above are some of the similarities which are to be found between the 'Prison Characters' and the work of Dekker. In the absence of evidence other than that which can be gleaned from a close comparison of the two sets of work, a positive assertion that Dekker was the author of these Characters would be presumptuous. Nevertheless, there are indications which prompt the suggestion of his name as their possible author.

The six Characters appeared in 1616 while he was still in prison. At that time his mind was obviously occupied with the subject of imprisonment as the chapters in his *Villanies Discovered* of that same year show. Now the six Characters, having a common style, subject and spirit, were probably the work of one man. Moreover, the material they introduce is entirely different from that of preceding sketches, and in sentiment and language their deep sincerity contrasts with the somewhat facetious superficiality which marks the Characters of preceding Impressions. They vibrate with the warm bitterness of a man who has himself suffered the misery of imprisonment for debt as Dekker had.

The chief stylistic features wherein these Characters resemble the prose of Dekker may be briefly summarised.

Firstly, there are many verbal echoes of his language which are not simply the apish repetitions some plagiarist might have perpetrated but rather the variations of one author who was mentally occupied with the same theme.

Secondly, both the 'Prison Characters' and the prose of Dekker contain certain similar characteristics. The sentences of both have inserted frequent parenthetical remarks enclosed with brackets. They are often constructed upon the same pattern, commencing with a subsidiary clause or phrase, inverting the predicate and subject, i.e.,

- ...to the one he comes like Tamberlaine with his blacke and bloudy flags....  
 (Character of *A Creditour*.)  
 ...and a lawyer is his God Almighty, in him onely hee trusts....  
 (Character of *A Creditour*.)  
 More now then a three-yeares-voyage, haue I made to these infortunate llands.  
 (Dekker.)  
 For these art thou bound in the bonds of Nature, to take pitie of thy selfe....  
 (Dekker.)

In the prose of both, the sentences too are often long and rhythmical, composed of a succession of clauses and phrases in which frequently the imagery employed is expanded at length. In both there is the emphatic use of the negative particle 'no', and of the rhetorical question. Often the language of the 'Prison Characters' assumes, in its dignified and cadenced arrangement, its simple and sincere expression, that biblical tone which is so characteristic of Dekker's style.

Thirdly, another feature which is common to both is the tumultuous succession of metaphors which are drawn especially from maritime and military language.

And lastly there is the spirit which breathes in these 'Prison Characters', a spirit totally different from the superficial, witty invective of most portraits in the Collection, a spirit which in its deep sincerity, its bitter condemnation, reminds one of Dekker's fervid utterances.

Dekker may therefore have contributed to the 'Overburian' Collection, and the following considerations may also support the suggestion. Already the author of prison literature, in prison himself, he may well have turned the material which appears to have constantly obsessed him into the form of Characters. The Character in some respects suited his style. Its use of metaphor, of puns, was to his taste. Again it offered a convenient vehicle for attack, an attack, moreover, which, in the case of this particular Collection, would be concealed under the cloak of anonymity. This latter consideration is important, for it is quite possible that Dekker may have suffered some persecution in prison on account of his condemnation of the penal system of the day. A fear that the nature of their literary work might be discovered is expressed by both Fennor in his *Compter's Commonwealth*, and Mynshul in his *Essayes and Characters of A Prison and Prisoners*. Mynshul's Preface (which is probably

the work of Dekker himself) voices this fear: 'I vndertooke a warre when I aduentured to speake in print...Carpes haue bin good cheape this Lent...some being sent from the table of Iaylours.<sup>1</sup>' The Character of *A Iaylour* in the ninth impression of the 'Overburian' Collection is significantly altered in the tenth to *A common cruell Iaylour*, and the epithets 'common cruell' are not, as would appear at first sight, inserted as an intensification of the Character, but as a restriction in order to avoid the implication that all 'Iaylours' resembled the portrait delineated in the Collection.

Thus there were obviously complaints by the Keepers of Prisons against the attacks made in contemporary literature upon them, and no doubt when an offending author was in their power, some form of retaliation was practised. It is therefore quite probable that Dekker, in prison, with material which constantly obsessed him under his eyes, suffering some degree of persecution because of his admitted sketches of prison life, may have found a refuge, and a means of continuing his attack, under the sheltering anonymity of the 'Overburian' Collection.

W. J. PAYLOR.

LEEDS.

<sup>1</sup> Fennor voices this fear of retaliation on several occasions in his work; from his remarks there is no doubt that prisoners suffered for their literary denunciations.

## RONSARD'S POETIC GROWTH<sup>1</sup>

### III (*concluded*)

SINCE the publication of his first volume, nearly five years before this, Ronsard had made a great advance. He had shown that he had an easy command of verse both for sonnets and for odes of many kinds, from the stately gravity of his Pindarics to the lively patter of the *Voyage d'Herceuil*, and among his lighter odes he had produced a little masterpiece. He had also pursued with diligence his Greek studies and had derived inspiration from authors so diverse as Simonides of Amorgos, Mimnermus and Simonides of Ceos, Philemon and Menander, Theocritus, Bion, Callimachus, Aratus, Nicander, Oppian, and particularly the Anacreontics. He had written *Vœux* (dedications), epigrams, epitaphs, epistles, elegies, and even the much despised blazons,<sup>2</sup> examples of all of which, together with sonnets, odes, and *odelettes*, will be found in *Le Bocage* and *Les Meslanges*. He had also made several experiments with alexandrines, and had attained here and there considerable success with them.

But the strongest testimony to his progress in the poetic art is his revision for a third edition of the first four books of Odes, which appeared in January, 1555.<sup>3</sup> Not only did not a single poem entirely escape alteration, but a few, as I have said, were altered so drastically as to become practically new poems. For two of these, *A la forest de Gatine* (II, xxiii) and *A la fontaine de Bellerie* (II, ix), M. Vianey has printed both versions and suggested the reasons for the alterations. A third ode of the same book, *A Cassandre* (II, xxiv), met with equally drastic treatment and like the others was greatly improved. Even the gem of the volume, *De l'élection de son sepulcre* (IV, v) was carefully revised. Four stanzas were struck out altogether, and the weak lines,

Les pastoureaus estans  
Prés habitans.

were altered to

Avecques leurs troupeaus  
Les pastoureaus.

<sup>1</sup> Continued from *Mod. Lang. Rev.* xxx (1935), No. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Houx* (*Les Meslanges*, *Œuvres*, vi, 135) and four little poems (*La Grenouille*, etc.) of *Le Bocage* (*ibid.*, pp. 83 ff.) are practically blazons though not so entitled.

<sup>3</sup> The printing was finished on January 25 (N.S.), the publisher being *Veuve de la Porte*. Bib. Nat. Rés. p. Ye 126.

and in the last stanza but one, the lines

Sous les acords divers  
De leurs beaux vers

were changed, not very happily, to

Et quand la pale fain  
Saisist Tantale en vain

which made the last line too long by two syllables and had to be corrected again in 1567.<sup>1</sup> There are also two verbal alterations, both an obvious improvement, namely, *chante* for *ouira* in the present tenth stanza and *toujours* for *d'eus i* in the sixteenth.

Another ode which was considerably improved is *Les Louanges de Vandomois* (II, xvii). M. Vianey has commented on the principal changes, but the alterations of *De quelque etrange terre* into *De l'Atlantique terre* in the eighth stanza and that of the next stanza into

Et la Gemme *peschée*  
*En Orient, si cher,*  
*Chès toi ne soit cherchée*  
Par l'avare nocher

are also decidedly for the better.

The principles which guided Ronsard in his revision seem to have been the elimination of archaic words and forms of grammar (like *je veil*), of otiose or meaningless epithets, of jarring combinations of sounds, of roughness or feebleness in the rhythm, and of ambiguity or lack of precision in the language. Moreover, he has not only by these means removed obvious blots and imperfections, but often by a deft touch, the secret of a great artist, he has added to the whole poetical value of a passage.

This new edition of the Odes contains nineteen new pieces, of which three at least are of much beauty—*Quand je suis vint ou trente mois* (L. II, 326), *Pourquoi chetif laboureur* (L. II, 338), and *Le petit enfant Amour* (L. II, 340), the last being an imitation of perhaps the most popular of all the Anacreontics, "Ἔρως ποτ' ἐν ῥόδοισιν. All these were placed in the Fourth Book. At the head of the Third Book were introduced seven odes addressed respectively to Henri II, Catherine de' Medici, their three sons and (jointly) their daughters, and Diane de

<sup>1</sup> The lines finally ran,

Et quand le vieil Tantal  
N'endure mal,

which is no improvement on the original version.

Poitiers. In the ode to the King (L. II, 231) he sketches the plan of his intended *Franciade* and ends with a blunt appeal for assistance!

... Là donques, mon grand Roi  
En me la commandant, liberal donne moi  
Ce que tu m'as promis, et pour la recompense  
Je t'apreste un renom et à toute la France,  
Qui vif de siecle en siecle à jamais vollera,  
Tant qu'en France François ton peuple parlera.<sup>1</sup>

But Henri II remained unmoved and it was not till the last year of his life that he appointed Ronsard his almoner in ordinary, a sinecure office with a stipend of 1200 livres a year, and it was not till after his death that Ronsard received a substantial benefice—though he held for a short time three small cures—in the shape of a canonry of Le Mans, vacant by the death of his friend, Joachim Du Bellay. At last, in the reign of Charles IX, he was comfortably provided with the Priories of Saint-Cosme near Tours and Croixval in the Vendômois, the latter on the edge of his beloved forest of Gatine.<sup>2</sup>

Disappointed in his hopes of ecclesiastical preferment, he gave up for the present the idea of writing a great epic. But he still clung to his ambition of producing something more serious than light odes and love-sonnets. So he wrote *Hymnes*, as he called them, and dedicated them to various great and influential personages. Odet de Coligny, Cardinal de Châtillon, who with the Cardinal of Lorraine was the most generous patron of the day, was honoured with no less than five dedications and the Cardinal of Lorraine with one. But Ronsard prided himself on having more than one string to his lyre, and he had no intention of abandoning the lighter kinds of poetry, which in *Le Bocage* and *Les Meslanges* had brought him such popularity.

The result was that in the two years 1555 and 1556 Ronsard produced four slender volumes, two of *Hymnes* and two of *Amours*. It will be convenient to consider each pair together and to begin with the *Amours*, of which the first volume, entitled *La Continuation des Amours*, was published about August 1555, and the second, *La Nouvelle Continuation des Amours*, in the latter half of 1556. The first volume contained ninety new poems, seventy sonnets and seven odes; the second twenty-five sonnets and thirty-five odes and *chansons*, concluding with an *Elegie à son livre*.

<sup>1</sup> Imitated from a short idyll (xix) by Theocritus. Translated by Herrick and Rémy Belleau and paraphrased by Baif, Magny Doublet and Richard Renvoisy (*Odes d'Anacréon mises en musique*, 1573). The Ode to Diane was omitted in 1567.

<sup>2</sup> Saint-Cosme in 1565 and Croixval in 1566. The latter was ceded to him by Amadis Jamyn for an annual payment of 120 livres. In 1564 Amyot gave up the Abbey of Bellosane in his favour, but he resigned it in the same year. See L. Froger, *Ronsard ecclésiastique*, 1882, and P. Laumonier, *Ronsard et sa province*, pp. xxiv-xxxii.

In the *Continuation* were the well-known sonnets, *Marie qui voudroit vostre beau nom tourner*, *Mignonne levés vous, vous estes paresseuse*, *C'est grand cas que d'aimer* and *Je vous envoie un bouquet de ma main*,<sup>1</sup> in the *Nouvelle Continuation*, *J'aime la fleur de mars*, *j'aime la belle rose*<sup>2</sup> and *Belle, gentille, honneste, humble, et douce Marie*.<sup>3</sup> Among the more famous odes (all in the second volume) are *Bel Aubespin verdissant*,<sup>4</sup> *Je ne veus plus que chanter de tristesse*, *Dieu vous gard, messagers fidelles*,<sup>5</sup> and the moving dialogue between Ronsard and the Muses, *Pour avoir trop aimé votre bande inéquale*.<sup>6</sup> In the collective edition of 1560, and in subsequent editions, most of the pieces in these two volumes formed part of the Second Book of the *Amours*, which became known as *Amours de Marie*.<sup>5</sup>

If Ronsard as a lover was unsuccessful with his new mistress, as a poet he was greatly indebted to her. He must by this time have wearied of his attitude as an unhappy but constant lover, and what was worse, he must have realised that in a man of his amorous temperament it was becoming ridiculous. So when on April 20, 1555, as he is careful to record, he met with a new charmer, he was only too ready to transfer his affections. In the *Elegie à son livre* (L. I, 125), which in all the collective editions stands at the head of the Second Book of *Amours*,<sup>6</sup> he explains his defection in a tone of worldly cynicism. He refuses to acknowledge the authority of 'the good Petrarch'. He says that if only Cassandre had shown him a little courtesy and tenderness, or had been willing to 'comfort his poor sick heart with a kind look he would not have left her'. But seeing that her pride increased, he transferred his affections to a maiden of Anjou, prepared to leave her in turn for another, if she should prove as haughty and rebellious as Cassandre.

Car un homme est bien sot d'aimer si on ne l'aime.

Then he defends himself against a possible reproach, that his verse is not so grave as 'when the Pindaric inspiration amply filled his mouth'. The god of love, he answers, is content if one sings of one's passion with sincerity.

Sans enfure ny fard, d'un mignard et doux stile,  
Coulant d'un petit bruit, comme une eau qui distille.

In an earlier poem<sup>7</sup> he complains to his 'petite pucelle Angevine' that she had made him change his noble style for one 'si basse et si rampante',

<sup>1</sup> L. I, 141, 147, 147 (*Amour est un charmeur*) and L. VI, 248.

<sup>2</sup> L. I, 154; translated by Cary.

<sup>3</sup> L. I, 157.

<sup>4</sup> L. II, 346, I, 137 and VI, 307. For the last see also P. de Nolhac, *Poésies choisies*, p. 475.

<sup>5</sup> They are so entitled in the preliminary summary of the edition of 1584 but not in the text itself (P. Laumonier, *Œuvres complètes*, VII, 182).

<sup>6</sup> It was placed originally at the end of the *Nouvelle Continuation*.

<sup>7</sup> It is the last sonnet of the *Continuation*.

and that in spite of this she keeps him a prisoner and a witness to her triumph. He forgets that that this new style, 'doux et coulant', had contributed to the success of *Le Bocage* and *Les Meslanges*. Moreover, in adopting it for his love-sonnets he gained more than he lost, for he shook himself free from Petrarchan *clichés* and conventions and became himself. Further, though there is not more passion in the *Amours de Marie* than in the *Amours de Cassandre*, they express Ronsard's feelings for the humble Angevin maiden with more or less sincerity. Thirdly, they have the advantage of being written in alexandrines. We have seen that in *Le Bocage* and *Les Meslanges* Ronsard had experimented with sonnets in this metre, and had evidently come to the conclusion that it was the better metre for sonnets. Accordingly in the *Continuation des Amours* all except twelve are in alexandrines, and in the *Nouvelle Continuation* all except two.<sup>1</sup> But in his *Abrégé de l'art poétique*, written in 1565, he declared that decasyllables—*des vers communs*—were the proper metre for love-poems (*proprement nays pour les amours*), and from 1565 to 1572 not only nearly all his sonnets, but most of his other poetry was written in decasyllables. The explanation is no doubt, as M. Cohen suggests, that during this period he was keeping his hand in for the *Franciade*. After its publication in 1572 he reverted to the use of alexandrines for sonnets, and the celebrated *Sonnets pour Hélène*, which he began to write not later than 1574, are exclusively in that metre. From this time the alexandrine became firmly established as the metre for sonnets—so much so that ever since they have never been written in any other metre, except as a rare experiment.

Both *La Continuation* and *La Nouvelle Continuation* soon became popular. In 1557 Vincent Sertenas, the original publisher, brought out a second edition of the two together with some alterations, and there were two pirated editions, one with the imprint of Rouen and the other with that of Basle. Both, however, were printed at Paris. The 'Rouen' edition also contains *Le Bocage* and *Les Meslanges*.<sup>2</sup>

The First Book of the *Hymnes*,<sup>3</sup> published, as we have seen, in the

<sup>1</sup> Blanchemain, in a note to sonnet lxxvii (*Le sang fut bien maudit*) of the First Book of the *Amours* (text of 1560), says that it is the only one of the *Amours de Cassandre* that is in alexandrines, but it appeared first in the *Continuation*.

<sup>2</sup> P. Laumonier, *Ronsard, poète lyrique*, p. 174; S. de Ricci, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-3. With the help of the authorised second edition (Bib. Nat.) and of the 'Rouen' pirated edition, M. Laumonier was able to complete the contents of *La Nouvelle Continuation*, of which in the only known copy (*Arsenal*, B.L. 6470) leaves 25-42 are missing. When in 1560 the *Continuations* were incorporated in the *Amours*, a certain amount of rearrangement took place. Twenty-nine were rejected, including eight written in decasyllables, and two (*Le sang fut bien maudit* and *Ha, petit chien*) were included in the First Book of the *Amours*.

<sup>3</sup> Bib. Nat.; Brit. Mus. 839, i, 2 (1), bound with the *Hymne de Bacus* and the Second Book of *Hymnes*; Trinity College, Cambridge.

second half of 1555, contained a short general dedication to Châtillon, eleven hymns, an epistle, and two epitaphs, each of the hymns being dedicated to some more or less distinguished person. The mere list of the names, which are arranged in a hierarchical order, testifies to the thoroughness of Ronsard's campaign in search of 'bishoprics, priories, abbeys'. The first three are Henri II, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and the Constable Montmorency with his three nephews, the Coligny brothers. The first includes in its wide sweep not only the King but also the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Constable, the Admiral (Gaspard de Coligny) and Marshal d'Albon, while in the second more incense is offered to the King. Then follow two hymns dedicated to the Cardinal of Châtillon, the latter of which contains a comprehensive prayer to Fortune for His Majesty, 'all our Princes', François de Guise, Montmorency, the Admiral, the youngest Coligny, D'Andelot (then a prisoner), and Marshal d'Albon. The next and the next but one are dedicated respectively to Lancelot Carle, Bishop of Riez, and Mellin de Saint-Gelais, the only two poets in favour at the Court, whom, as we have seen, Ronsard especially wished to conciliate. Yet another, the tenth and last, is offered to the Cardinal de Châtillon, and this is followed by an epistle addressed to Ronsard's friend, Charles de Pisseleu, Bishop of Condom. The volume concludes with two epitaphs, the first for Louise de Mailly or Maillé, a half-sister of the Coligny brothers, whose father was their mother's first husband, and the second, which is of considerable beauty, for Artuse de Vernon, Dame de Téligny. But Ronsard had not come to the end of his list of possible patrons. In the Second Book of *Hymnes* he begins with an epistle to the King's sister, the Duchess of Savoy, and then dedicates two hymns to her.<sup>1</sup> These are followed by a third, to Gaspard de Coligny, and a fourth, to the Cardinal of Lorraine, and by an epistle to Christophle de Choiseul (L. v, 184) in praise of Rémy Belleau, which tells us that the latter was admitted to the 'brigade des bons, pour accomplir la septiesme Pleiade'. The whole poem, as M. Laumonier says, is of capital importance for the history of the development of Ronsard's art.

His first appeal to the Cardinal Châtillon's sympathies was made in the latter half of 1553, when he began to compose *L'Hercule Chrestien*, in pursuance of the advice of De l'Hospital and other friends that he should write something to counteract the bad impression produced by his *Folastries*.<sup>2</sup> Another early hymn, *Prière à la Fortune*, which is assigned to the years 1553 and 1554 and is also dedicated to the Cardinal, is

<sup>1</sup> P. de Nolhac, *Poésies choisies de Ronsard*, p. 459.

<sup>2</sup> Laumonier, *Ronsard, poète lyrique*, p. 141.

evidently of rather later date, for it refers to favours already received. Both these hymns are in decasyllables. Ronsard did well to select Châtillon as his Maecenas, for he had, as we have seen, the reputation of being a generous patron of literature and learning, and a large proportion of the books published in France during the reign of Henri II were dedicated either to him or to the Cardinal of Lorraine.

But a *Jove principium*. So Ronsard, following the example of Callimachus and Marullus, heads his first volume of *Hymnes* (after a short dedication to Châtillon) with a long hymn for Henri II as the Jupiter of kings.<sup>1</sup> It is an extravagant panegyric, of course, but the flattery is administered with great skill, as, for instance, the remark that Henri's premature white hair and beard—he was only thirty-six—are a sign of hard work and great wisdom. One of his glories, says the poet, is that while Jupiter can boast of only one Apollo, he has more than a thousand at his court.

Un Carle, un Saint-Gelais, et je m'ose promettre  
De seconder leur rang, si tu m'y daignes mettre.

It was Carle and Saint-Gelais whom Ronsard's friends, as we have seen, had urged him to conciliate, and it was with that in view that he included them among his recipients of dedications.

The name of 'Hymns' which he gave to these poems is derived ultimately from the Homeric hymns, the great majority of which belong to the end of the epic period of Greece, but only one, apparently, the hymn to Apollo, was widely known in classical times.<sup>2</sup> They are odes addressed to particular deities, treating for the most part of episodes in their lives. Thus in the hymn to Demeter we have an account of the rape of Persephone, and in that to Hermes, which has a comic element, of the god's theft of the cattle of Apollo. In the Alexandrian age Callimachus revived the Homeric hymns as a literary form, but he seems to have borrowed only from the *Hymn to Apollo*. Ronsard made use of Callimachus in the *Avant-entrée du Roi*, a few lines of which (75-86) are inspired by his 'hymn' to Zeus. This was printed in June 1549, but earlier than this he had borrowed from him slightly in the odes to the Queen (i, ii) and the Cardinal of Lorraine (i, iii), written in either 1547 or 1548, and the close of i, ix, addressed to Du Bellay, is clearly a reminiscence of the last line of Callimachus's *Hymn to Apollo*, Saint-Gelais taking the place of Apollonius Rhodius as the envious rival.

Ronsard is also indebted to Marullus, a Greek, who came to Italy on the fall of Constantinople in 1453, and wrote among other much-admired

<sup>1</sup> L. rv, 185.

<sup>2</sup> Theocritus and Callimachus borrowed from it.

Latin poems, *Hymni Naturales* or *Hymns of Nature*,<sup>1</sup> which are addressed not only to various gods but to the Earth, the Sun, the Moon, Heaven, the Stars, while a hymn to Bacchus is followed by one to Bread. Ronsard had a great admiration for him and wrote a graceful epitaph on him which appeared in *Le Bocage* (L. v, 307). In the following year (1555) he imitated one of his epigrams on *Chaste troupe Piérienne*, one of the new odes in the third edition of the *Quatre livres des Odes*.<sup>2</sup> Twice he paraphrased his hymn to Bacchus, first in his *Dithyrambes* and again in his own hymn to the same deity, merely varying his paraphrase to suit the lyrical character of the one poem and the more or less epic character of the other.<sup>3</sup> His debt to him in the first volume of *Hymnes* is limited to two pieces, *Des Astres* (L. vi, 276)<sup>4</sup> and *Du Ciel* (L. iv, 248), and on the second to one, *De l'Éternité* (L. iv, 159). Except for the titles, it does not amount to more than an occasional line or two. Indeed, in *Du Ciel* a single line,

In te totus tuus es totus

is all that he has borrowed.

For the classical stories which form the subject of the hymns of Calais and Zethes (L. iv, 164) and Pollux and Castor (L. iv, 277) Ronsard turned to fresh sources—to the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius for the first hymn and the story of Pollux, and to Idyll xxii of Theocritus for the story of Castor. He also used the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus, the fourth book of which relates the stories of Pollux (ll. 99–343) and of Calais and Zethes (ll. 422–528), but he has only borrowed from him one or two slight touches, such as the passage beginning *Ici ne se font pas les luttes de Taygette*.<sup>5</sup>

The chief impression that one gets from the *Hymnes* is of the width of Ronsard's reading and of the versatility of his treatment. But they suffer as a whole from the lack of any definite conception as to the nature of a hymn. They are as various in character as they are in tone. Some are encomia, or panegyrics on princes; only one, the *Hymne de Bacus*,<sup>6</sup> is a hymn in praise of a god,<sup>7</sup> but three, *Des Astres*, *Du Ciel* and *De l'Éternité*, follow Marullus's lead in the wider meaning given to the hymn. All three

<sup>1</sup> The first edition of Marullus, which includes the Hymns, was printed at Florence in 1497. There is a copy in the library of King's College, Cambridge, with fleur-de-lys and the golden fleece on the binding.

<sup>2</sup> See for the original and the imitation Laumonier, *Ronsard, poète lyrique*, pp. 423 f.

<sup>3</sup> See Laumonier, *op. cit.*, pp. 735 ff., where Marullus's Hymn and Ronsard's *Dithyrambes* and Hymn are set out in parallel columns.

<sup>4</sup> Omitted in the 1584 and subsequent editions.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. with Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica*, iv, 228–31.

<sup>6</sup> This hymn was reprinted separately in 1555 with a Latin translation by Dorat.

<sup>7</sup> 'Seu deos regesve canit, deorum | sanguinem' (Hor. *Od.* iv, ii).

have a quasi-philosophical import, as have *De la Philosophie* (L. iv, 261) and *De la Mort* (L. iv, 364). The two pieces of the Second Book that deal with classical legends are so far true hymns that they celebrate demi-gods. But they are not pæans; rather they are experiments in epic narrative, so no doubt Ronsard regarded them. All the above come reasonably well under the category of hymns, but what of *De la Justice* (L. iv, 203), *Les Daimons* (L. iv, 218) and *De l'Or* (L. iv, 336)? The first, though written round flattery of the Cardinal of Lorraine, which sometimes becomes ludicrous in its extravagance, but which is on the whole very skilfully applied, describes in a narrative of some interest how Justice or Themis was moved by the appalling condition of the world to obtain leave from Jupiter to take up her abode in the body of the Cardinal. *Les Daimons* is a clever and learned account of these supernatural beings, intermediate between angels and men, in which paganism, Christianity and folk-lore are curiously blended. *De l'Or* is remarkable for its more or less familiar and conversational tone, not unlike that of Horace's *Epistles*. The praise of gold, that is to say, of riches, is partly paradoxical, with a touch of satire, and the poem concludes with a spirited denunciation of those who hoard their gold instead of spending it.

On the whole, Ronsard's *Hymnes*, though there is much that is interesting in them, are not among his best work. They contain some fine passages, notably Justice's denunciation of the world (L. iv, 206-8), the vigorous indictment of the old miser in *De l'Or* (L. iv, 353-4), the description of the rock on which Philosophy has her palace, the concluding six lines of *Des Astres*, and the still finer conclusion of *De la Mort* (L. iv, 374), the noblest lines, perhaps, that Ronsard ever wrote, and too well known to quote. He evidently set much store by this poem, declaring to his friend, Paschal, that he intends to sing a new song, derived from an unpolluted source and owing nothing to the ancients:

Car il me plaist pour toy de faire icy ramer  
 Mes propres avirons de sur ma propre mer,  
 Et de voler au ciel par une voye estrange,  
 Te chantant de la Mort la non-ditte louange.

The execution is not quite equal to the intention; the greater part of the poem, perhaps two-thirds, is really eloquent, and there are passages which stir the emotions strongly; but the argumentative part is inferior to the rhetorical, and Ronsard's habit of dragging in references to classical mythology is here particularly out of place. The appeal to Christ on the cross is very fine, but Ixion and Tantalus, Charon and Cerberus, come in strangely as symbols of the death from which He has ransomed us. In spite of defects, however, it is decidedly the best of the graver hymns,

that is to say, of those which aspire to a wide, even a philosophical, outlook, though, in truth, the philosophy often does not go beyond the title.

Ronsard is at his best in those hymns which consist mainly of narrative with a certain amount of description. The inspiration which he drew from Theocritus and Apollonius Rhodius has borne good fruit in the stories of the fight of Calais and Zethes with the Harpies, of Pollux with Amycus, and of Castor with Lynceus. Ronsard's imagination is evidently fired by tales of combat and adventure, and he has at his command the vigorous language which they demand. It is for this reason that his earliest hymn, *To Bacchus*, which appeared in *Les Meslanges*, is not surpassed by any of those that he wrote later.<sup>1</sup> It must be remembered, however, that the latter part, rather more than a third, is a paraphrase of Marullus.

But if none of the hymns are unqualified successes, the epistle to the Cardinal of Lorraine (L. vi, 287), which follows after the three hymns of the Second Book, is in its own way a masterpiece. In its happy blend of flattery and admonition and in its easy conversational tone, it comes nearer than the *Hymne de l'Or* to Horace's *Epistles*, on which it is evidently modelled. If it lacks the wit and humour of Marot's famous Epistles to François I, it resembles them in its perfectly tactful tone, a tone equally free from subservience and impertinence. In his petition for preferment Ronsard dots his i's with complete frankness.

Une ode, une chanson se peut faire sans peine;  
Mais une Franciade, œuvre de longue haleine  
Ne s'accomplist ainsy, il me fault esprouver  
La longueur de dix ans avant que l'achever.

And he protests (rightly, from the point of view of the development of French art) against the employment of Italian painters at Fontainebleau and elsewhere;

Je ne scaurois penser que des peintres estranges  
Meritent tant que nous les postes des louenges,  
Ny qu'un tableau basty par un art otieux,  
Vaille une Franciade, œuvre laborieux!

But the King and the two Cardinals were deaf to his entreaties. Discouraged and depressed, he published nothing during the year 1557. But in the following year, after the defeat of the French by Elgmont near Gravelines (July 13), he rallied his countrymen in a patriotic poem of great vigour entitled *Exhortation au camp de Roy pour bien combattre* (L. v, 188). But both France and Spain were weary of war and their

<sup>1</sup> These twenty lines (S.T.F.M., viii, 97) with 112 others were suppressed in 1584-87 editions. Lucas has done well to select this hymn and the *Hymne de la Mort*.

finances were nearly exhausted. Negotiations began and Ronsard blew his trumpet for peace as bravely as he had blown it for war. His *Exhortation pour la Paix* (L. v, 192) appeared in September, and on October 17 • a truce was agreed on at Cercamp. If Henri II was unwilling to pay for a *Franciade*, he must have realised that a man like Ronsard who could produce at a moment's notice these stirring *Exhortations* in diametrically opposite senses would be invaluable as a poet laureate. Accordingly, as we have seen, he made him an almoner in ordinary, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Saint-Gelais in October 1558. In a privilege for the publication for one of his books, dated February 23, 1559, Ronsard is designated as 'conseiller et aulmonier ordinaire'.

He earned his stipend of 1200 *livres* by publishing during the first four months of 1559 some more official pieces in support of the King's policy—*Chant de liesse* (L. vi, 310), a joyful pæan in praise of peace, a *Chant pastoral* for the marriage of the Duke of Lorraine with the Princess Claude, the King's second daughter, which took place on January 22, and a volume containing three poems, *La Paix du Roy* (L. v, 199), in which he gives the King some admirable advice,<sup>1</sup> *La Bienvenue de Monseigneur le Connestable* (L. v, 206), welcoming his return from captivity, and *Envoy des Chevaliers aux Dames* (L. vi, 316), for the jousts at the Duke of Lorraine's wedding. He also published at this time another hymn for the Cardinal of Lorraine (L. iv, 228), which he had composed in the previous December or January. It is of portentous length—about 780 lines—and so extravagant and comprehensive in its flattery that it must have wearied even its recipient.<sup>2</sup> Like most of Ronsard's long poems it has some passages of real poetry, as, for instance, a tribute to Mary Stuart, the Cardinal's niece,<sup>3</sup> and a description of Ulysses's exploits as portrayed in the *Odyssey*.<sup>4</sup>

The Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, as the peace was called, was signed on April 3, 1559, and soon afterwards Ronsard, weary of knocking at the doors of palaces, retired to spend the summer in his beloved Vendomois, where he listened to the songs of birds, and the murmur of streams, and heard shepherds piping to their sheep, and wrote a poem redolent of the country, which is one of the most beautiful and charming compliments ever addressed to a great lady by a great poet.<sup>5</sup> The great lady was the King's sister, whose marriage to the Duke of Savoy on June 27, 1559, was

<sup>1</sup> See the extract in M. de Nolhac's *Poésies choisies*, p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> Bib. Nat.; Brit. Mus. 839, i, 2 (2), bound up with the two books of *Hymnes* and the *Hymne de Bacus*.

<sup>3</sup> Omitted with the rest of a long passage in 1584. See Ed. Blanchemain, v, 100.

<sup>4</sup> L. iv, 233. See P. de Nolhac, *op. cit.*, pp. 406–14 for extracts.

<sup>5</sup> *Chant pastoral* (L. iii, 418).

to deprive Ronsard of his one true friend and protector. He felt that with her departure French poets would lose their last hope.

Pasteurs françois, n'enflez plus les musettes  
Dorenavants elles seront muettes,  
'Car dedans l'air leur chant evanouy  
Comme il souloit ne sera plus ouï.  
Si m'en croyez, allons en Arcadie.  
Et flechissons de notre melodie  
Rochers et bois, tigres, lions et loups,  
Puis que la France est ingrate envers nous;  
Puis que la nymphe en qui fut l'esperance  
Des bons sonneurs s'absente de la France,  
Allon-nous en sans demeurer icy  
Pour y languir en peine et en soucy.'

'I do not know a more poignant elegy' is M. Laumonier's comment. It is in fact in poems of an elegiac character, which combine the love of nature with a note of melancholy meditation, that Ronsard is most truly and incontestably a poet.

The above poem was published between the King's death (July 10, 1559) and Margaret's departure for Savoy (October), in a volume which also contained a dull *Discours* addressed to the Duke of Savoy (III, 259) and twenty-four *Inscriptions* (L. VI, 319) of four lines each for the performers in a *comédie-ballet* which was to have been played at the Duke of Lorraine's wedding feast, but which owing to the fatal accident to the King was abandoned.<sup>1</sup> Thus Ronsard, as M. Laumonier notes, was reduced to writing *inscriptions* for a court-ballet. He made one more attempt to soften the heart of the Cardinal of Lorraine, but in a more humble and less dignified tone than before.<sup>2</sup>

He also published in 1559 a volume which has an interest of a special kind.<sup>3</sup> For there is no copy of it in any public library, either in France or elsewhere, and the two or three known copies seemed inaccessible. But in 1924 one of these was found among the Ronsards which Maggs Brothers bought from the grandson of Prosper Blanchemain, the editor of Ronsard, and of which they organised an exhibition in Paris.<sup>4</sup> The volume in question is *Le Second Livre des Meslanges*, the printing of which, like that of the two last-mentioned publications, was delayed by the King's death. It contains first four long pieces, then twenty-one sonnets addressed to royal and other persons, then a series of sixteen *Sonets amoureux*, and finally twenty pieces of various kinds. With the exception of the love-sonnets, of two of the other sonnets, which were discarded,<sup>5</sup> and of four

<sup>1</sup> See for the years 1558 and 1559 Laumonier, *Ronsard, poète lyrique*, pp. 181-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Suite de l'Hymne... Cardinal de Lorraine*.

<sup>3</sup> See for what follows P. Laumonier in *Revue du Seizième Siècle*, xiii (1925), 205 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Fully described by Mr Seymour de Ricci in the catalogue of the exhibition.

<sup>5</sup> Published by Mr de Ricci in the *Figaro illustré* for February 21, 1925.

odes, all these were included in the *Poèmes* or third volume of the collected edition of 1560. The chief interest of this rediscovered volume is in the love-sonnets. They were inspired by a certain Sinope, says Ronsard's friend, Rémy Belleau, whose real name by reason of her 'illustrious birth' he did not wish to reveal. But after Belleau's death Ronsard transfers them to the account of his former love Marie. Having already rejected two in 1560, he now rejected three more, as inapplicable to the humble Marie, in 1578, and two more for the same reason in 1584, while in those that he retained he substituted Marie or Maistresse (once) for Sinope.<sup>1</sup> The best seem to me to be *Sinope; de mon cœur vous emportez le clef* (L. i, 171), and *Sinope, baissez moy; non? ne me baissez pas* (L. i, 173). I should have added *Si j'estois Jupiter, Sinope, vous seriez* (L. i, 172), if the sextet had been as good as the octet, but it shows a distinct falling off both in the original version and in that of 1560, and though it was greatly improved in 1578 it still ends on a weak note.<sup>2</sup>

Of the four pieces at the beginning of the volume the first is an Eclogue, which became *Eclogue iv* (L. iv, 427), the second is addressed to Jean Du Thier, one of the four Secretaries of State, at whose request Ronsard had recently received a 'faveur honneste' from the King (L. v, 138),<sup>3</sup> and the other two to the Cardinal de Châtillon. The first of these latter is short and unimportant, but the second, which has nearly 450 lines, has a considerable biographical interest. Entitled *Discours contre Fortune* (L. v, 144), it complains with much bitterness of the poet's treatment by Fortune and was evidently written at a time of great depression. I should conjecture that this was in the summer of 1558, when his 'plume fertile', which had been idle for more than a year,

Faute de l'exercer, se moisit inutile.

As a matter of fact, it was not the idleness of his pen but its renewed activity that was the misfortune. His long quest for preferment now became his main source of inspiration, and thus his patriotism, which, though not spontaneous, was quite genuine, became tainted by this blend of self-interest. He aspired to be a national poet, but since a poet must live, he had to beg for support. A century later, in the days of Louis XIV and Colbert, he would have been put on the pension-list.

<sup>1</sup> It follows that in the text of 1578, which is that of M. Vaganay's edition of Ronsard, there are eleven sonnets to Sinope and in that of 1584, which is that of M. Laumonier, nine. In both editions they follow immediately after *Le Voyage de Tours*.

<sup>2</sup> The octet was also slightly improved in 1578, but altered for the worse in 1587. M. Nollac, in his anthology, prints the latter text but calls it the text of 1584. Mr Lucas gives that of 1584 (the same as that of 1578, with *Tout Jupiter, tout Roy* for *Tout Dieu, tout Jupiter*) both for this sonnet and for *Sinope, baissez moy*.

<sup>3</sup> Was this the post of almoner? The eclogue was included among the *Poèmes* in the 1560 edition and entitled *Du Thier*.

Considering the prosaic and self-seeking motive which prompted Ronsard's poems of the years 1558-9, it is surprising that they are as good as they are. There is no masterpiece among them except perhaps the *Chant pastoral*, but they nearly all have fine passages, which figure worthily in selections. They show that Ronsard had attained to a complete mastery of his art, that not only he had the command of vigorous and expressive language, and of firm and harmonious versification, but that he could vary his tones with great adroitness and versatility. Oratorical, didactic, conversational, idyllic—he could be all in turn. He could harangue the nation as a patriot or plead for his own cause to a prospective patron. But in this ease of writing, coupled with the belief that everything that he wrote was inspired, there lurked a danger. It encouraged prolixity, and prolixity was his besetting sin.

In the latter half of 1560 Ronsard determined to publish a collective edition of his poems. It appeared in four volumes in December, the publisher being Gabriel Buon, the successor of the Veuve de la Porte.<sup>1</sup> Ronsard gave considerable thought and care to the management of the volumes,<sup>2</sup> but all that is necessary to say here on this head is that the first volume contained the *Amours* in two books, the second the *Odes* in five books, the fourth the *Hymnes* in two books, while in the third, under the general head of *Poèmes*, divided into five books, were collected pieces of every variety of form and inspiration—elegies, eclogues, epistles, epigrams, epitaphs, sonnets.

Ronsard, who was now the same age, thirty-five, as Clément Marot, when he published his *Adolescence Clémentine* (1532), evidently considered that with the publication of this collective edition he had reached the end of the first stage of his life, the end of his youth. Accordingly he closes the first book of the *Amours* with a farewell elegy to Cassandre, and the second book with a similar one to Marie, and in a sonnet to the Cardinal of Lorraine (L. VI, 343) he bids a touching farewell to his own youth:

Monseigneur, je n'ay plus ceste ardeur de jeunesse  
 Qui me faisoit chanter les passions d'amour;  
 J'ay le sang refroidy; le jour suivant le jour  
 En desrobant mes ans les donne à la vieillesse.

But he has his reminiscences, and these inspire him with two of his best-known and most delightful poems, the *Voyage de Tours* (L. I, 161) and the *Elegie à Pierre Lescot*, the architect of the west wing of the Louvre

<sup>1</sup> Bib. Nat. Rés. p. Ye, 217. This edition is extremely rare; there was a copy in the Locker-Lampson library. The date of the privilege is September 20. The printing of the first volume was finished on November 29 and of the fourth on December 2.

<sup>2</sup> It is fully dealt with by M. Laumonier, *Ronsard, poète lyrique*, pp. 187-202.

(L. v, 174). But there are two pieces—the last two of the third volume—which point forwards and not back, for they are the first of those *Discours* on the religious troubles which were Ronsard's main activity in the years 1562 and 1563. In his poems on the Peace his role of national poet had been doubled with that of adroit suppliant, but in the *Elegie à G. des Autels* (L. v, 355), he stands forth as the disinterested and impartial adviser of his fellow-countrymen. He is no blind partisan of the Church. In often-quoted lines ('Or nous faillons aussi') he puts his finger on one of the disorders which convinced so many thinking men of the necessity for reform—the non-residence and scandalous lives of the younger bishops. The *Elegie à Louis des Masures* (L. v, 362),<sup>1</sup> which also became one of the *Discours*, is not concerned with the religious question, but is remarkable for a glowing eulogy of his friend, Du Bellay, who had died earlier in the year.

ARTHUR TILLEY.

CAMBRIDGE.

<sup>1</sup> Passages from all of the four last-noticed poems will be found in M. de Nolhac's *Poésies choisies*. Mr Lucas gives the *Élégie à G. des Autels* and the *Voyage de Tours*.

## COLERIDGE AS A PHILOLOGIST<sup>1</sup>

WHEN in the January of 1799 Coleridge exchanged the flesh-pots and the agreeable society of Ratzeburg for the higher thinking and cheaper living of Göttingen, he was only following in the general tradition of the time. The University of Göttingen, since its foundation some sixty years before by our English George II, had steadily increased in reputation, and by the end of the century easily eclipsed Leipzig as the most fashionable university in Germany.<sup>2</sup> A steady stream of young Englishmen, who were sent to finish their education in Germany, turned the pleasant little Hanoverian city into a favourite haunt of young Oxford and Cambridge, and helped to establish its reputation in England as the home of the 'purest German'; a delusion from which, even to-day, we in England have not entirely emancipated ourselves.

Coleridge had already acquired from the good pastor of Ratzeburg and his five children a solid grounding in language. He began in the most approved direct method, wandering with his host from attic to cellar, enquiring the name of every domestic utensil and piece of furniture which met his eyes.<sup>3</sup> It is true that his pronunciation was 'hideous' and that he found difficulty in understanding the natives when they spoke to each other;<sup>4</sup> but, on the other hand, he had steeped himself in the theological and philosophical terminology and could argue on any metaphysical subject with the best! We must not forget, of course, that the educated classes in Northern Germany mostly spoke English, especially in Hamburg and Hanover, owing to their business or political connexions. And Coleridge was urged by its familiar appearance to take up the study of Plattdeutsch, which he claimed to know 'better than most even of the educated natives'.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I owe the suggestion of this paper to an instructive article by J. H. Hanford in *Modern Philology* (1919), xvi, p. 615 entitled 'Coleridge as a Philologist'. A fresh examination of the sources and the wealth of new material published since Hanford wrote in 1919 are my excuse for attempting the task anew.

<sup>2</sup> In 1801, of 701 registered students 456 were foreigners, i.e. non-Hanoverians. Cf. E. Brandes, *Über den gegenwärtigen Zustand der Universität Göttingen* (Göttingen, 1802), p. 87. The university's period of greatest splendour was just before Coleridge arrived from about 1786 to 1790 when it was celebrating its fiftieth jubilee and numbered three royal princes amongst its alumni. Cf. J. S. Putter, *Selbstbiographie* (Göttingen, 1798), p. li.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters*, edited by E. H. Coleridge, 2 vols. (London, 1895), I, p. 263 (quoted as E. H. C.) and *Biographia Literaria* (Shedd), I, p. 300 note.

<sup>4</sup> *Biographia Epistolaris*, ed. S. Turnbull (London, 1911), I, p. 180. In his MS. notes Coleridge observes that 'to a foreigner all unknown languages appear to be spoken by the natives with extreme rapidity' and to those who are but beginning to understand it, 'with a distressing indistinction', and he makes use of the observation as an argument for the necessity of revelation or pre-knowledge for a full apprehension of the truth. Cf. A. D. Snyder, *Coleridge on Logic and Learning* (New Haven, 1929), p. 133.

<sup>5</sup> E. H. C., I, p. 268.

Coleridge had come to Germany with the intention of studying philosophy and the natural sciences and, above all, to prepare a life of Lessing. Actually his linguistic and literary interests drove other studies into the background. In Christian Gottlieb Heyne, 'the first genius in Göttingen',<sup>1</sup> to whom Coleridge had a personal introduction, the university possessed one of the greatest Greek scholars in Europe, whose conception of antiquity had revolutionised classical studies. For him, the study of Greek was no longer restricted to the critical study of texts, but comprised the whole civilisation of the ancient world, including its history, customs, art, mythology and thought. It was not for nothing that Heyne had shared the enthusiasm of Herder and Winckelmann and their conception of historical continuity of the human race.<sup>2</sup>

It was philology in its greatest and widest sense, used, as it is still used in Germany, to embrace all humane liberal studies. And hand in hand with this enthusiasm for the culture of the ancients went a revival of interest in the Germanic past and, even beyond, to the origins of civilisation itself. Since the seventies, Herder, in the wake of his master Hamann, had been preaching that art and literature were conditioned by the circumstances, the milieu in which they arose; that language, in particular, was the reflex of the whole inner life of a nation, and that it was born of the intensity of feeling in the human soul which found expression in speech and poetry at once.<sup>3</sup> To Coleridge, for whom deep feeling was synonymous with deep thinking,<sup>4</sup> the reaction to Herder must have been immediate and intense. The intellectual and spiritual bonds which united the two men were very close. Coleridge was not unlike Herder in the wealth of his ideas which, like him, he transmitted to future generations. Just as Herder has been called the gatekeeper of the nineteenth century, so Coleridge was described by J. S. Mill as one of the 'seminal minds of the century',<sup>5</sup> and both were as prolific in plans as they were sparing in their realisation. None has pointed out the affinities of their minds more clearly than De Quincey who writes of Herder as the German

<sup>1</sup> From the 'Letter of a Gentleman at Göttingen to his friend in Cambridge', printed in the *Morning Post* of April 20, 1775. Cf. A. H. L. Heeren, *C. G. Heyne* (Göttingen, 1813), p. 531. Heyne, like Herder, owed much to English scholarship, particularly to Robert Wood's *Essay on the original Genius of Homer* (London, 1769), translated into German in 1773. Cf. Heeren, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. especially his 'Éloge de Winckelmann' in the *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquités de Cassel* (1780), a book which Coleridge took out of the University Library on April 4. Cf. A. D. Snyder, 'Books borrowed by Coleridge from the Library of the University of Göttingen, 1799' in *Modern Philology* (1928), xxv, p. 377. He was also familiar with Herder's *History of the Human Race*. Cf. *Unpublished Letters of S. T. C.*, ed. by E. L. Griggs (London, 1932) (quoted as Griggs), I, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> 'Der Genus der Sprache ist auch der Genius von der Litteratur einer Nation', quoted by R. Haym, *Herder*, I, p. 138, from 'Über den Ursprung der Sprache'.

<sup>4</sup> E. H. C., p. 351.

<sup>5</sup> *Dissertations and Discussions* (1859), I, p. 330.

Coleridge: 'having the same all-grasping erudition, the same spirit of universal research, the same occasional superficiality and inaccuracy, the same indeterminateness of object, the same obscure and fanciful mysticism, the same plethoric fullness of thought, the same fine sense of the beautiful and (I think) the same incapacity for dealing with simple and austere grandeur'.<sup>1</sup>

It must, of course, be borne in mind that philology, both in its widest and strictest sense, was largely of English origin. Shaftesbury and Young, Thomas Warton and Bishops Hurd and Lowth, Percy, Macpherson and Chatterton had, after all, taught the Germans and Herder at their head the importance of genius and the imagination, and had turned their attention to the Middle Ages and the national source of poetry. And even in philological speculations the English,<sup>2</sup> as Herder himself acknowledged,<sup>3</sup> were earlier in the field.

Most of the philosophers of the eighteenth century had treated of language chiefly in relation to thought; and their views are coloured primarily by their attitude to the all-important question of innate ideas. Locke had naturally denied the existence of universal notion behind the word, and Adam Smith, too, postulates that the concrete must have preceded the abstract. David Hartley applies to words his doctrine of association of ideas. Joseph Priestley regarded language as determined by natural forces over which man himself had no direct control. Berkeley and Hume were both nominalists in the strictest sense. One and all reflected the opinion of the Enlightenment which sought to explain language as the work of the human reason. Not so, however, James Harris and his friend Lord Monboddo, who, as Platonists, both believe that human language is the imperfect reflection, in words, of ideas pre-existing in the mind. They are the precursors of the Romantic attitude of which Coleridge, as he threw off the influence of Berkeley and Hartley, was to become the supreme exponent. And it is in this respect that Coleridge writes to Godwin,<sup>4</sup> after his acquaintance with German idealism, urging him to philosophise the system of Horne Tooke, who, according to Coleridge, 'had confused word formation with the philosophy of language, which is a very different thing!'<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in *Biogr. Lit.* (Shedd), III, p. 733.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. O. Funke, *Englische Sprachphilosophie im späteren 18. Jahrhundert* (Bern, 1934).

<sup>3</sup> In his Preface to E. A. Schmid's translation of Lord Monboddo *Von dem Ursprung und Fortgange der Sprache* (Riga, 1784-85), which he had instigated: 'Die Grundsätze unsres Autors und seines Freundes Harris dünken mir die einzig wahren und vesten.... Und so wäre einmal eine Philosophie des menschlichen Verstandes aus seinem eigentümlichsten Werk, den verschiedenen Sprachen der Erde, möglich.'

<sup>4</sup> Griggs, I, p. 155.

<sup>5</sup> *Table Talk*, May 7, 1830.

Horne Tooke, though Coleridge might laugh at him for his eccentricities, was probably the better linguist; he had what most of the philosophers lacked, a sound grounding not only in the ancient but in the older forms of modern languages, and his inductive method of approach marked a new era in linguistic discovery.<sup>1</sup> It is in his deductions that he mostly goes astray! As an extreme nominalist and sensualist he was opposed naturally to the abstract reasoning of Harris and Monboddo; he even denies the reality of 'general or complex terms', holding that Locke himself had erred in ascribing to philosophy what properly belonged to language, general terms being no more than the abbreviations or complex terms for a number of particular terms. And it is primarily as a means of discrediting realism that he practises etymology: 'as it may serve to get rid of the false philosophy received concerning language and the human understanding'.<sup>2</sup>

Such was the state of linguistic knowledge in England towards the end of the century, and there is evidence to show that Coleridge was not unacquainted with its development. Under the influence of Romantic circles in Bristol he had already begun to dabble in philological and critical problems;<sup>3</sup> Young's *Conjectures*, Hugh Blair's *Lectures*, Chatterton's and Macpherson's forgeries, the *Edda* of Saemund, these are among the books borrowed by him from the Bristol Public Library in the years preceding the German visit. That he was already acquainted with the work of Horne Tooke appears from a letter of Poole to whom he had recommended the *Diversions of Purley*.<sup>4</sup> He was vexed with him in later life 'for converting so beautiful, so divine a subject as language into the vehicle or make-weight of political squibs'.<sup>5</sup> And even in his revolutionary period he was unable to see eye to eye with him in politics<sup>6</sup>, although he might celebrate his victory at the polls:

And high in air clasp his rejoicing wings,  
Patriot and Sage! whose breeze-like spirit first  
The hazy mists of Pedantry dispers'd.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Epea Pterenta* or *The Diversions of Purley* (London, 1786). The book was well known in Gottingen circles. Cf. Herder's letter to Eichhorn, December 24, 1798: 'Hier Horne Tooke und Abdul Kurren mit grosstem Dank', from *Briefe aus der Frühzeit der deutschen Philologie an G. F. Benecke*, hrsg. von R. Baier, Leipzig, 1901. Cf. too, M. C. Yarborough, *John Horne Tooke* (New York, 1926), especially chapter v.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Latin anima is in truth nothing but the breath of the body; and conversely the soul is of material origin just as is the spirit.' *Diversions of Purley*, p. 78. Cf. Funke, *op. cit.*, p. 113. As well deny the existence of humour (something as intangible as the soul) because the word originally implied a certain secretion of the human body!

<sup>3</sup> P. Kaufman, 'The Reading of Southey and Coleridge', in *Modern Philology* (1924), xxi, p. 317.

<sup>4</sup> Mrs Sandford, *Thos. Poole and his Friends*, I, p. 280. Cf. E. H. C., I, p. 261.

<sup>5</sup> *Table Talk*, May 7, 1830.

<sup>6</sup> Griggs, I, p. 61.  
<sup>7</sup> *Poems*, Oxford ed., p. 150 (Griggs, I, p. 54), 'his rejoicing wings' refer to the Greek title of the *Diversions of Purley*.

It is clear that before he came to Germany Coleridge was taking a keen interest in the latest developments of philology; he had enjoyed, moreover, the advantage of a rigid discipline in the classics, both at Christ's Hospital and at Cambridge, but it was a strictly critical attitude to the text, which had nothing in common with the larger approach through the understanding of the conditions which had brought it forth. It was this apprehension of the wider issues involved in the study of poetry and language, of science and philosophy, which renders this short sojourn in Germany epoch-making for Coleridge's intellectual development.

Coleridge had hoped to learn more concerning Germany's ancient bards from the venerable father of German poetry, Klopstock, in Hamburg. But when he enquired of him concerning the history of German poetry and the older German poets, to his great astonishment Klopstock confessed that he knew very little on the subject, as it had not particularly 'excited his curiosity'.<sup>1</sup> In Göttingen, on the other hand, Coleridge found more expert and willing guidance: there was first Georg Friedrich Benecke, librarian and later professor of English and German philology. A pupil of Heyne, he applied his master's theories to the study of mediæval languages and, as the teacher of Lachmann and Haupt, may well be termed 'the father of Germanistik'. To him, in spite of his strong Swabian pronunciation, Coleridge, like most young Englishmen in Göttingen, went for instruction in German. Benecke's methods were commendably thorough, and he took his pupils through *Faust* and *Nathan*, to end up with the *Nibelungenlied*! A strong active character, a man of the world, he was not easily deceived by his pupil's affectations. He noted with disapproval Coleridge's addiction to opium, and saw through his pretensions to exact German scholarship, when, as he declared long afterwards to an American student, 'Coleridge got a long ode of Klopstock's by heart, without understanding it, and declaimed to his fellow-students as a proof of the rapidity of his progress'.<sup>2</sup> Yet Coleridge undoubtedly profited from his attentions. 'That good and great man',<sup>3</sup> the physiologist Blumenbach, Göttingen's most renowned professor was, however, his closest acquaintance, and he was much impressed by his enormous knowledge. Coleridge was particularly attracted to his theory of races, in which Blumenbach showed

<sup>1</sup> *Biogr. Lit.* (Shedd), III, p. 539.

<sup>2</sup> 'Göttingen in 1824' in *Putnam's Magazine* (December, 1856), p. 600. Dora Wordsworth, during the joint continental tour of 1828, reported that her 'Father, with his few half dozen words of German makes himself better understood than Mr Coleridge with all his insight into German literature'. From *Dorothy Wordsworth. A Biography*, by E. de Selincourt (Oxford, 1933), p. 375. De Quincey, too, bears witness to his imperfect mastery of the spoken language: *Works* (1871), XI, p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> *The Friend*, Essay v, note (April 8, 1817).

that the Caucasian race, both by the shape of its skull and the colour of its skin, took precedence of all others, thus affording an interesting anticipation of the modern vogue for Nordic characteristics, of which Coleridge already shows faint traces.<sup>1</sup>

'But my chief efforts', he writes in the *Biographia Literaria*,<sup>2</sup> 'were directed towards a grounded knowledge of the German language and literature. From Professor Tychsen I received as many lessons in the Gothic of Ulphilas as sufficed to make me acquainted with its grammar and the radical words of most frequent occurrence; and with the occasional assistance of the same philosophical linguist, I read through Otfried's metrical paraphrase of the Gospel, and the most important remains of the Theotiscan, or the transitional state of the Teutonic language from the Gothic to the Old-German of the Swabian period.'

It is obvious that Coleridge makes the mistake (common enough in his own day) of considering Gothic as the mother-tongue of German, instead of an elder sister.<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to gauge the extent of his linguistic knowledge, because Schilter's *Thesaurus*,<sup>4</sup> from which he drew, prints a Latin translation in the margin. In any case the title 'paraphrase' should warn us from expecting a literal rendering and, indeed, Coleridge uses his text freely, but avoids serious blunders.<sup>5</sup> With unerring judgment he recognised in the poem occasional passages of considerable merit (thus anticipating the revised opinion of modern German scholars) and chose as his subject one of the most genuinely poetical passages in the book, that in which the Virgin fondles the Divine Babe lying in the manger.<sup>6</sup> Otfried has himself treated his Latin sources<sup>7</sup> with a naïve reticence which does honour to his sense of poetic propriety, and Coleridge has

<sup>1</sup> *Anima Poetae*, ed. by E. H. Coleridge (London, Heinemann, 1895), p. 284: 'Are we not better than the other nations of Christendom? Yes—Perhaps, I don't know. I dare not affirm it. Better than the French certainly! Mammon versus Moloch and Belial. But Sweden, Norway, the Tyrol? No.' Cf. *Table Talk* (January 3, 1834). Coleridge possessed Blumenbach, *Ueber die natürlichen Verschiedenheiten im Menschengeschlechte* (Leipzig, 1798). It is now in the library of Lord Coleridge with marginal annotations. See J. L. Haney, *Bibliography of S. T. C.* (Philadelphia, 1903), p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> *Biogr. Lit.* (Shedd), III, p. 301.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Monboddo, *Of the Origin and Progress of Language* (Edinburgh, 1773–92), III, p. 411: 'Gothic the parent of the Teutonic Language.' Cf. also Funke.

<sup>4</sup> Johannis Schilteri *Thesaurus antiquitatum Teutonicarum* (Ulm, 1726–8).

<sup>5</sup> Coleridge omits the line 'Joh muoter thiū 'nan quatta', perhaps because 'quatta' the past tense of 'quettan' defeated him, although the Latin 'alloquebatur' provided the correct reading. 'Tuzta' from 'tuzen' puzzled him, as it puzzled Schilter (who translates 'obbländiebatur' caressed). Even the latest editor, E. Schröder (Erdmann's *Otfried*, Halle, 1932), is doubtful, and hesitates between 'schaukeln' and 'hatscheln'. I note only one mistake: 'thuruhnahtin' is of the same stem as 'genuoc' and means 'perfect'. 'In the darkness and the night', consequently, is wrong.

<sup>6</sup> Brandl points out that it is the source of the Christmas Carol. *S. T. C. und die englische Romantik* (Strassburg, 1886).

<sup>7</sup> 'Beatus venter, qui te portavit et ubera, quae suxisti', Erdmann, p. 363.

added a charming homely observation drawn from the personal experience of one who has not long been a father. As the accomplished craftsman he leaps lightly over Otfried's confessed technical difficulties in dealing adequately with such sublime matters as the Virgin's goodness and purity. Coleridge's version is so felicitous because the passage in question represented to him his ideal of poetry: truth to nature modified by power of imagination, the turning of body into spirit. Or, as he expresses himself in a footnote to this passage: 'most interesting is it to consider the effect, when the feelings are wrought above the natural pitch by the belief of something mysterious, while all the images are purely natural. Then it is, that religion and poetry strike deepest.'

She gave with joy her virgin breast;  
 She hid it not, she bared the breast,  
 Which suckled that divinest babe!  
 Blessed, blessed were the breasts  
 Which the Saviour infant kissed;  
 And blessed, blessed was the mother  
 Who wrapp'd his limbs in swaddling-clothes,  
 Singing placed him on her lap,  
 Hung o'er him with her looks of love,  
 And soothed him with a lulling motion.  
 Blessed! for she sheltered him  
 From the damp and chilling air;  
 Blessed, blessed! for she lay  
 With such a babe in one blest bed,  
 Close as babes and mothers lie!  
 Blessed, blessed evermore  
 With her virgin lips she kiss'd,  
 With her arms, and to her breast  
 She embraced the babe divine,  
 Her babe divine the Virgin-mother!  
 There lives not on this ring of earth  
 A mortal, that can sing her praise.  
 Mighty mother, virgin pure,  
 In the darkness and the night  
 For us she bore the heavenly Lord!

Coleridge pursued his philological studies 'through the Minnesingers down to their degenerate successors, the Mastersingers'.<sup>1</sup> He read 'with sedulous accuracy' the metrical romances. (Benecke, we know, later edited the *Wigalois* of Wirt von Grafenberg, and printed many Minnelieder in his *Beyträge zur Kenntnis der altheutschen Sprache und Literatur*, Göttingen, 1810.) Coleridge was particularly attracted by 'the rude, yet interesting strains of Hans Sachs, the cobbler of Nürenberg'; and he learned that Luther was not only the translator of the Bible, but the

<sup>1</sup> He took out from the library on May 25 F. C. Wagenseil, *De Sacri Romani Imperii Libera Cwitate Noribergensi Commentatio, von der Meistersinger Origine, Praestantia, Utilitate et Institutis* (Aldorf, 1697). I am indebted to Dr C. A. Weber of Göttingen for this additional entry from the 'Ausleihjournale'.

innovator of High German as a 'lingua communis'.<sup>1</sup> He took his philological studies with such seriousness that, for a moment, he thought of making philology his profession, although, apparently, he has no great opinion of learning as such. 'With the advantage of a great library, learning is nothing', he writes,<sup>2</sup> 'methinks merely a sad excuse for being idle. Yet a man gets reputation by it, and reputation gets money; and for reputation I don't care a damn, but money, yes money I must get by all honest ways. Therefore at the end of two or three years, if God grant me life, expect to see me come out with some horribly learned book, full of manuscript quotations from Laplandish or Patagonian authors, possibly on the striking resemblance of the Sweogothian and Sanskrit languages, and so on.'<sup>3</sup> And earlier in the same letter: 'I find learning is a mighty easy thing, compared with any study else.'

Yet, in spite of his dislike of professional pedantry, it must be granted that Coleridge set to acquire knowledge systematically and with a will. He worked harder in those four months, he tells Wedgwood, 'than I trust almighty God, I shall ever have occasion to work again';<sup>4</sup> and in the *Biographia Literaria* he remarks with obvious pleasure: 'I made the best use of my time and means, and there is no period in my life on which I can look back with such unmingled satisfaction.'<sup>5</sup> The 'Ausleihjournale' of the university library fully bear out those professions of diligence. Heyne, as chief librarian, had made him free of the restrictions usually applicable to students. It is an imposing list of books borrowed which has been drawn up by Miss Snyder;<sup>6</sup> they are practically all philological. Wachter's *Glossarium* had definite pretensions to scholarship, and he has more than an inkling of etymological truth, although still ignorant of the laws governing philological changes.<sup>7</sup> Michaeler's *Tables*<sup>8</sup> contains a comparative grammar of the Germanic languages and a selection of Gothic and O.H.G. texts based on the collections of Hickes and Schilter. Willenbücher's *Praktische Anweisung der deutschen Sprache*<sup>9</sup> is a collection

<sup>1</sup> *Biogr. Lit* (Shedd), III, p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> E. H. C., I, p. 299.

<sup>3</sup> This comparison of Gothic and Sanskrit seems to presuppose Sir William Jones' recent discoveries.

<sup>4</sup> J. Cottle, *Early Recollections* (London, 1837), p. 427.

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 300.

<sup>6</sup> *Modern Philology* (1928), xxv, p. 377. Cf. C. A. Weber, *Bristols Bedeutung für die englische Romantik* (Stud. zur engl. Phil., 89); Halle, 1935, p. 164 seq.

<sup>7</sup> *Glossarium Germanicum continens origines et antiquitates totius linguae Germanicae...* (Lipsiae, 1738). Cf. M. H. Jellinek, *Geschichte der nhd. Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1914), II, p. 147.

<sup>8</sup> C. J. Michaeler, *Tabulae parallelae antiquissimarum Teutonicae linguae dialectorum* (Oenipente, 1776).

<sup>9</sup> *Praktische Anweisung zur Kenntnis der Hauptveränderungen und Mundarten der deutschen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1789). It is the only book in Miss Snyder's list not in the British Museum.

of ecclesiastical texts in Gothic, Anglo-Saxon and Old High and Low German with copious notes of a philological character.

Boie's *Deutsches Museum*<sup>1</sup> afforded a further selection of German poetry from the Middle Ages to the sixteenth century and numerous essays on German social and literary history, culminating in the famous panegyrics on the Volkslied by Bürger<sup>2</sup> and Herder,<sup>3</sup> the latter, of course, largely indebted to Percy and Blair. Bodmer's *Minnesinger*<sup>4</sup> provided access to the rich stores of the mediæval lyric, which was supplemented by Wagenseil's classical account of the Meistersinger of Nürnberg.<sup>5</sup> Both sixteenth and seventeenth-century literature are represented,<sup>6</sup> and his lifelong interest in Hans Sachs dates from this period. It was primarily religious, like that of his chief authority, Ranisch, who planned his biography 'zur Erläuterung der Geschichte der Reformation'.<sup>7</sup> In Ranisch he found the information concerning Hans Sachs's famous hymn, 'Warum betrübst du dich mein Herz', which he used in the *Biographia Literaria*,<sup>8</sup> and a lengthy reference to the delightful *Die Ungleichen Kinder Eve*,<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Leipzig in der Weygandschen Buchhandlung (1776–80). Cf. W. Hofstaetter, *Das deutsche Museum* (Probefahrten 12) (Leipzig, 1908).

<sup>2</sup> 'Herzensausguss über Volkspoesie' (1776), p. 443.

<sup>3</sup> 'Von Ähnlichkeit der mittleren englischen und deutschen Dichtkunst' (1777), p. 421.

<sup>4</sup> *Proben der alten schwäbischen Poesie des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Zürich, 1748) and *Sammlung von Minnesingern aus dem schwäbischen Zeitpunkt* (Zürich, 1758–9). It was the Wordsworths who drew his attention to this 'volume of amorous verses' in a letter from Goslar. Cf. *The Early Letters of Wm. and D. Wordsworth*, ed. by E. de Selincourt (Oxford, 1935), p. 203.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 182, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> F. D. Ring, *Ueber die Reise des Zürcher Breyttopfes nach Strassburg vom Jahr 1576* (Bayreuth, 1787). D. C. Lohensteins, *Ibrahim Sultan, Schauspiel; Agrippina, Trauerspiel; Epiclaris, Trauerspiel; und andere Poetische Gedichte* (Breslau, 1689).

<sup>7</sup> M. S. Ranisch, *Historisch-kritische Lebensbeschreibung Hanns Sachsens, ehemals berühmten Meistersängers zu Nürnberg* (Altenburg, 1765).

<sup>8</sup> *Biogr. Lit.* (Shedd), III, p. 303: 'An excellent hymn of Hans Sachs which has been deservedly translated into almost all the European languages.' Cf. Ranisch, p. 207.

<sup>9</sup> P. 139 note c: 'Da dieses 1553, den 6. Nov. gefertigte Stück seinem Inhalte nach einigen zwar bekannt ist, ihrer Urschrift nach aber völlig unbekannt scheint, so verdient es, umständlicher beschrieben zu werden. Der Inhalt ist kurzlich dieses' (here follows the contents and a reference to Hans Sachs's sources: Melanchthon and Veit Creuzer). Presumably it was this reference that turned Coleridge's attention to the text, but why he should have made a special journey to Helmstedt for the purpose of transcribing it when it was contained in vol. I, p. x of the *Sehr Herrliche Schöne und wahrhafte Gedichte of Hanns Sachs* (Nürnberg, Christoff Heussler, 1558) is a mystery which neither Professor F. L. Lowes (*The Road to Xanadu*, p. 542, note 19) nor Miss Snyder (*Modern Philology* (1928), xxv, p. 379) has been able to solve satisfactorily. Miss Snyder suggests that it was the 'Fastnachtspiel' of *Adams und Evens Erschaffung und ihr Sündenfall* that he transcribed, and not the 'Comœdie'. A MS. volume of Coleridge was so described in a bookseller's catalogue of 1884. The mystery is deepened by the fact that the library at Helmstedt (dispersed at the dissolution of the university in 1809 and now mostly in Wolfenbüttel) does not appear to have contained any Hans Sachs MSS. Cf. O. von Heinemann, *Die Hss. der herzogl. Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel, I: die Helmstedter Hss.* (Wolfenbüttel, 1884–8) and H. Schneider, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Universitätsbibliothek Helmstedt* (Helmstedt, 1924). That Coleridge did actually visit Helmstedt between July 3 and 6, 1799, seems clear from his letter to Greenough of July 6. Cf. E. Morley, 'Coleridge in Germany', in *London Mercury* (1931), p. 564.

the story of which was to pursue him all his life.<sup>1</sup> Meister's *Charakteristiken* and the *Biographie* of C. H. Schmid (Der Giessener Schmid) provided reliable, if loquacious guides to German poets both ancient and modern.<sup>2</sup> Kindermann's *Teutscher Wolredner*<sup>3</sup> was a well-known practical handbook for would-be letter writers and speech makers.

It must be obvious that Coleridge's German reading cannot have been confined to the books actually borrowed from the library. Of those consulted in the reading room there is no record, but he had access, for instance, to Herder's *Volkslieder*, from which he took his translations of 'Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär' sent to his wife on April 23.<sup>4</sup> He brought back to England with him, moreover, a whole load of German books which were by no means all metaphysical, and some of which are still to be found with his marginal annotations in the British Museum or elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> Such are Luther's *Tischreden* in an edition of 1711,<sup>6</sup> and *Hans Sachsen sehr herrliche Gedichte* of 1781.<sup>7</sup> Some of his German books he acquired after his return, either by gift, as when De Quincey presented him with Böhme<sup>8</sup>, and Tieck with his own and other works,<sup>9</sup> or else by purloining them from his friends, as when he carried off 'Luster's Tables' (as the maidservant called Luther's *Table Talk*) from Lamb's house when its master was absent!<sup>10</sup> But he was equally free with his own books and

<sup>1</sup> C. Carlyon, *Early Years and Late Reflections* (London, 1843-56), I, p. 93. Cf. the second lecture of 1818 in *Miscellanies*, ed. Ashe, p. 96 and Crabb Robinson, *Diary* (Sadler) (1869), I, p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> L. Meisters *Charakteristik deutscher Dichter nach der Zeitordnung gereiht, mit Bildnissen*, von H. Pfenninger, 2 vols. (St Gallen u. Leipzig, 1789), begins with O.H.G. literature to end with Salomon Gessner, contains short biographies, appreciations and selections. *Charactere der vornehmsten Dichter aller Nationen, nebst kritischen und historischen Abhandlungen über Gegenstände der schönen Künste und Wissenschaften*, von einer Gesellschaft von Gelehrten, vol. I (Leipzig, 1792). (Nachtrage zu J. C. Sulzers *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* (1771-74). C. H. Schmid, *Biographie der Dichter*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1769, 1770). He also took out C. G. Schutz, *Ueber Lessings Genie und Schriften* (Halle, 1782).

<sup>3</sup> Herrn Baltasar Kindermanns *Teutscher Wolredner auff allerhand Begebenheiten im Staats- und Hauswesen gerichtet* (Frankfurt u. Leipzig, 1688).

<sup>4</sup> E. H. C., I, p. 294. Not from the *Wunderhorn*, as is usually maintained, for the latter did not appear until 1805.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. J. L. Haney, *loc. cit.*, and his article in *Coleridge Centenary Papers*, ed. by E. Blunden and E. L. Griggs (London, 1934), p. 107.

<sup>6</sup> Coleridge also possessed the English translation of Captain Henry Bell, *Colloquia Mensalia* or *The Familiar Discourses of Dr Martin Luther at his table*, collected first together by Dr Antonius Lauterbach (London, 1711). 'This edition', writes Coleridge in the margin, 'is nothing equal to that of 1652—great liberties are taken in this of omissions and alterations.'

<sup>7</sup> C 43 b 3. This volume (not to be confused with Heussler's edition, referred to above) does not contain *Die Ungleichen Kinder Eve*. A sheet of notepaper pasted to the flyleaf contains a transcription in Coleridge's hand of a passage from the comedy *Solon und der Wallbruder*, and another extract concerning a pedlar beginning: 'Ich ein armer Krämer bin.'

<sup>8</sup> *Works* (ed. 1871), XI, p. 76 note: 'We ourselves had the honour of presenting to Mr Coleridge Law's English version of Jacob Boehmen, a set of huge quartos.'

<sup>9</sup> Cf. E. H. Zeydel, *Ludwig Tieck and England* (Princeton, 1931), p. 94.

<sup>10</sup> *Letters of Charles Lamb*, ed. by A. Ainger (London, 1888), II, p. 119.

was asking Sharon Turner in 1808 for the return of a 'parcel of old German or Theotiscan books' together with a romance in Latin hexameters (was it the *Waltharius*?).<sup>1</sup>

Coleridge gave heed to the strict philological discipline taught by Benecke, and the interest in linguistic problems persisted all his life. Like most of his contemporaries he had a passion for etymology (why not venture on *root-lore*?), which seems to him an admirable device for training the mind,<sup>2</sup> but he denies that it is a science, except 'in the lowest and improper sense of the word'. It seems to him a 'logy which perishes from a plethora of probability'.<sup>3</sup> He himself certainly makes some very wild shots in his anxiety to bring home a point, as when he opposes 'thing' to 'thought' as though the first were a present and the latter a past participle, thus contrasting the living and the dead:<sup>4</sup> for 'feelings die by flowing into the mould of the intellect, becoming ideas'.<sup>5</sup> He hazards a guess that in the first word of the Maltese expression 'nix mangiare' we have the Low German 'nicks', the slurring of 'nichts'.<sup>6</sup> Gossamer is not a corruption of 'God's Dame's Hair'.<sup>7</sup> And he blunders badly when he connects the 'Whit' in Whitsuntide with the 'wite' in 'Witenagemot', though to do him justice, this was before his visit to Germany.<sup>8</sup> He is repeating an error of Horne Tooke in connecting the final *-ive* with 'vicus' and 'oikos',<sup>9</sup> and equally wrong in the assumption that 'who' is the Greek *ho* plus the digammaté prefix; nor does 'qui' equal *kai ho*.<sup>10</sup> He is entirely at sea when he informs John Gutch (the editor of the Horn Book) that the expression 'Op Zee Freeze' is a pun upon Vries, a Dutch cant word for strong beer.<sup>11</sup> His assertion that 'brute animals have the vowel sounds; men only can utter the consonants' is simply not true, and is another instance of his obsession with the belief that Hebrew was the divinely inspired primitive language of mankind.<sup>12</sup> He attacks Horne Tooke for 'being shallow in the Gothic dialects' (or, as we now say, Germanic), and he is himself nearer the mark, though not quite correct, when he suggests that the form 'die' (it was actually 'de') did duty in the north of Germany for both masculine and feminine, and the 'der' as a distinct masculine form was adopted by Luther from Ober-Deutsch.<sup>13</sup> He quotes with approval the statement of the Abbé Raynal that the dual is a natural conception 'quite

<sup>1</sup> Griggs, I, p. 400.

<sup>2</sup> A. D. Snyder, *Coleridge on Logic and Learning* (New Haven, 1929), p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> *Anima Poetae*, p. 123.

<sup>4</sup> *The Friend* (Shedd), II, p. 469.

<sup>5</sup> Griggs, I, p. 352.

<sup>6</sup> *The Friend*, loc. cit., p. 510.

<sup>7</sup> *Omniana*, ed. T. Ashe (London, 1896), p. 349.

<sup>8</sup> *The Watchman* (Shedd), IV, p. 76, quoted by Hanford, loc. cit., p. 625.

<sup>9</sup> *Table Talk*, August 16, 1833. Cf. Hanford, loc. cit., p. 129.

<sup>10</sup> *Omniana*, p. 415.

<sup>11</sup> Griggs, II, p. 139.

<sup>12</sup> *Table Talk*, August 20, 1833.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, May 7, 1830.

distinct from plurality'.<sup>1</sup> But the agreement in ancient Greek of singular verbs with a neuter plural is not due to 'the successful resistance of meta-physical grammar against the tyranny of formal grammar'. It is simply that the Greeks had a grammatical category for the collective which most modern languages have lost. Nor does it help to argue, as Coleridge does, that 'there may be Multeity in things, but there can only be Plurality in persons', for persons, too, can be considered collectively.

His views of the relationship of languages are correct as far as they go, but limited: our Indo-European language (he terms it following a Biblical theory, Japetic, i.e. Japhetic,<sup>2</sup> but confuses the people themselves with the Ionians) split up into two main divisions, the one migrating south-west (Greeks, Ionians, etc.), the other north-west (Goths, Germans, Swedes, etc.). Although doubtful of the position of Sanskrit with regard to this family, he is convinced that Hebrew is Semitic.<sup>3</sup>

He quotes with approval a remark of Jakob Böhme that it was strange that there was not a different language for every degree of latitude (a favourite thought of Herder's), and in confirmation points to the infinite variety of languages among the barbarous tribes of South America.<sup>4</sup> He realises the importance of analogy as a formative principle and has observed that children, when forming new words,<sup>5</sup> always act on it.

He is puzzled by the phenomenon of gender (as many more competent philologists than he have been!) and tries to account for 'Sonne' being feminine in modern German, whereas in Middle High German it was often masculine.<sup>6</sup> He has some notion that the termination of nouns is purely arbitrary, and is correct in his assumption that the article performs a primary function in the expression of sex (i.e. gender), at least in the older periods of the language. And he is really on the track of the right explanation when he points out that the neuter noun in Greek has no real nominative case (this applies of course equally to the Germanic languages): 'a thing', he adds, 'has no subjectivity or nominative case; it exists only as an object in the accusative.'<sup>7</sup> But instead he spoils it all with the sweeping assertion that no nation ever imagined the sun in itself and apart from language, as the feminine power,<sup>8</sup> although, had he read Horne Tooke more carefully, he would have learned that in ancient German mythology the sun was represented as a goddess!<sup>9</sup> That,

<sup>1</sup> *Table Talk*, July 7, 1832.

<sup>2</sup> The term is now claimed for the Caucasian group. Cf. N. Marr, *Der Japhetistische Kaukasus* (Berlin, 1923).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, July 12, 1827.

<sup>4</sup> *Table Talk*, May 7, 1830.

<sup>5</sup> He seems to derive here from J. Harris, *Hermes* (London, 1765), p. 45.

<sup>6</sup> *Diversions of Purley*, ed. 1829, by R. Taylor, I, p. 54.

<sup>7</sup> *Table Talk*, February 24, 1827.

<sup>8</sup> *Anima Poetae*, p. 11.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, July 7, 1832.

however, he did not take himself too seriously as a philologist is proved by the facetious epigram (adapted from Wernicke) 'On the curious circumstances that in the German language the Sun is feminine and the Moon masculine':<sup>1</sup>

Our English poets, bad and good, agree  
To make the Sun a male, the Moon a she.  
He drives His dazzling diligence on high,  
In verse, as constantly as in the sky;  
And cheap as blackberries our sonnets show  
The Moon, Heaven's huntress, with Her silver bow;  
By which they'd teach us, if I guess aright,  
Man rules the day, and woman rules the night.  
In Germany they just reverse the thing;  
The Sun becomes a queen, the Moon a king.  
Now, that the Sun should represent the women,  
The Moon the men, to me seem'd mighty humming;  
And when I first read German, made me stare.  
Surely it is not that the wives are there  
As common as the Sun to lord and loon,  
And all their husbands horned as the Moon?

Coleridge had a perfect passion for coining and adapting words, and his efforts are not always successful! 'Oligosyllabic' has, indeed, passed into common usage,<sup>2</sup> and 'co-arctation' is not a bad phrase for the double narrowing of daylight and the interstice between the door and its jambs as the door is closed:<sup>3</sup>

And soon  
The narrowing line of day-light that ran after  
The closing door was gone.<sup>4</sup>

But 'aspheterise',<sup>5</sup> to deny private property, from the privative particle 'a' and the Greek 'spheteros', is, as the *Oxford Dictionary* says, 'rare'; and 'ultra-crepidate',<sup>6</sup> as applied to the presumptuous critic, and 'vaccimulgence', of the milking of cows, are mere etymological jests;<sup>7</sup> 'esemplastic' is, according to Ferrier,<sup>8</sup> a plagiarism of Schelling's 'In-eins-bildung', although as Mr Shawcross has pointed out,<sup>9</sup> the equivalence is by no means exact. It has lately been assimilated to an earlier original formation of Coleridge,<sup>10</sup> 'coadunating', which may have suggested to him the later and better Greek equivalent 'esemplastic'. Not that he was

<sup>1</sup> The verses were suggested, as H. G. Fiedler has shown in the Notes to the Oxford edition (1912) of Coleridge's *Works* (II, p. 1004), by an epigram of Christian Wernicke:

Die Sonn' heisst die, der Mond heisst der  
In unsrer Sprach', und kommt daher,  
Weil meist die Frauen wie die gemein  
Wie der gehört wir Manner sein.

<sup>2</sup> *Table Talk*, April 30, 1830.

<sup>3</sup> *Anima Poetae*, p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> *Piccolomini*, Act II, sc. iv.

<sup>5</sup> Lecture VI, 1811-12.

<sup>6</sup> E. H. C., I, p. 338. Griggs, I, p. 148.

<sup>7</sup> *Biogr. Lit.*, II, p. 381.

<sup>8</sup> *Blackwood's Magazine* (March, 1840), XLVII, p. 293.

<sup>9</sup> *Biogr. Lit.* (Shawcross), I, p. lxiii.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. P. L. Carver in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* (1929), XXIV, p. 329.

averse from borrowing his philosophic terms from the German: why not adopt 'all-common' for 'allgemein', he asks, and he would like to see 'universal' and 'occasional' used for Kant's 'notwendig' and 'zufällig'. 'Angeborenes Übel' = original sin would be better rendered, he thinks, by 'co-innate' or 'ad-innate' and for 'Zundstoff' he suggests the 'incendent' or 'comburent';<sup>1</sup> he laments the lack of an English equivalent for 'unübersehbar' (untranslatable) and 'Lichtpunkt'.<sup>2</sup> So Germanised was his phraseology that already in Göttingen he used 'college' in the rare English sense of a course of lectures:

We both attended the same College,  
Where sheets of paper we did blur many,  
And now we're going to sport our knowledge,  
In England I, and you in Germany.<sup>3</sup>

He gave a wider meaning, the *Oxford Dictionary* informs us, to the word 'anachronism', being the first to invest it with the idea of a thing appropriate to one age, but out of touch with another.

The ambiguity of words and his concern for their exact definition led Coleridge to the formulation of a magnificent and prophetic plan for a new English Dictionary on scientific lines which should supersede Dr Johnson's,<sup>4</sup> although he realises the magnitude of the task and the improbability of its execution without outside financial help. 'Were I asked', he writes in the *Biographia Literaria*,<sup>5</sup> 'what I deemed the greatest and most unmixed benefit which a wealthy individual, or an association of wealthy individuals, could bestow on their country, or on mankind, I should not hesitate to answer, "a philosophical English dictionary, with the Greek, Latin, German, French, Spanish and Italian synonymes and with corresponding indexes".' He defines it more precisely and less ambitiously, but equally enthusiastically, in his 'Logic': 'A dictionary constructed on the one only philosophical principle, which, regarding words as living growths, affects, and organs of the human soul, seeks to trace each historically through all the periods of its natural growth and accidental modification—work worthy of a Royal and Imperial confederacy, and which would indeed hallow the Science! A work which, executed from any one language, would yet be a benefaction to the world, and to the nation itself a source of immediate honour and ultimate weal beyond the power of victories to bestow or the mines of Mexico to pur-

<sup>1</sup> The above examples from the 'Marginalia' published by H. Nideker in the *Revue de Lit. Comp.* (1927), vii, pp. 136, 338, 534.

<sup>2</sup> *Anima Poetae*, p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> 'Lines in a German Student's Album', Oxford ed. p. 955.

<sup>4</sup> On his opinion of Johnson's Dictionary see *Boogr. Lit.* (Shedd), iii, p. 325 note.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 326 note; (Shawcross), i, p. 241 note.

chase. The realisation of this scheme lies in the far distance, but in the meantime it cannot but beseech every individual competent to its furtherance to contribute a portion of the materials for the future temple.<sup>1</sup>

For puns, though to a less extent than his friend Charles Lamb, he had a lifelong weakness. He thought of writing a treatise in defence of 'paranomasia', as he somewhat pedantically termed the art.<sup>2</sup> In his 1811-12 Lectures he commends Shakespeare for his wise use of these verbal conceits.<sup>3</sup> They are, he says elsewhere, 'analogous to sudden fleeting affinities of mind. Even, as in a dance, you touch and join and off again, and rejoin your partner . . . they too, not merely conform to, but are of and in and help to form the delicious harmony.'<sup>4</sup> There are, of course, puns and puns, from 'its minimum in which it exists only in the violent intention and desire of the punster to make one' to that maximum of 'scornful triumph exulting and insulting as in *Paradise Lost* vi'.<sup>5</sup> It usually contains an element of contempt, and it is perhaps for this reason that Coleridge's praise of Southey's substitution of 'metapothecaries' for 'metaphysicians' reads somewhat forced and self-conscious in its exaggeration.<sup>6</sup> ('He deserves a pension far more', he vows, 'than Johnson for his dictionary.') And there is just a suggestion of irony when he puns on his initials to describe his system of philosophy as 'Estecean'.<sup>7</sup> But on occasion he takes punning seriously, as when he defines the understanding as 'that which *stands under* the phenomenon, and gives it objectivity'.<sup>8</sup> A bull, on the other hand, is only occasionally verbal (as when the closest thinker blunders in speaking a foreign tongue), but the true bull consists rather 'in a mental juxtaposition of incongruous ideas, with the sensation, but without the sense of connection'.<sup>9</sup> And whilst 'humour is consistent with pathos, wit is not'.<sup>10</sup>

Coleridge was the inventor of the term, and the first discerning advocate of the process, of 'desynonymisation' as a means of enriching the language.<sup>11</sup> For synonyms (he uses the word loosely) can only be counted a defect where the words remain synonymous, as when in German dialects there are a hundred different names for the alder-tree.<sup>12</sup> But these defects, in languages of mixed origin, at least,<sup>13</sup> can be turned into a source of strength; as in English where, either by some slight change in pro-

<sup>1</sup> A. D. Snyder, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> *Anima Poetae*, p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> T. M. Raysor, *Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism* (London, 1930), p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> *Anima Poetae*, p. 108.

<sup>5</sup> *Omniana*, p. 348.

<sup>6</sup> Griggs, I, p. 183.

<sup>7</sup> Snyder, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> *Table Talk*, March 13, 1827.

<sup>9</sup> *Omniana*, p. 359.

<sup>10</sup> *Additional Table Talk*, September 15, 1821.

<sup>11</sup> *Biogr. Lit.* (Shedd), III, p. 201.

<sup>12</sup> *Table Talk*, May 14, 1830.

<sup>13</sup> Snyder, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

nunciation, as 'property' and 'propriety', due to a different feeling in the mind the same word is used with different meanings;<sup>1</sup> a theory which seems to anticipate vaguely Sperber's law of emotional causes.<sup>2</sup> Or else by borrowing from different sources: fancy and imagination, imitation and copy.<sup>3</sup> For words are subject to growth like any other living things; and he likens their development to that of the animalcula, those microscopic animals which divide into halves, and continue the process *ad infinitum*.<sup>4</sup> In this respect, then, English is superior to a homogeneous language like German which, in order to translate Gray's line, 'the pomp and prodigality of heaven', would be obliged to say 'the pomp and spendthriftness of heaven', because the German has not, as we have, one word with two such distinct meanings, one expressing the noble, the other the baser idea of the same action.<sup>5</sup>

In thus comparing languages on the grounds of their æsthetic and literary merits Coleridge was helping to found a theory of language which, according to Professor Jespersen,<sup>6</sup> has still to be developed in a truly scientific spirit. Not that Coleridge was always scientific, but as a poet and philosopher of no mean repute his remarks are well worthy of attention. He begins by referring his readers to 'a very pleasant and acute dialogue in Schlegel's *Athenaeum* between a German, a Greek, a Roman, an Italian and a Frenchman on the merits of their respective languages'.<sup>7</sup> Coleridge forgets the Englishman, yet the latter's remarks on his native tongue, if few, are to the point; he praises its monosyllabic force, its richness of expression, its freedom from obsolete terminations and its natural word-order. Like the true sportsman that every Englishman is supposed on the Continent to be, he pricks up his ears at the mention of 'verse races', and is ready to lay odds on the respective lengths of the Greek and German hexameter. On the whole, we find those questions discussed which are also Coleridge's concern: the value of brevity as opposed to force of expression, the due proportion between vowels and consonants and the relative concord of diphthongs and vowels, the harshness and softness of language to the ear; all in relation to language as the tool of poetry. German comes in for its share of criticism, and though its force

<sup>1</sup> *Omniana*, p. 415.

<sup>2</sup> *Table Talk*, July 3, 1833.

<sup>3</sup> *Lectures*, 1811-12. Rayson, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>4</sup> *Language, its Nature, Development and Origin* (London, 1922), p. 396.

<sup>5</sup> *Table Talk*, September 4, 1833. *Athenaeum* (1798), I, p. 3: 'Die Sprachen. Ein Gespräch über Klopstocks Grammatische Gespräche.' Another work with which he may have become acquainted in Germany, although I have no direct evidence, is D. Jenisch, *Philosophisch-kritische Vergleichung und Würdigung von vierzehn altern und neuern Sprachen Europas* (Berlin, 1796), a prize essay of the Prussian Academy which similarly broaches the comparative merits of languages.

<sup>6</sup> *Zeitschrift f. d. Altert.* (1922), LIX, p. 48.

<sup>7</sup> *Biogr. Lit.* (Shedd), III, p. 202 note.

and poetic capabilities are admitted, exception is taken to its clumsiness of diction, its prolixity, its complications of accident and syntax and the endlessness of its periods; Heiligerömischereichdeutschernazionsperioden as Schlegel mocks. The discussion is chiefly occupied with the refutation, or rather the limitation, of Klopstock's extravagant praise of the German language in his *Grammatische Gespräche*, especially of his contention that 'German is own sister to Greek'. According to the *Biographia Literaria*<sup>1</sup> Coleridge had discussed with Klopstock the supposed likeness of German and Greek on the occasion of their famous meeting. He was on the whole inclined to admit Klopstock's claim that German alone was capable of rivalling Greek in concentrating meaning, owing to the polysyllabic character of the language and its unlimited power of forming compounds. In this respect it was definitely superior to English with its monosyllabic character and its tendency to analytical paraphrase. Indeed, on another occasion, he maintains that German could vie with Greek in all things except harmony and sweetness.<sup>2</sup> He constantly recurs to the vitality of its word-building resources. In this respect only Greek and Old Latin (not Virgil) can compare with it.<sup>3</sup> He bemoans the loss of word-formative suffixes like *-nd* and *-ing* as in 'Jugend' and 'Jüngling': 'Why is that last word now lost to common use, and confined to sheep or other animals?'<sup>4</sup> He does make bold, however, to use the diminutive 'goddessling' on one occasion.<sup>5</sup> 'Oh! for the power', he sighs, 'to persuade all the writers of Great Britain to adopt the *ver-*, *zer-* and *al-* of the Germans!' (forgetful of the fact that the equivalent affix *for-* is itself obsolete in English). Why not 'verboil', 'zerboil', 'verrend', 'zerrend'? I should like the very words 'verflossen', 'zerflossen' to be naturalised:

And as I looked now feels my soul creative throes,  
And now all joy, all sense zerflows.<sup>6</sup>

And like any Germanising Carlyle he boldly writes of his 'all zermalming arguments!'<sup>7</sup>

It is a pity, he declares further,<sup>8</sup> 'that we dare not Saxonise as boldly as our forefathers, by unfortunate preference, Latinised. Then we should have "onglide", "angleiten", "onlook", "anschauen".' 'If you consider only how much we should feel the loss of the prefix *be-*, as in "bedropt", "besprinkle", "besot", especially in our poetical language, and then think that this same mode of composition is carried through all their simple and compound prepositions and many of their adverbs.'<sup>9</sup> He

<sup>1</sup> *Biogr. Lit.* (Shedd), III, p. 543.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, September 2, 1833.

<sup>3</sup> *Biogr. Lit.* (Shawcross), I, p. 428. Cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.* (1929), XXIV, p. 329.

<sup>4</sup> *Anima Poetae*, p. 187.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 176.

<sup>6</sup> *Table Talk*, April 20, 1811.

<sup>7</sup> *Omniana*, p. 414.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 243.

<sup>9</sup> *Biogr. Lit.* (Shedd), III, p. 543.

points to the useful function of the suffix *-inn*, which enables the Germans to designate the sex in every possible relation of life: 'Amtmanninn', 'Amtschreiberinn', 'Obirstinn' or 'Colonelinn' and 'Pastorinn', whereas our English *-ess*, he maintains (forgetting 'shepherdess' and 'goddess'!), is confined to words derived from French or Latin.<sup>1</sup> He regrets the lack of a genderless pronoun in English to refer to the sexless word 'person', and thinks the Latin 'homo' and the German 'Mensch' wonderfully convenient in being of common gender,<sup>2</sup> oblivious of the fact that the word 'man' could be applied to both sexes in Early English (i.e., 'woman', 'leman'). He praises the beauty of German as a homogeneous language, presenting as it does a harmony of words with each other which is not obtainable in any other language but Latin: 'heri vidi fragilem frangi, hodie mortalem mori' which he compares with 'Gestern sah ich Gebrechliches brechen, heute etwas Sterbliches sterben'.<sup>3</sup> It is presumably for this reason that he considers that German 'can flash more images at once on the mind than can English, although English has equal, or even greater, powers of expression'.<sup>4</sup> But he does appreciate the 'metaphysical and psychological force' of German,<sup>5</sup> referring no doubt to the vagueness and mysteriousness of its simple-looking words, which accounts so largely for the supreme beauty of its lyrical poetry. 'Alles Lyrische', Goethe once remarked, 'muss im ganzen sehr vernünftig, im einzelnen ein bisschen unvernünftig sein'.<sup>6</sup> It was also one of Coleridge's favourite axioms that 'Poetry gives most pleasure when only generally and not perfectly understood'.<sup>7</sup> He testified, moreover, to its copiousness and power, by remarking that 'in reading the German translation of the *Georgics* he could believe that he was reading the original'.<sup>8</sup> English, on the other hand, strikes him 'by its practical words of monosyllabic character, more capable of expressing action than any other language and so particularly appropriate to the drama'.<sup>9</sup> Hence his belief that he had improved on *Wallenstein* because he had reduced its prolixity: 'Wherever I could retrench a syllable I did so, and I cleared away the greatest possible quantity of stuffing'.<sup>10</sup> In brevity and conciseness of expression English can only be matched by Greek, and to prove his point he quotes a couplet in both languages absolutely equal in length and contents.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Biogr. Lit.* (Shedd), III, p. 517.

<sup>2</sup> *Anima Poetae*, p. 190.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 225.

<sup>4</sup> *Table Talk*, September 4, 1833.

<sup>5</sup> Lecture VI, 1811-12. Raysor, *op. cit.*, II, p. 119.

<sup>6</sup> *Maximen und Reflexionen*, hrsg. v. Max Hecker, Nr. 130.

<sup>7</sup> *Anima Poetae*, p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Beaten Paths and Those who trod them*, by T. C. Grattan, 2 vols. (London, 1862), II, p. 112.

<sup>9</sup> Raysor, *op. cit.*, II, p. 120.

<sup>10</sup> *Beaten Paths*, II, p. 112.

<sup>11</sup> *Works* (Oxford), II, p. 971.

Unlike Herder, for whom the combination of consonants imparted to German 'a certain measured pace',<sup>1</sup> Coleridge finds in the language a war of proportion between its vowels and consonants: 'As though nature in the making had dropped an acid into the language which curdled the vowels, and made all the consonants flow together.'<sup>2</sup> The result is 'A unsmooth mixture of the vocal and organic, the fluid and the substantial of the language'.<sup>3</sup> He thinks it a pity that the Germans should not have retained or assumed the old dental spirants, the 'two beautifully discriminated sounds of the soft and hard theta'; and he compares the grand English word 'death' with a German sound 'that puts you in mind of nothing but a loathsome toad'; (which, incidentally, betrays his own anglicised pronunciation of *ö* and disregard of the devoiced final *d*).<sup>4</sup> His interest in German grammar even took the practical turn of compiling a skeleton German grammar which in ten pages contained all that was of the least use to a learner of intelligence.<sup>5</sup> Yet although he is resolved to buy no other books except German (apart from the Greek and Latin classics) and though he fully admits the influence of German on his own style,<sup>7</sup> he is no believer in the new-fangled methods in education advocated by the 'New-Broomers' (i.e., Lord Brougham and his fellow-reformers), and would most strictly 'exclude modern languages from the curriculum of the public schools'.<sup>8</sup>

It is obvious from any close study of Coleridge's philological observations that he was very much of a dilettante where linguistics were concerned; that with his passion for etymology (it was the favourite hobby of the time as popular science became that of the Mid-Victorians!) he often makes wild guesses and looks for recondite meanings where there are merely fossilised remains. He comes too early to profit by the discoveries of Rask, Grimm and Bopp; his authorities were rather Harris, Val Lennep and Horne Tooke. But though we cannot expect to find in his works any systematic and comprehensive theory of language, he has nevertheless flashes of intuition and visions of the truth, where his contemporaries were still walking in darkness. This is especially the case where his linguistic speculations tend to pass over into literary criticism. Such for instance, is his recognition (derived, it is true, from Creutzer and

<sup>1</sup> On Herder's view on language see E. Sapir, 'Herders Ursprung der Sprache' in *Modern Philology* (1907), v, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> *Table Talk*, July 7, 1832.

<sup>3</sup> *Omniana*, p. 414.

<sup>4</sup> *Table Talk*, July 7, 1832.

<sup>5</sup> *Beaten Paths*, II, p. 118.

<sup>6</sup> *Anima Poetae*, p. 207.

<sup>7</sup> Griggs, II, p. 10. Thelwall had warned him that familiarity with German would encourage the 'faults in his composition'. Cf. *Mod. Lang. Review* (1930), xxv, p. 87.

<sup>8</sup> *Table Talk*, August 4, 1833.

Schelling) of the dionysiac content of the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus, and his still more remarkable anticipation of recent research when he asserts that the ultimate source of the Greek drama would be found in the 'Eleusynian and Samothracian mysteries'.<sup>1</sup> His analysis of the poetical process is rich in illuminating criticism and provides a new and suggestive interpretation of both Shakespeare and Wordsworth. His distinction between prose and poetry is not without application to some of our modern poets: 'Prose is words in their best order; poetry is the best words in the best order.'<sup>2</sup> 'Produce me one word out of Klopstock, Wieland, Schiller, Goethe, Voss, etc., which I will not find as frequently used in the most energetic prose writers. The whole difference in style is that poetry demands a severe keeping—it admits nothing that prose may not often admit, but it oftener rejects.'<sup>3</sup> It is a good criterion of poetic style that Coleridge adopts when he says that 'whatever lines of a poet can be translated into other words of the same language, without diminution of their significance... are so far vicious in their diction. I make bold to affirm', he continues, 'that it would be scarcely more difficult to push a stone from the Pyramids with the bare hand, than to alter a word, or the position of a word, in Milton or Shakespeare, without making the poet say something else, or something worse, than he does say.'<sup>4</sup> And, of course, imagination must not be wanting, without which poetry is not poetry. And there must be sense in it, too, 'for though poetry is something more than sense, yet it must be in good sense: just as a palace is more than a house, but it must be a house at least'.<sup>5</sup> All these components together go to the making of poetic genius: 'Good Sense is its Body, Fancy its Drapery, Motion its Life, and Imagination the Soul that is everywhere and in each, and forms all into one powerful and intelligent whole.'<sup>6</sup>

Coleridge is less concerned than one would imagine with the antiquarian interests which were so popular in England in his day, but rather with the people as a living and active whole. Even before he came to Germany he had written on 'The Manners and Religion of the ancient Germans',<sup>7</sup> inspired perhaps by the interest of Josiah Wedgwood in cultural problems. Readers of *Satyrane's Letters*<sup>8</sup> will remember their lively description of German habits and customs: how in Hamburg Coleridge was

<sup>1</sup> *Works* (Shedd), iv, p. 344. Cf. Hanford, *loc. cit.*, p. 621.

<sup>2</sup> *Table Talk*, July 12, 1827.

<sup>3</sup> *Anima Poetae*, p. 229.

<sup>4</sup> *Biogr. Lit.* (Shedd), III, p. 158.

<sup>5</sup> *Table Talk*, May 9, 1830.

<sup>6</sup> *Biogr. Lit.* (Shedd), III, p. 374.

<sup>7</sup> *The Watchman*, No. III, March 17, 1796. Advertised as 'introductory to a Sketch of the Manners, Religion and Politics of present Germany' which never appeared.

<sup>8</sup> *Biogr. Lit.* (Shedd), III, p. 520.

struck by the picturesque costumes of the peasant women and the pipes and top-boots of the men. He was amused by the painted sign-boards of the shops and awakened out of a distressful dream by the heat and discomfort of the feather bed, 'an abominable custom'.<sup>1</sup> He pays attention to the shape and arrangement of German peasant dwellings, and even takes measurements of their proportions. From Ratzeburg he sends home the well-known account of Christmas festivities in Germany and so helps to spread their observance in England. All this, however, is only philology in its widest German sense. But as a pupil of Heyne Coleridge was naturally interested in the cultural significance of language, although he was not always successful in its interpretation. The German 'Gang' in the sense of a course at dinner, he explains as coming from a practice which he describes to his wife as having witnessed with his own eyes: 'after an hour you rise up, each lady takes a gentleman's arm, and you walk about for a quarter of an hour, in the meantime another course is put upon the table.'<sup>2</sup> Hermann Paul states less fancifully in his well-known dictionary that the perambulation refers to the servants who bring in the meats, not to the guests: 'Gang bei der Mahlzeit: für sich aufgetragenes Gericht.' Coleridge was interested enough in some doggerel verse on the sign-board of an inn in the Harz to make a note of them and to reproduce them fourteen years later in the *Omniana*,<sup>3</sup> but with characteristic disregard of gender:

Des Morgens ist das Brantwein gut,  
Desgleichen zum Mittage:  
Und wer am Abend ein Schluchgen thut,  
Der ist frei von aller Plage:  
Auch kann es gar kein Schade seyn  
Zum Mitternacht, das Brantwein.

'The Rise and Condition of the German Boers' is the subject of a lengthy disquisition sent to Josiah Wedgwood in 1799. He derived much of his information from an article in that same journal of the Cassel antiquaries to which Heyne must have referred him for Winckelmann.<sup>4</sup> His religious propensities lead him to speculate on the fact that it is only in the northern climes of Europe, in France, Germany and England, that Easter, commemorating the resurrection of the Saviour, coincides with the revival

<sup>1</sup> E. H. C., I, p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. T. Ashe, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 177, note 2. The article in question by J. F. Runde ('Der Rechte und der deutschen Reichshistorie Professor') is entitled: 'Vergleichung des ehemaligen und heutigen Zustandes der deutschen Bauern, und Untersuchung der Mittel, wodurch die erfolgten Veränderungen in dem deutschen Bauerstande bewirkt worden sind.' Verbal agreement makes Coleridge's use of this source certain. It was one of the 'six huge letters' written for Josiah Wedgwood, but never posted, and intended, together with Wordsworth's *Journal* and other material as the nucleus of a book on Germany for which he hoped to receive £30 from Longmans. Cf. Griggs, I, pp. 164 *seq.*

of life in nature.<sup>1</sup> And the dearth of patronymics among the Welsh and Highland Scotch he explains, correctly no doubt, as the mark of a country not yet unfeudalised, and so lacking in trade names.<sup>2</sup> Years later he calls to mind some charms which he and other boys at Christ's Hospital used to recite as a cure against cramp or 'pins and needles':

Foot! Foot! Foot! is fast asleep!  
Thumb! Thumb! Thumb! in spittle we steep:  
Crosses three we make to ease us,  
Two for the thieves, and one for Christ Jesus!

The same charm served for cramp in the leg with the following substitution:

The devil is tying a knot in my leg!  
Mark, Luke and John, unloose it I beg!  
Crosses three, etc....

'I can safely affirm', he comments ironically, 'that I do not remember an instance in which the cramp did not go away in a few seconds.'<sup>3</sup> He relates in *The Friend* how he had once talked to a German soldier who had been sold to the English by his sovereign, an incident which naturally reminds him of 'Schiller's impassioned description of the scene in *Cabal and Love*'.<sup>4</sup>

Coleridge's main interest in philology was, however, neither linguistic, nor cultural, but philosophical. His attitude is that of the Renaissance: 'Duplex Grammatica', Campanella had written, 'alia civilis, alia philosophica. Civilis peritia est, non scientia: constat enim ex auctoritate usuque clarorum scriptorum. Philosophica vero, ratione constat; et haec scientiam olet.'<sup>5</sup> Coleridge was similarly convinced that language was the reflection of the human understanding, and is an attempt to provide a logical scheme for the definition of ideas. Different languages accomplished this with varying success, and, of course, the classical languages and Hebrew were in this respect superior to all others. His approach was thus æsthetic, critical, metaphysical, religious, or even moral, but not philological in the stricter sense. All the time he is haunted by the desire to find everywhere the working of the mind of God; and in his linguistic, as in his literary criticism, religious conviction is always lurking in the background. No doubt this is why he was still unconvinced in 1827, in spite of Leibniz and Friedrich Schlegel, that Hebrew was not the primitive language of mankind, and ridiculed the claims of Sanskrit to priority.<sup>6</sup>

Like Locke before him, and Goethe after him, Coleridge is concerned at the inadequacy of language to reproduce thought, and he is convinced,

<sup>1</sup> *Anima Poetae*, p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> *Table Talk*, June 10, 1832.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Horne Tooke.

<sup>4</sup> *Omniana*, p. 413.

<sup>5</sup> *The Friend*, Section I, Essay 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Table Talk*, August 9, 1832.

like some of our modern psychologists, that a more simple, more perfect process of intercommunication might have been evolved.<sup>1</sup> He is aware of the enslaving power of words and wonders whether language, by ready-made and distinct images in the mind, may not be a hindrance to the idea-creating force of originality.<sup>2</sup> He realises at least that language is, in its essence, dynamic, is spoken and not merely written, when he maintains that to be intelligible it presupposes sympathetic apprehension on the part of the listener; or, as he expresses it in axiomatic form: 'the conveyal of knowledge by words is in direct proportion to the stores and faculties of observation of the person who hears and reads them',<sup>3</sup> thus anticipating a conclusion of Wegener!<sup>4</sup> It is the disinclination to relate a word to the precise fact or truth which it designates that, according to Coleridge, is the disease of the age and leads to much muddy thinking. Where such terms do not exist in our present store of words 'they must be made and, indeed, all wise men have so acted from Moses to Aristotle and from Theophrastus to Linnaeus'.<sup>5</sup> He turns to the philosopher in support of this contention: 'I must extract and transcribe from the preface to the works of Paracelsus that eloquent defence of technical new words used in a new sense.'<sup>6</sup> All improvements of style, he considers, come from 'the instinctive passion in the mind for one word to express one act or feeling', as when the phrase 'I envy him such and such a thing' is used unconsciously for the complex synthesis comprised in the regret of not being able to share, without any suggestion of deprivation of the lucky person.<sup>7</sup>

It is for men of genius to take in hand 'the ever-individualising process and dynamic Being of Ideas', and to reflect their thoughts in words.<sup>8</sup> He gives an excellent definition of the genius of language: 'What a magnificent History of acts of individual minds, sanctioned by the Collective Mind of the Country a Language is!'<sup>9</sup> It was in this sense, he thinks, that the Greeks employed the term 'logoi' for 'select, considerate, well-weighed, deliberate words' in contradistinction to 'rhēmata'.<sup>10</sup> Coleridge does not otherwise concern himself with the growth of language beyond this hint that it is consciously created from unconnected utterances by the action of gifted individuals: 'a chaos grinding itself into compatibility.'<sup>11</sup> The schoolmen of the Middle Ages deserve a word of

<sup>1</sup> *Additional Table Talk* (Alsopp), ed. Ashe, p. 311.

<sup>2</sup> *Anima Poetae*, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 268.

<sup>4</sup> 'Die Sympathie ist die fundamentale Voraussetzung alles Sprachverständnisses' Ph. Wegener, *Grundfragen der Sprachlebens* (Halle, 1885), p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> *Anima Poetae*, p. 268.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 232.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155.

<sup>8</sup> Snyder, *Coleridge on Logic*, p. 138.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

commendation for the clearness and orderly disposition of their language, and Coleridge protests against 'the foolish laugh which Locke had raised against them'.<sup>1</sup> It was the schoolmen, he avers, who made the languages of Europe what they now are, and, he adds proudly, 'two-thirds of the most ancient were of British birth'. 'We laugh at the quiddities of these writers now, but, in truth, these quiddities are just the parts of their language which we have rejected, whilst we never think of the mass which we have adopted and have in daily use.'<sup>2</sup>

It is clear that Coleridge returned from Germany with much more than a wealth of linguistic learning. His rejection of the materialism of Hartley in favour of the German idealistic philosophy brought with it a change in his attitude to reality which is reflected in his new insight into words and their significance. By December 1800 he half sceptically refers to the theory of language by which words were 'arbitrary symbols in imagination', and reports how his son Hartley, just able to speak a few words, made a fireplace of stones with stones for fire.<sup>3</sup> Even earlier he had wondered whether thinking was not possible without arbitrary signs, whether words themselves were not organic like the rest of nature, 'parts and germinations of the plant?' 'I would endeavour to destroy the old antithesis of Words and Things, elevating, as it were, Words into Things and living Things too.'<sup>4</sup> To think of a thing is different from perceiving it,<sup>5</sup> just as to receive an idea is different from acquiring it. (Coleridge uses the German words 'auffassen' and 'erkennen' to illustrate his meaning.)<sup>6</sup> Henceforward he distinguished between words and names of things, the former showing the harmony existing between mind and heart, the latter as mere arbitrary signs subject to endless discrepancies.<sup>7</sup> His later work is filled with this conviction: 'It is the fundamental mistake of grammarians and writers on the philosophy of grammar and language, to suppose that words and their syntaxis are the immediate representatives of things, or that they correspond to things. Words correspond to thoughts and the legitimate order and connection of words, to the laws of thinking and to the acts and affections of the thinker's mind.'<sup>8</sup> Words are thus no longer the denomination of external objects, they are rather logical con-

<sup>1</sup> *Table Talk*, April 20, 1811. He adds a year or two later that he has received 'great delight from Scotus Erigena, who was a Platonist rather than an Aristotelean', E. H. C., I, p. 424.

<sup>2</sup> *Table Talk*, April 18, 1830. He journeyed to Durham in July 1801, apparently for the express purpose of reading Duns Scotus in the cathedral library: 'I am burning Locke, Hume and Hobbes under his nose. They stink worse than feather or assafoetida.' E. H. C., I, p. 358. By 1801 he had become a 'purus putus metaphysician' and had turned to Spinoza, Leibniz and Kant (Griggs, I, pp. 141, 173).

<sup>3</sup> *Anima Poetae*, p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Anima Poetae*, p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Table Talk*, May 14, 1830.

<sup>6</sup> Griggs, I, p. 156.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>8</sup> To James Gillman, Jr., 1827.

structions of the mind, itself no longer passive but creative, and synonymous with the idea itself, for all truth is a species of revelation.<sup>1</sup> It is this coalescence of subject and object which, as Mr Richards has emphasised in a recent study,<sup>2</sup> is at the basis of Coleridge's theory of knowledge. Or, as Miss Snyder puts it in another way, it is the reconciliation of opposites when nature becomes self, and the material and the spiritual are combined by the imagination into poetry.<sup>3</sup> It is in this sense that a work on the nature of poetry, describing the affinities of the feelings with words and ideas, would, in Coleridge's mind, 'supersede all the books of metaphysics, and all the books of morals too'.<sup>4</sup> It is an attitude not very different to that arrived at by Wilhelm von Humboldt some four years later: 'Im Grunde ist alles was ich treibe', he wrote to Wolf in 1805, 'Sprachstudium. Ich glaube die Kunst entdeckt zu haben, die Sprache als ein Vehikel zu gebrauchen, um das Höchste und Tiefste und die Mannigfaltigkeit der ganzen Welt zu durchfahren.'<sup>5</sup> Coleridge is still closer to the Romanticists for whom word and idea were identical and language merely the outer form of an inward creative urge, like poetry with which speech is really identical. 'Das Reden', says von Baader, 'ist ein äusserlich und sichtbar gewordenes Denken. Das Denken nur ein innerliches Reden.' For Novalis language is magic and the poet 'ein Sprachbegeisterter' (*Heinrich von Ofterdingen*), and Friedrich Schlegel carried the thought through to its logical conclusion with his conception of 'Universalpoesie', which should comprise all and sundry activities of the human soul.<sup>6</sup>

This all-comprehensive book on poetry, like so many others projected by Coleridge, was never written, but much of its substance is preserved in his letters, note-books, conversations and manuscripts, of which a rich selection has been given to the public in recent years.<sup>7</sup> They have led to

<sup>1</sup> E. H. C., I, p. 351.

<sup>2</sup> I. A. Richards, *Coleridge on Imagination* (London, 1934). There is already a hint of Mr Richards' conclusions in Mr Shawcross's Introduction to the *Biogr. Lit.*, especially p. lxvi.

<sup>3</sup> 'The Critical Principle of the Reconciliation of Opposites as employed by Coleridge' in *Contributions to Rhetorical Theory* (University of Michigan, ix, Ann Arbor, 1918).

<sup>4</sup> E. H. C., I, p. 347.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted by E. Cassirer, *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen* (Berlin, 1923), Teil I: *Die Sprache*, p. 98. The date of this utterance, it will be noted, 1805, is the year when Coleridge met von Humboldt in Rome. But though they discussed literature there is no mention of grammar or philology in their conversations.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. E. Fiesel, *Die Sprachphilosophie der deutschen Romantik* (Tübingen, 1927).

<sup>7</sup> I think principally of the *Unpublished Letters of Griggs* (1932), Miss Snyder's publications of Coleridgean MSS. (1929), J. H. Muirhead's penetrating study of *Coleridge as Philosopher* (London, 1930), of the older, but invaluable *Anima Poetae* with its wealth of extracts from the Note-Books (1895), and of J. Shawcross's indispensable edition of the *Biographia Literaria* (1907), and of the *Coleridge Centenary Papers*, ed. by E. Blunden and E. L. Griggs (London, 1934).

a juster appreciation not only of his literary criticism but of the basic originality of his mind. It is no longer possible, as it was only a short time ago, to term his famous distinction between fancy and the imagination 'useless' with Professor Garrod. And if, as Miss Snyder insists, Coleridge's chief contribution to the psychology of thinking was his insistence on the distinction between dynamic thought and passive attention, then the difference between fancy and the imagination is much more than one of degree, as Professor Abercrombie has suggested, and Professor Lowes would confirm. For who could deny that poetry does assume greater significance when it is invested, as Coleridge invests it, with a message from the other world? 'To be incapable of a feeling for poetry, in my sense of the word', he declared in 1807, 'is to be without love of human nature and reverence for God.'<sup>1</sup> And he was still convinced when he wrote to H. J. Rose in 1816 that 'the true science of life is best taught in Poetry'.<sup>2</sup> For, true Romanticist that he was, Coleridge was convinced that the poet could penetrate intuitively into the nature of things, into which the man of science could only enter laboriously and incompletely: 'I believe the souls of 500 Sir Isaac Newtons would go to the making up of a Shakespeare or a Milton.'<sup>3</sup>

With so high an opinion of the poet's mission, can we wonder that Coleridge laid such stress on poetic diction, and that he should have given so much time and thought to the wider issues which language involves? The investigation of his views on language has led us, where the study of any aspect of Coleridge's thought is bound to lead, to metaphysics. To Coleridge, especially in the later years, philology is no mere accumulation of learning—he had left that phase behind in Göttingen—it is, on the contrary, 'in the noblest sense of the term, the most human, practical and fructifying form, and the most popular Disguise of Logic and Psychology without which what is man?'<sup>4</sup>

L. A. WILLOUGHBY.

LONDON.

<sup>1</sup> *Memorials of Coleorton*, ed. by W. Knight (Edinburgh, 1887), II, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Griggs, II, p. 190.

<sup>3</sup> E. H. C., I, p. 352. Cf., too, Griggs, I, p. 180: 'I look on Sir Isaac Newton as a very puny agent compared with Milton.'

<sup>4</sup> Griggs, II, p. 280.

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

### 'CONCERNING WADE...'

There is probably no better known crux in Chaucer than the tale of Wade and no more famous comment than that of Speght on Wade's boat (*C.T.*, E. 1424): 'Concerning Wade and his bote called Guingelot, as also his strange exploits in the same, because the matter is long and fabulous, I passe it over.' On which Tyrwhitt remarked 'Tantamne rem tam negligenter?', and most succeeding editors have complained in the same strain. Here I am only concerned to show that in discussing Chaucer's references to Wade they have been so preoccupied with the story of his boat that they seem to have failed to notice an aspect of the Wade legend which perhaps gives much greater significance to the reference in *Troilus and Criseyde*:

he song: she pleide: he tolde tale of Wade

(III, 614)

than has yet been realised.

Of course it is possible that Chaucer here uses the word merely for the sake of the rhyme. But if we assume that he had some less obvious purpose we must surely look further than to the story of the magic boat. Consider the situation: Pandarus is entertaining Criseyde, who believes that Troilus is 'out of tounne' though he is really in hiding 'in a stewe'. It is Pandarus's object to bring the two together.

Now in the High German *Kudrun* we are told that Wate and Horant go to win Hild for King Hetel. Wate wins admiration by his swordsmanship, Horant by his sweet singing. Then they woo for their lord till Hild consents to flee. Panzer believed these to be the original elements of the Wade story: he thought it was the same as the Iron-John story in Grimm, from which he would derive numerous mediæval romances; and Chambers (who gives an excellent summary of the tale, *Widsith*, pp. 95 ff.) while not going all the way with Panzer, agrees that Wade is an essential part of this story.

May we not legitimately suppose, then, that Chaucer knew an English version of this story: and that Pandarus sings it here (or has it sung: whom the 'he' refers to is not clear: but 'hir' and 'she' pretty certainly refer to Criseyde, as in l. 616) as the most subtle way of hinting at his purpose, since Criseyde, touched by the story of Hild, is the more likely to yield to Troilus? We do not need to assume that the qualities of Horant and Wade interchanged in the course of the centuries, though

that would give an added fitness to Pandarus's choice. But in any case the similarity of situation is so suggestive as to make it tempting to believe that Chaucer was fully aware of it and that for him it played a definite part in the progress of the story. Moreover, as Professors de Selincourt and Livingstone Lowes and Mr C. S. Lewis have all recently made clear in various ways, *Troilus and Criseyde* is a poem of courtly love, and it is perfectly in accordance with the rules that there should be no open allusion to Troilus's love in the presence of 'alle and somme': indeed, Criseyde had only a little while before (l. 583) begged her uncle 'for to be war of goosish peples speche'. Secrecy was an essential article of the creed.

None of the recent editors has any more likely suggestion to offer. F. N. Robinson, in his note on the reference in the *Merchant's Tale*, remarks that Professor W. G. Howard has noticed the Kudrun story: but neither scholar seems to have perceived its relevance to the Troilus crux.

J. A. W. BENNETT.

OXFORD.

#### WILLIAM JACKSON ON PRIOR'S USE OF MONTAIGNE

In the *Modern Language Review* for October, 1932,<sup>1</sup> Dr W. P. Barrett, arguing ably for Montaigne's essay 'De l'Yvrognerie' as the source of the central conceit in Prior's *Alma*, made the casual statement that the relation of the two works had 'not previously been observed'. Realising that the fact in no way discredits Dr Barrett's study, I should like to point out that well over a century ago William Jackson of Exeter observed the passage in Montaigne, and announced, in his collection of essays, *The Four Ages*,<sup>2</sup> his conviction that Prior had there found the suggestion for *Alma*: or, *the Progress of the Mind*:

Assuredly we owe the existence of Prior's *Alma*, one of the most finished and original Poems in our language, to the following passage from Montaigne. 'The natural heat first seats itself in the feet—that concerns infancy. Then it mounts into the middle region, where it makes a long abode, and produces, in my opinion, the only true pleasure of human life; all other pleasures, in comparison, sleep. Towards the end, like a vapour that still mounts upward, it arrives at the throat, where it makes its final residence, and concludes the progress.'<sup>3</sup> If this had been written after the Poem, it would have passed for an abridgment of it—perhaps, Prior's calling it the *Progress of the mind*, might have been occasioned by the last word of the quotation. Besides taking Montaigne's ideas as the plan of his Poem, he has versified the above passage as a prospectus of the whole design.

<sup>1</sup> XXVII, pp. 454–8.

<sup>2</sup> *The Four Ages; together with Essays on Various Subjects*, London, 1798.

<sup>3</sup> Jackson is quoting, with some variations, from Cotton's translation, Bk. II, chap. II.

My simple system shall suppose,  
 That Alma enters at the toes;  
 That then she mounts by just degrees,  
 Up to the ancles, legs, and knees;  
 Next, as the sap of life does rise,  
 She lends her vigor to the thighs:  
 And, all these under-regions past,  
 She nestles somewhere near the waste:  
 Gives pain or pleasure, grief or laughter;  
 As we shall show at large hereafter.  
 Mature, if not improv'd, by time,  
 Up to the heart she loves to climb:  
 From thence, compell'd by craft and age,  
 She makes the head her latest stage.<sup>1</sup>

(*The Four Ages*, pp. 254-5.)

It is not surprising that this interesting early reference has been hitherto unnoticed, because Jackson, although the author of several volumes, was primarily a musician and composer; his essays have no importance as literature and are so little known that an investigator would not be likely to search them for such material. The essays do, however, warrant attention. Though they lack finish, they contain some interesting observations, for Jackson had read widely and could make original comments on his reading. Eleven of the essays in *The Four Ages* deal with literature: 'On Wit', 'Different Uses of Reading and Conversation', 'The Bard', 'On Pope's Epitaphs', 'On Rhyme', 'Authors should not exceed common Judgement', 'On the joining Poetry with Music', 'Authors improperly paired', 'A proper Length necessary for Musical and Literary Productions', 'On Poetical and Musical Ear', and 'On Literary Thievery'.<sup>2</sup>

It is the last of these which concerns us here, for it is really a series of source studies, most of them clever and valuable, although the conclusions are stated too positively. In this essay Jackson suggests sources

<sup>1</sup> Jackson is quoting Canto I, ll. 251-64.

<sup>2</sup> The others are of a miscellaneous nature:

The Four Ages.  
 On Gothic Architecture.  
 The middle way not always best.  
 The Villa.  
 An Indian Tale.  
 Character of Gainsborough.  
 Character of Joshua Reynolds.  
 Whether Genius be born or acquired.  
 The Venetian, French Captain, and Priest.  
 The Ghost.  
 On Gentlemen-Artists.  
 Coincidences.  
 The Hermit.  
 The Restraint of Society.  
 Odd Numbers.

Late.  
 On a Reform of Parliament.  
 Use of Accumulation.  
 Almanacks.  
 The Cup-bearer, an Indian Tale.  
 On Beauty.  
 An Odd Character.  
 Something beyond us, necessary.  
 Influence of Appellations.  
 On Executions.  
 Aboulhamed and the Brahmin.  
 On Antiquities.  
 On Derivation.  
 On Climate.  
 On Mental and Corporeal Pleasure.

for two of Prior's poems. To the one given above, he adds another from Montaigne:

'A criminal about to be executed, answered his confessor, who promised him he should that day sup with the Lord—Do you go then, said he, in my room, for I keep fast to day' (Montaigne).<sup>1</sup> This repartee gave Prior the subject for his ballad of the *Thief and Cordelier*—but he has much improved the wit, by making the priest allege his fasting, in compliance with the rules of the church, prevented him from supping in Paradise in the room of the criminal. (*The Four Ages*, pp. 253-4.)<sup>2</sup>

This chapter also offers evidence that Voltaire borrowed from Butler's *Hudibras* for two passages in *La Pucelle d'Orléans*,<sup>3</sup> that *Tristram Shandy* is indebted to both Montaigne and Bayle's dictionary,<sup>4</sup> and that one of Sterne's sermons is almost a copy of an earlier one by Leightonhouse.<sup>5</sup>

The title of Jackson's essay might lead us to expect him to attack such literary 'stealing', but, on the contrary, he is 'willing to let all such thieves as Sterne escape punishment':<sup>6</sup>

The thievery of a fool is never excused, because no one can return the compliment; but, we pardon a genius, because if he takes, he is qualified to give in return. The great natural possessions of Sterne, Prior, and Voltaire, will afford ample resources to those of their successors who have abilities to make reprisals.

(*The Four Ages*, p. 257.)

H. B. WRIGHT.

EVANSTON, ILLINOIS.

<sup>1</sup> Bk. I, chap. xi: 'That the Relish of Goods, and Evils, does, in a great measure, depend upon the opinion we have of them.'

<sup>2</sup> There are still other passages in Prior, not noted by Jackson, which recall Montaigne. A good example can be found in *Alma*, Canto II, ll. 194-207:

'...Alma merely is a scale;  
And Motives, like the Weights, prevail.  
If neither Side turn down or up,  
With Loss or Gain, with Fear or Hope;  
The Balance always would hang ev'n,  
Like Mah'met's Tomb, 'twixt Earth and Heav'n.  
This, Richard, is a curious Case:  
Suppose your Eyes sent equal Rays  
Upon two distant Pots of Ale,  
Not knowing, which was Mild or Stale:  
In this sad State your doubtful Choice  
Would never have the casting Voice:  
Which Best, or Worst, You could not think;  
And die You must, for want of Drink.'

These lines may well have been suggested by the opening of the essay 'Comme nostre esprit s'empesche soy-mesmes', II, xiv:

'C'est une plaisante imagination de concevoir un esprit balancé justement entre deux pareilles enuyes. Car il est indubitable qu'il ne prendra jamais party, d'autant que l'application & le choix porte inégalité de pris; & qui nous logeroit entre la bouteille & le jambon, avec egual appetit de boire & de manger, il n'y auroit sans doute remede que de mourir de soif & de fain.'

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 256-7.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 245-9.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 249-53. Percy Fitzgerald mentioned Jackson's material on Sterne in his *Life of Laurence Sterne* (London, 1864), II, p. 425. Inaccuracies occurring in Fitzgerald's statement were later corrected by W. L. Cross in his edition of the biography, *The Complete Works and Life of Laurence Sterne* (New York and London, 1899), VI, Pt. II, p. 335.

<sup>6</sup> P. 244.

## DUCIS'S TWO 'HAMLETS'

The different editions of Ducis's *Hamlet* all intercalate, as is well known, certain *variantes* to scenes or portions of scenes affecting minor matters of theatrical propriety; but it does not seem to be generally realised that, these aside, he made what amounts to two different versions of the Hamlet-story<sup>1</sup> with which La Place's *Théâtre anglois* had made him familiar. The comments on Ducis's *Hamlet* that I have seen<sup>2</sup> are based on the text printed in the collected *Œuvres* (Paris, 1813, 1826 and 1827) or the separate 'nouvelle édition' of the play (Paris, 1815), and there are far-reaching differences between this (which I shall call the 'revised') version, made apparently in 1803,<sup>3</sup> and the 'original' version, *Hamlet, Tragedie, imitée de l'anglois* (Paris, 1770).

The essential theme, that of a son on supernatural promptings discovering and avenging the murder of his father, which Ducis took over from Shakespeare (and complicated by Hamlet's rivalry with Claudius for the throne of Denmark), remains the same in both versions. But over the two structural pivots of the plot, the manner in which the crime is detected and the manner in which the guilty are punished, Ducis not only consistently departed from Shakespeare (where, to begin with, there is only one criminal), but also had second thoughts.

In Ducis's original version Hamlet tells Norceste (Shakespeare's Horatio) that he is haunted by his father's spectre, who tells him how he was poisoned and urges revenge against the murderers, Claudius and Queen Gertrude. Norceste retorts that the supernatural story should be tested by procuring the late King's *cendre*, of which the spectre has spoken, and seeing what effect it will have when unexpectedly proffered to the Queen. It shudders and murmurs so in its urn that Hamlet is convinced of the spectre's veracity, and when Gertrude is bidden attest her innocence on it she faints, thereby indicating her guilt and also her remorse, for the sake of which Hamlet forgives her. This process of detection cannot be called either cogent or dramatically powerful, and

<sup>1</sup> According to E. P. Dargan, 'Shakespeare and Ducis' in *Modern Philology* (Chicago, 1912-13), x, pp. 137 ff., the same was done for *Roméo et Juliette* and *Macbeth*.

<sup>2</sup> O. Leroy, *Études... sur... Ducis* (Paris, 1832), pp. 29 ff.; C. Kühn, *Über Ducis in seiner Beziehung zu Shakspeare* (Cassel, 1875), pp. 5 f.; G. E. Penning, *Ducis als Nachahmer Shakespeares* (Bremen Progr., 1884), pp. 8 f.; J. J. Jusserand, *Shakespeare in France* (London, 1899), pp. 416 ff.; Dargan, *ut cit.*; F. C. Green, *Minuet* (London, 1935), pp. 102 f. The printed catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale lists all separate editions of *Hamlet* down to 1830 as 'réimpressions' of the first. I cannot tell from A. Lacroix, *Histoire de l'influence de Shakspeare sur le Théâtre français* (Bruxelles, 1856), pp. 169 ff., which version he used. The studies of Sainte-Beuve and Pellissier give no evidence of first-hand knowledge of the play in either version.

<sup>3</sup> With the collaboration of Talma (cf. P. Albert, *Lettres de J. F. Ducis* (Paris, 1879), p. 158 and C. A. Sainte-Beuve, *Nouveaux Lundis* (Paris, 1865), iv, p. 373 n.).

for the revised version Ducis bethought him of an alternative, which is not quite convincing either, but stronger, more effective and at the same time nearer akin to the Shakespearian machinery: Norceste has just returned from England at the opening of the play (there is no mention of England in the 'original version'), where the sovereign has recently been poisoned; this he has reported in a letter to Hamlet, who jumped to the conclusion that his own father met his death in the same way. The spectre has confirmed his suspicions. But he is no more satisfied about the conclusiveness of the case against Claudius and Gertrude than Norceste was in the original version, and it is he now (not Norceste) who proposes a test: Norceste shall tell his story about the King of England's assassination and they shall watch the reactions of Claudius and Gertrude. This distantly resembles Shakespeare's play-scene,<sup>1</sup> but the result is not the same; for at Norceste's recital the Queen's agitation gives her away, while Claudius remains unmoved.

As for the *dénouement*, in Ducis's original version Claudius adds to his blood-guiltiness by killing his accomplice Gertrude between Acts iv and v. The spectre then leads Hamlet to the vicinity of this second crime, and, on seeing his mother's corpse,<sup>2</sup> Hamlet taxes Claudius with the original murder as well and stabs him dead before the conspirators whom Claudius has assembled can do the like to him. In the revised version Gertrude is alive at the beginning of the fifth act, indeed outlives Claudius, and Hamlet, though persuaded of her guilt and urged to it by the spectre,<sup>3</sup> refuses to strike her down: a few minutes later she commits suicide. But Claudius, storming the palace at the head of an open rebellion, is confronted by Hamlet, accused by him of the murder of the late King (which he has tried to shuffle off on to none other than Hamlet himself, who, however, has the support of 'le peuple', ignored in the version of 1770) and killed.<sup>4</sup> In all Ducis's versions and variants Hamlet is left alive and, to all intents and purposes, King of Denmark.

These structural changes, while leaving a fair number of scenes virtually identical, involved some reshuffling and renumbering of these and the writing of several new scenes. The textual alterations may be very

<sup>1</sup> There is no reason to suppose that Ducis derived any of his ideas for the revision from Letourneur's translation (1776-83) or from the desire to keep closer to Shakespeare. Dramatic effectiveness, within the neo-classic conventions, seems to have been the only consideration.

<sup>2</sup> Through the door into the next room.

<sup>3</sup> A *variante* in the 1770 (pp. 56 ff.) edition shows that as first acted (30 September 1769) the spectre actually appeared on the stage and with the word 'frappe' bade Hamlet proceed to the matricide he has just renounced. In the 'substantive' text of the first edition and all others the spectre is deemed to be present, but never seen, I think.

<sup>4</sup> A *variante* allows of this being done 'off'.

briefly summarised by saying that, except for the last scene, the whole of the original version's Act v is omitted from the revised, that in its place a whole new act, which becomes the third, is inserted between (old) II, vii and II, viii, and that there are considerable differences between the second acts of both versions, when Hamlet and Norceste consider how to confirm the spectre's story.

B. W. DOWNS.

CAMBRIDGE.

## REVIEWS

*The Quatrefoil of Love*. Edited by Sir ISRAEL GOLLANCZ and MAGDALENE M. WEALE. London: Published for the Early English Text Society by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1935. xxiv + 48 pp. 5s.

This interesting alliterative poem has hitherto been available only in *A Miscellany presented to Dr Furnivall*, and even there without notes or comments. We are therefore indebted to Miss Weale for checking the text and for supplying an admirable introduction, notes and glossary. She gives us a very full description of both manuscripts, and deals at length with the language of the poem, concentrating chiefly on dialectal points; the treatment is thorough and rightly cautious. The only omission of importance is the tendency in this work to lower M.E. *ȝ* to *ē* (there are at least eight examples), a point worthy of comment. The sections dealing with metre, vocabulary and style are mainly in the form of a study of *The Quatrefoil of Love* and *The Pistill of Susan*, Miss Weale showing quite clearly that unity of authorship is out of the question. This study is of permanent value. The comments upon the poem as such are adequate, though some reference should have been made to the close parallel between *The Quatrefoil of Love* and the opening stanza of *Christ's Complaint for His Sister, Man's Soul*.

The notes are full and relevant. I feel diffident about the interpretation in line 6 of *belde to þe bowres* as 'raise or construct gradually the bowers'; the O.D. has under *bield* a quotation from MS. Harl. 1701 (c. 1500)—*Thys mayde wax and began to belde weyl ynto woman elde*: a parallel to the use of *belde* in line 6—'grow into leafy bowers'. *Moue*, line 41, should have been glossed 'treat of' rather than 'move'. The notes to lines 8, 31, 253, 316, 437 and 473 are especially worthy of attention.

The text is a scholarly recording of the Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 31042, the better manuscript of the two. Yet the fact that the Bodl. MS. Add. A. 106 preserves the better reading in several cases should have provided a sufficient reason for printing the text separately, especially since Miss Weale has only given us selected readings, though she does not inform the reader of this. Occasionally we are given the most trivial points of difference (e.g., line 112), whereas exclusive of mere orthographical variants there are sixty-nine cases where the reading of the second manuscript is not recorded by Miss Weale. Some of these are admittedly worthless readings, but others are of great interest, either dialectally or textually. The following examples are taken from collations prepared some years ago and now rechecked from photostats made at the time: line 1 Bodl. has *schuld*, as often in other parts of the text; line 14 is completely omitted in Bodl.; line 16 has *Scho kest of hir kerchyfs*...—a reading which in the form of an alliterative phrase restores the alliteration and may well be original; line 208 Bodl. has *schuld fayd & falle*;

line 229 *þat sought be a spere-schafte*—a reading that restores the alliteration and is a well-attested use of *seche*; and so on. The collation of the Bodl. version is therefore unsatisfactory to the specialist, but no such omissions exist in the collation of the Brit. Mus. text, and Miss Weale is to be congratulated on the care which she has lavished upon the work as a whole.

J. P. OAKDEN.

ST ANDREWS.

*Thomas More*. By R. W. CHAMBERS. London: Jonathan Cape. 1935. 416 pp. 12s. 6d.

In his new life of Sir Thomas More Professor Chambers has broken so much new ground and given us occasion to revise so many of our judgments or inherited beliefs that it is hard to know where to start. But in the pages of this *Review* we may, perhaps, be pardoned for speaking first of the question of More's prose. In 1920 Professor John M. Berdan published his fascinating and learned volume entitled *Early Tudor Poetry*. There he naturally had occasion to speak of More from time to time, and it is worth noting what so eminent a scholar wrote before we turn to Dr Chambers. Professor Berdan says, 'As a writer of English More may be ignored; it is only as a humanist that he is a world figure' (p. 269); or again, 'More's English works... have been relegated to the libraries of the special student. And however vital they may have been then, to-day they have slight literary interest' (p. 395).

More than any one person, it is to Professor Chambers that we are indebted for exploding ideas such as these. His Introduction to *Harpsfield's Life of More* (E.E.T.S. 1932) showed conclusively that More, while not the father of English prose as used to be asserted, was still less to be 'relegated to the libraries of the special student'. And now in his new book Dr Chambers has More's writings continuously under examination, and gives us generous quotations from them, so that the common reader may easily judge for himself of More's prose skill and of his literary interest.

And what has been done by Dr Chambers to insist on a proper respect being paid to this prose is but one side of his work. For this is no volume hastily produced to meet the needs of the four hundredth anniversary of More's death or of his canonisation on July 6, 1935. It is rather the consummation of many years' study and reflection ('More's early biographers brooded for twenty or thirty years before writing the life of their hero; and in this, at least, I have striven to imitate them'), and of a steadily increasing conviction of the greatness of his subject. For many years now Dr Chambers has been assisting and inspiring friends and colleagues in the publication of More's English works, of his letters, of sixteenth-century biographies, and in dealing generally with what he has called 'The Saga and Myth of Sir Thomas More' (British Academy, Literary History Lecture, 1926). The result of all this is seen in the present volume, which is one of those rare books which immediately establish themselves as classics. The reader is constantly impressed and

as constantly delighted by the weight and fullness of Dr Chambers' knowledge and by the ease and grace with which he expresses and develops his argument.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the book is the rich assembly of portraits drawn for us by Dr Chambers. More's own circle and many of the great ones of Henry VIII's England come to life under his pen. No one has more delightfully re-created Mistress Alice More, daughter Meg and the rest, or given us a more understanding account of the intellectual ardour which went to the interminable discussions and controversies in which More found himself. Almost as noteworthy is the easy control which is exerted over the narrative. Anyone who has had occasion to work at the materials available for this period will know what unsparing elimination and what judgment this has entailed. Another matter worthy of special attention is the full and interesting discussion of *Utopia*, where Dr Chambers makes it clear that More's aim was to show how a society might be framed on the four 'natural' and medieval virtues of Prudence, Justice, Temperance and Fortitude, whereas the 'theological' virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity are but slenderly admitted, with the result that 'the underlying thought of *Utopia* always is, *With nothing save Reason to guide them, the Utopians do this; and yet we Christian Englishmen, we Christian Europeans...*' (p. 128). But the bare enumeration of topics crying out for comment and discussion is beyond our limits here. It would be interesting (if temerarious) to question Dr Chambers' view of Henry VIII and his servants, or of Henry's treatment of the art and literature of an age 'when joy was in the air', or to hear him at further length on the claims of Rome (legitimate or otherwise) on all Christians at that time. The reader of this book will perhaps be encouraged to investigate such questions for himself. Dr Chambers will be the first to rejoice if his book stimulates an increasing enquiry into a world which caused More to go to his death pronouncing himself 'the King's good servant, but God's first'.

H. S. BENNETT.

CAMBRIDGE.

*Plagiarism and Imitation during the English Renaissance.* By HAROLD OGDEN WHITE. Harvard Studies in English, xii. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1935. x+209 pp. 10s. 6d.

In recent years the debt of all kinds of Elizabethan poetry to foreign sources has been so fully exposed by able investigators of 'influences' that the stock of many important poets has fallen considerably among readers endowed with romantic ideals of originality. On the other hand, it has long been recognised that the Elizabethan attitude to 'imitatio' owed more to classical precepts than to a craving for individuality at all costs. Here is a study, almost embarrassing in its detail, of what was written about the subject in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Dr White has carefully examined the dicta of educationists,

rhetoricians, critics, and artists; he has dipped into the pamphlets of literary quarrellers great and small; and, confining himself to expressed theory and personal statements, he shows by an impressive accumulation of evidence how truly classical in the main was the Renaissance attitude to the use of literary models.

He begins by citing classical authors who advocated imitation as 'a great part of art' (Quintilian), because 'the deeds of the past are... an inheritance common to us all' (Isocrates), so that 'any truth is my own property', and 'whatever is well said by anyone is mine' (Seneca). Imitation had to be openly avowed, and confined to the best features of an original; and though mere invention was not in itself praiseworthy, a writer was required to add something to the common pool, by re-interpreting an old idea in a modern or an individual way so as to improve on the good things of the past. 'Piracy, on the other hand, and certain faulty types of imitating or borrowing—the secret, the perverse, the servile, the superficial, are constantly denounced by the highest literary authorities.' In this way a nice balance was preserved between tradition and experiment.

In Renaissance Italy critics were almost united in their traditionalism. Bembo, Vida, and J. C. Scaliger advocated a slavish adherence to the manner of good models; Vida indeed going so far as to advise the author, 'when attempting thefts from famous poets', to 'hide the theft by inverting the order of the words so that a different impression and appearance will be given'. Daniello, Muzio, Tasso and Pontanus were less servile, assuring their readers that judicious imitation would be the mother of invention, and acknowledging that the ultimate object of the artist is to 'express his own concepts' and to surpass the ancients. Only Patrizio and Castelvetro stood out against the theory. The latter's claim for originality was clear enough: the true poet 'makes a thing wholly different from anything that has been done before'. But though Patrizio's logic is sound in his argument that 'imitation is the study of making things similar wherever it is used', and that since different or contradictory matters cannot be made similar, the writer 'should not then place all his hope in imitation because it cannot be used in all things, nor is it always fitting', he did not fully appreciate the classical position.

After briefly summarising French views, Dr White reaches England. Here he finds comparatively little material of importance before Sidney because authors were mainly content to imitate without discussion. In the educational writings of the time, however, he finds various attitudes, from Cox's treatment of invention as the use of commonplace books, and Ascham's Ciceronianism, to Harvey's late-acquired nationalism. It is perhaps regrettable that of the dozen writers on imitation cited by Ascham—writers who may therefore be taken to have been read by others in our country—Dr White gives details of only three, Cicero, Quintilian, and Bembo; relegates Erasmus and Sturm to footnotes, and omits entirely 'Budaëus, Melancthon, Camerarius, Longolius, Sambucus, Cortesius, and Riccius', some of whose views would be interesting in the light of Ascham's comments. Sturm, for instance, 'farre best of all, in

myne opinion, that ever tooke this matter in hand', soared far above Ascham's conservatism, in his demand for 'vehemens et artificiosa animi applicatio': 'Liber non servilis debet esse imitatio'.

From Sidney to Jonson and Bacon the ground is thick with theorists and apologists whose evidence goes to show that the liberal attitude of most Elizabethan authors to their debts and debtors was due to the classical ideal of a community of intellect rather than to a loose literary morality. Avowed copywork was rarely denounced; the borrowing of ideas was regarded with little concern; the naturaliser of a foreign form could legitimately claim all the honour of an inventor; and there were few to agree with Puttenham that a translator was 'a versifier but not a Poet'. According to Dr White, the Harvey-Nash quarrel was 'the first English discussion in which accusations and denials of literary theft assumed importance'. The word 'plagiary' is not recorded before Hall's *Virgideciarum* (1598).

Of all the objections to imitation which were raised, only those of Churchyard and of one anonymous author were directed against imitation *as such*.... And of all those who demanded originality of invention, not one used the term in its modern sense of individual fabrication. All sought originality just as classical critics declared that it should be sought: through individual adaptation, re-interpretation, and, if possible, improvement of the best which each writer could find in the literature of his own and earlier days.

Incidentally the author argues that Greene's attack on Shakespeare was directed against him not as an imitative playwright, but simply as an actor growing in wealth and favour while starving dramatic genius died. But it is difficult to see, if this is true, why Greene picked on Shakespeare, who was not the most successful actor of the time, and whose rise was due to his plays.

Dr White's very thoroughness makes his book, in the last resort, a little thin. His establishment of the general notion of imitation did not require all the immense amount of reading, often in very minor writers, shown by his footnotes and index of authors. (There is no Bibliography.) The relentless march of evidence, not always arranged to the best advantage, becomes wearisome. The book contains much of value, but, noting his discussion of Harington's *Preface* to the *Orlando Furioso* without consideration of previous views on the romantic epic, I could not help wishing that Dr White had enlarged his scope so as to examine the theories of some literary forms and their modification in passing from one country or author to another.

GEOFFREY BULLOUGH.

SHEFFIELD.

*The Real War of the Theaters: Shakespeare's Fellows in Rivalry with the Admiral's Men, 1594-1603.* By ROBERT BOIES SHARPE. Boston: D.C. Heath and Company; London: Oxford University Press. 1935. viii+260 pp. 11s. 6d.

In the title of this, the fifth of the new series of monographs issued by the Modern Language Association of America, the author seems to

promise what would be a very considerable service to Elizabethan students—a definition and delimitation of a phrase which has been enlarged out of all meaning and all usefulness. It has been used to describe the rivalry of the dramatic companies, major and minor, the scurrilous bickerings of individual stage writers, the struggle between the adult players and the boys, and the rivalries of the political factions associated by patronage with the companies. In short, it has lost all meaning whatever; and Mr Sharpe's study, despite its title, does nothing to restore it to general usefulness. That is not to say that what Mr Sharpe has here attempted is not exceedingly useful and interesting. He gives us what he himself calls 'a chronological survey of the theatrical events of Queen Elizabeth's last decade', and attempts to display 'the differing literary policies of the companies and their causes in differences of patronage and audience'. By means of a close examination of the outstanding events in the last decade of Elizabeth's reign, particularly as they affected all those (and they appear to have been many) who, by kinship or interest, were related to the patrons of the rival companies, Mr Sharpe has discovered much, and surmised more, that is new and interesting. He discusses to what extent the policy and repertories of the companies were dictated by their factious patrons, by the policy as well as by the taste of the time; and traces a steady, and more or less consistent, difference in policy between the Admiral's and the Chamberlain's men. He discusses the use of the censorship as a partisan instrument, and makes out a very good case; and, at the close of his study, he attempts what he calls 'a defense of moderate topical identifications'. In this last section, though Mr Sharpe makes no bolder claims than have been made formerly elsewhere, by Sir Edmund Chambers and others—indeed, a great proportion of his instances, as he himself admits, are derived from *The Elizabethan Stage*—he hardly seems to make the best use of the available material. A theory so suspect should be well defended, but the case for topicality has indeed been better stated by its enemies.

In a work of the sort, it is, perhaps, hardly fair to quarrel with a fair amount of pure speculation. But the reader of Mr Sharpe's work cannot but be painfully aware of the frequency with which his arguments are strung together by unsupported hypotheses. At the same time, his real arguments are impeded and interrupted by irrelevant fragments of learning. On p. 99, for instance, he passes from the ambitions of Essex's followers to the mysterious death of Essex's favourite horse. And his confusion of thought is probably made to appear greater than it is by his frequently confused and chaotic style. He cites with equal respect authorities of very different weight, and goes out of his way to quarrel with others—as when he reproves Dr A. M. Clark for having ignored Heywood's Chaucerian interest. Heywood's 'fondness for Chaucerian material', as Mr Sharpe calls it, is no more remarkable than Shakespeare's.

But it would be ungenerous to let minor considerations outweigh the very real virtues of this monograph. One may quarrel with the writing and arrangement of the book, and yet admit that it was a good idea to write it. Mr Sharpe's plan is a most revealing one, and he has assembled

a collection of facts and theories which are often, by their mere juxtaposition, given a new interest and significance.

H. HARVEY WOOD.

• EDINBURGH.

*John Wilson's 'The Cheats'*. Edited by MILTON C. NAHM, from the MS. in the Library of Worcester College, Oxford. Oxford: Blackwell. 1935. x+280 pp. 10s. 6d.

John Wilson's *The Cheats* has many features of interest for the literary student. A lively satirical comedy exposing some of 'the ragged follies of the time' in the true Jonsonian vein, it illustrates the continuity of the older tradition in the early Restoration comedy. Although it had already been censored by Herbert, it provoked no small scandal when it was first performed in March, 1662/3, and Charles II accordingly called in Waller and Denham to make a further inquiry into its propriety. It nevertheless enjoyed great popularity and became one of the stock comedies of the Restoration theatre. Its success is reflected in the existence of four seventeenth-century editions.

Perhaps the most interesting part of a study of the play lies in the comparison of the quarto versions with a manuscript copy of *The Cheats*, bearing the licence of the Master of the Revels, preserved at Worcester College, Oxford. This manuscript version is now published for the first time, edited by Mr M. C. Nahm after much industrious research on the play and its author. The manuscript, apart from the various censorings of Herbert, presents a difficult text. It differs from the quartos so much that the full collation which was made was too long and involved to print; and indeed the divergences are such as could not be satisfactorily represented in a mere list of variants. To appreciate the essential difference between an acting copy and the text of the play as the author subsequently prepared it for the press, the reader needs to have the two texts side by side. But a natural regret that it was not found practicable to print them both together should not lead one to belittle the service Mr Nahm has performed in making the manuscript version accessible to the ordinary student. He has also provided a brief, but aptly illustrated, note on the relationship of the manuscript to the quartos and a careful discussion of the censorship of the play.

Mr Nahm's energy in investigation is well exhibited in his biography of Wilson as well as in his note on the sources of *The Cheats*. In a composite portrait of a man who was courtier and public official as well as dramatist, he is able to add to the known facts: besides giving the place of Wilson's birth, the date of his baptism, and particulars of his inheritance under his father's will, he fills out the account of his struggles in Ireland as Recorder of Londonderry and confutes the usually accepted notion that he held that office a second time about 1689. In his inquiry Mr Nahm has occasionally been handicapped by the commonness of his author's name, and one or two promising hypotheses he is compelled to put forth at present as conjectures only.

A comprehensive and in many ways excellent introduction is marred by occasional inaccuracies or misprints. The most notable that has been detected occurs in the citation of the imprint of the British Museum copy of the 1693 quarto: '*Randel*' should be '*Randal*', and 'Stationer's Hall' should read '*Stationers-Hall*'. It is unfortunate also that the author of the article on Wilson in the *Dictionary of National Biography* should regularly be referred to as Seecombe instead of Seccombe.

HAROLD JENKINS.

LONDON.

*Sir William Davenant, Poet Venturer, 1606-1668.* By ALFRED HARBAGE. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1935. viii + 317 pp. 13s. 6d.

The lack of a complete and trustworthy account of the life and works of Sir William Davenant has been one of the most surprising lacunae in the great chain of English literary history that scholars have been forging since the eighteenth century. There is no life of Davenant in Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, and very little has been added in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to the notices in the collections of Anthony à Wood and the early biographical dictionaries. The article in the *D.N.B.* by Joseph Knight is merely a useful compilation from these early sources, and the only literary critics who discussed his writings in any detail were the acute but little read Isaac D'Israeli and the late Sir Edmund Gosse. It is true that considerable attention has been paid in recent years by scholars to his work as a theatrical manager, a dramatist and an adapter of Shakespeare, but no complete edition of his works has appeared since the folio of 1673, and until the publication of Mr Harbage's book no full-length biography was available. Yet Davenant was one of the most popular and influential poets of the seventeenth century, and during his lifetime his works were probably read by hundreds who had never heard of Herrick or Vaughan, and who knew nothing of Milton beyond the fact that he was a violent republican pamphleteer. Hobbes considered *Gondibert* 'the best of Heroic Poems ancient or modern', and Dryden wrote of Davenant with the veneration of a disciple for a master. Mr Harbage believes that the neglect of Davenant is due to a sort of halo of disrepute, connected partly with his absurd personal appearance, which seems to have clung to the poet's memory. This is probably true, but it is also true that Davenant was known to be the author of *Gondibert*, and *Gondibert* at an early date acquired the reputation of being a long, dull, unreadable poem.

Mr Harbage in his introduction boldly admits that he admires Davenant and calls his book 'a vindication of Davenant as a man and an author'. It consists of a biography and a critical study separated by an inter-chapter and followed by bibliographies. It is in the biographical part of the book that Mr Harbage has done his best work. In spite of a few lapses into affectation (as when he calls Felton, the murderer of Buckingham, the 'best beloved assassin in English history'), he gives by far

the most readable and complete account of Davenant's career that has hitherto appeared. He has made full use of the *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, the Calendar of State Papers, the Herbert Papers, the Strafford Letters and other sources not used by previous biographers, and he has reprinted some interesting documents which are not easily accessible to the average student, such as the Petition to the House of Commons which Davenant had printed and distributed to the members in 1641, and the documents relating to the negotiations with the Protectorate authorities concerning the semi-private theatrical performances at Rutland House in 1656. It is to be regretted, however, that Mr Harbage did not check his quotations a little more carefully. There are a number of minor inaccuracies in his quotations from Pepys's *Diary*, and these lead one to suspect that there may be similar inaccuracies in his transcripts from other less easily accessible books and manuscripts.

The critical survey of Davenant's works is less satisfactory on the whole than the biography. The most useful part of it is to be found in the summaries of the stories of *Gondibert* and the plays, which should be of considerable help to students who have to grope their way through Davenant's labyrinthine plots. Mr Harbage is probably right in his contention that the plot of *Gondibert* is derived not from Paulus's *De Gestis Longobardorum*, as Gronauer argues in his German thesis on the poem, but from the much more easily accessible version of the tale in Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques*. The argument in favour of Belleforest would be more convincing, however, if Mr Harbage had worked it out in greater detail and had given quotations from the alleged source. In spite of his admiration for Davenant Mr Harbage hardly does justice to his lyrical poems. He does not even mention the magnificent song in *The Law against Lovers* beginning 'Wake all the dead! What ho! What ho!', which is surely Davenant's masterpiece in lyrical verse, and far superior to the pretty *Aubade* which the anthologies reprint with such monotonous regularity. He gives no account of the very interesting continuation of *Gondibert* printed in the Folio of 1673, a work which is of the highest interest to students of seventeenth-century thought, and he has entirely missed the chance of defining the extent and the nature of Davenant's influence on Dryden, and the relationship of his metre and diction to the changes which were coming over English verse in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Nevertheless, in spite of these shortcomings Mr Harbage's book is a solid and useful piece of work. If he has not written the ideal study of Davenant, he has at any rate produced a valuable and scholarly introduction to the study of an author whose work no serious student of seventeenth-century literature can afford to neglect.

V. DE SOLA PINTO.

SOUTHAMPTON.

*The Neo-Classic Theory of Tragedy in England during the Eighteenth Century.* By CLARENCE C. GREEN. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1934. viii + 245 pp. 11s. 6d.

The fact that the neo-classic theory of drama went out of fashion in England in the course of the eighteenth century is well known, but there has been hitherto no precise account available of the way in which that once famous body of critical opinion was dethroned and relegated to the museum of dead ideas. In the most recent addition to the admirable *Studies in English* published by the Harvard University Press, Dr Clarence C. Green undertakes to write the history of the Decline and Fall of the Neo-Classic Theory of Tragedy, and has achieved a very fair measure of success. In an introductory chapter he traces the development of the theory up to 1699, and gives a useful and interesting account of the misunderstandings of the *Poetics* of Aristotle that formed the basis of neo-classicism. The body of the essay is excellently organised in a series of chapters in which the main aspects of dramatic theory in eighteenth-century England are discussed with special reference to the attacks on 'the rules' and the defence made by the champions of neo-classic dogma. Dr Green has read widely not only in the works of the more famous authors but also among the writings of the vast host of lesser eighteenth-century critics. His essay is crowded—perhaps overcrowded—with quotations, and this piling up of quotations makes it rather difficult to read. On the other hand, it must be admitted that his quotations are remarkably well chosen, and his book, therefore, is a kind of annotated anthology which should be of considerable value to the student who cannot be expected to spend time and energy in studying such authors as Francis Gentleman, James Ralph, Thomas Blackwell, William Belsham and a host of others from whose works Dr Green quotes. The quality of eighteenth-century critical opinion which is brought out very well by this essay is its amazing diversity. Anyone who still thinks that the Augustan Age was one of dead uniformity or mechanical compliance with 'the rules' would do well to read Dr Green's chapter on 'Rationalism and Revolt'. As Dr Green says 'You could be Aristotelian with Gildon, largely anti-Aristotelian with Warton, or a modern hybrid with Walpole', and, moreover, he shows how you could support your Aristotelianism or your Pseudo-Aristotelianism or your Anti-Aristotelianism with a variety of reasons, whether you were discussing the unities of time and place, the suitability of persons of humble rank for the chief parts in tragedy or the use of prose in the serious drama. Perhaps the most valuable chapters in the book are those which deal with 'The Function of Tragedy' and 'Poetic Justice'. Here Dr Green gives a most valuable and copiously illustrated account of what might be called the Grand Heresy of the Augustans, the theory that poetry ought to teach morality. Every student of eighteenth-century literature ought to be grateful to him for these chapters, and incidentally for rescuing from oblivion the attempt of Mrs Elizabeth Griffith to find a moral in *Romeo and Juliet*:

I shall just observe that the catastrophe of the unhappy lovers seems intended as a kind of moral, as well as poetical justice, for their having ventured upon an unweighed engagement together without the concurrence and consent of their parents.

A few minor errors, such as *Cataline* for *Catiline* on p. 5, and 'incredible' for 'incredulous' on p. 115, are probably due to slips in proof-reading; a more serious deficiency is the lack of a bibliography. It is true that Dr Green gives his authorities in footnotes, but these are no substitute for a classified bibliography, which would have added very greatly to the value of his book.

V. DE SOLA PINTO.

SOUTHAMPTON.

*A Minor Augustan; being the Life and Works of George, Lord Lyttelton, (1709-1773).* By ANANDA VITTAL RAO. Calcutta: The Book Company Ltd. 1934. 387 pp.

Every age has its model gentleman, and the Hanoverian period is as happily represented by its Lytteltons as the Elizabethan is by its Sidneys. This is not, I hope, too severe a judgment on the later period. Lyttelton was no doubt what Carlyle used to call a *simulacrum*, but even a hostile ballad writer described him as immersed in 'deep debate and classic taste'. Of the 'classic taste' the less said the better. To interlard your discourse, both familiar and Parliamentary, with classical tags requires some school breeding. But we have only to think of the mess he made of Thomson's *Seasons* which, as literary executor, he edited after the poet's death, to understand what might be implied in the ascription of 'classic taste'. Did he not also importune Richardson the novelist to give *Clarissa Harlowe* a bright and happy conclusion? Counsel for the defence whispers that he was right about Gray's odes where Johnson and most other people went wrong—or is it the fashion nowadays to put it the other way? However he may have blundered along in his dealings with the muse, he did so in the best of company, and this is all that one may fairly require from one who pretends to do no more than mirror the gentlemanly views of his day. He is a type rather than an individual, but a type of great interest for the historian of manners. To put it crudely, Lyttelton, and, we would add, but for the bad press he has had, Chesterfield, are the sort of gentlemen the *Spectator* and other periodicals of the previous generation had aimed at producing, that is polite men, considerate to inferiors, of 'refined' taste, humanitarian, withdrawing themselves from the crude field sports of the country squire. Somehow the type does not please us so much. There is some posturing and make-believe and, worst of all, there is the remembrance of what a monster the 'perfect' gentleman might be. Sir Charles Grandison has made us permanently cold to the type.

Here, it will be said, is rich material for the chronicler of taste and fashion. Mr Rao has seized his opportunity in this conscientious study. He has utilised the miscellaneous sources to present the scene and the hero adequately. That, in the modern view, he has taken Lyttelton a little too seriously is no bad fault in a biographer. Personally I would

have liked a touch of modern irreverence, a little of the imp that was always at Horace Walpole's elbow. But one must be serious.

The most valuable parts of Mr Rao's book are those describing Lyttelton's literary friendships, notably his relations as magnificent patron with Thomson and Fielding and his treatment by 'bestly' Smollett. There is the Hagley-Leasowes comedy too, which, of course, entails a chapter on landscape gardening, a subject done to death but unavoidable here. Mr Rao treats it discreetly. We now see the lord of Hagley and the squire of Leasowes in a more neighbourly light.

Lyttelton the Whig politician is another matter which must not detain us here. Mr Rao has done his best for him and, of course, as a man who casually became a Chancellor of the Exchequer, he has his place in history; but here again I think his interest for us is that of type Whig grandee rather than individual statesman.

Lastly there is the poet—a very minor one, a very faint echo of current modes. Here are the ineffable Delia and Myra lyrics for which Dodsley found a place in the second volume of his Collection, and the famous *Monody* to the memory of his wife—'She is dead, Sir, she is dead, and has hardly left her equal upon earth.' Pity this last is remembered now only in connexion with Smollett's horrid parody! Mr Rao, I think, assesses Lyttelton's muse correctly, if a little generously. The prose *Dialogues of the Dead* has still a sparkle of life in it.

For the style, the earlier or main part of the book is well written, uncommonly so if we take into account the author's country. But the later part, where the author, and we with him, lose interest, becomes a lifeless chronicle and the style droops correspondingly. It would be ungracious to give chapter and verse, but the four paragraphs which conclude chapter ix all beginning 'Lyttelton...' tell their tale. The author was doubtless tired of his hero, but why show it so markedly?

GEORGE KITCHIN.

EDINBURGH.

*Matthew Arnold and France; The Poet.* By IRIS ESTHER SELLS. Cambridge: University Press. 1935. 282 pp. 12s. 6d.

It is not only that the image, reaction and thought of Obermann are so often and so strikingly reflected in Matthew Arnold; there is in Arnold the repetition of a hundred little details which are dear also to the imagination of Obermann... The timbres of their songs are indeed the same. Or, if their woodnotes must be held to differ, it is but as the sighing note of the flute differs from the reedier voice of the hautbois. So deeply are their souls attuned that the same air of autumnal dream, of moon-silvered darkness, song of nightingale, and breath of wind in leaves, is diffused around and enters into both.

This is Mrs Sells' major theme in her study of Arnold's poetry, and it is a fruitful one. But she has made her study really valuable by relating Arnold's gentle pessimism to the strain of melancholy in the French romantics of the nineteenth century who suffered, as all romantics do more or less, from 'la maladie de l'infini'. De Senancour, the author of the philosophical journal *Obermann*, is rightly given by Mrs Sells a

place of extreme importance in the development of the cult of romantic melancholy in France. He was indeed the precursor of moods which in this country are more generally associated with the work of Chateaubriand, Alfred de Vigny and Leconte de Lisle. To lay bare the roots of this melancholy and to show how it persistently infected all Arnold's strongest writing is our author's main task, and if at times she seems, as she does to me, to pursue the theme somewhat relentlessly, let us remember that no poet of the first class, not even Shelley, has held more persistently to an ideology. This indeed is the most serious limitation in Arnold's poetry and affords some explanation, if not justification, of some recent disparagement of his powers.

To understand *Obermann* then is, in Mrs Sells' view, the clue to this ideology. On the one side Mrs Sells traces it to a resistance to the cold practicality which in the early nineteenth century succeeded the age of sentiment or sentimentality, when *l'homme sensible* was the fashionable type. For English readers the distinction is most brilliantly illustrated in Miss Austen's *Sense and Sensibility*. On the other side are the classical influences which were to bulk more largely in Arnold's own writings. Obermann hesitates, as most men of feeling do, between a refined hedonism and the ascetic doctrine of the Stoic. Suffering or expatiation on suffering he must hold fast to, and the example of majestic and untroubled Nature will point the contrast with man's illusive dream of happiness. The marvel is that a man of Arnold's robust origins and upbringing (Rugby and all that) should have held so fixedly over a long tract of years to such a philosophy of life. Mr Hugh Kingsmill, in his youthfully flippant *Matthew Arnold*, put it down to the malign influence of 'the old One'. Mrs Sells brings Dr Arnold more respectfully into the story. By admitting French into the curriculum of Rugby and by his indulgence in frequent family visits to France and Switzerland, he gave Matthew the opportunity of acquaintance with contemporary French authors, with, above all, George Sand who directly conveyed to him the *Obermann* philosophy in its most seductive form. It is no doubt uncritical for us moderns who have said goodbye to all that to be surprised that the Oxford graduate should have fallen so completely under that particular spell.

All this and much more Mrs Sells discusses with justifiable assurance and abundant documentation. The latter indeed sometimes seems a little oppressive, as when she thinks it necessary to find suggestions or borrowings in so many of Arnold's dreary little poems on Nature and man's strife. Still I would rather have even the more mechanical of his verses treated piously than with modern irreverence. And the space given to one long section of the analysis, that devoted to the 'Marguerite' poems, no one will surely regret. The story of Arnold's early love affair had already been told with as much circumstance as was possible (and not a little guesswork too) by M. Bonnerot, Mr Kingsmill and others, but never, I think, with so much understanding. I fancy Mrs Sells will not claim that all the personal clues she cites in this group of poems are reliable. In particular I think she hardly justifies the inclusion of *Tristram*

and *Iseult* (or the third part of that quite non-Arthurian poem) in the group. But I am grateful for these chapters which make the young Arnold more credible and human.

Sick thoughts—the poetry of defeat! Not only the Roman found the hours ‘impracticable’. The prospect of ‘interminable hours’ terrified the ‘world deafened’ poet too. But only, we may think, as poet. The man’s life seems to have been full enough of affairs; his prose has so often the air of joyful conflict. Another reason for treating his poetry as an interesting by-product?

Mrs Sells’ primary interest is not literary criticism. She loves to expatiate on the moods of the poet and can weave a pretty story out of them. This book could so easily be converted into a soulful romance—no mean tribute to the manner in which it is written.

GEORGE KITCHIN.

EDINBURGH.

*England und die Antike.* (Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg. Herausgegeben von Fritz Saxl. Vorträge 1930–1931.) Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1932. xii + 304 + xxx pp. Rm. 18.

Professor Emil Wolff, whose own studies have for long been concerned with the problem of the influence of classical antiquity on English literature and philosophy, is mainly responsible for the appearance of this, the ninth, volume of *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, though Professor Fritz Saxl remains the general editor. This series of lectures differs from the earlier in being of a more international character, German and English scholars uniting happily to study the influence of antiquity in England chronologically from Anglo-Saxon times to the present day.

Professor E. F. Jacob opens the volume with *Some Aspects of Classical Influence in Medieval England*. There were, he considers, with two brief exceptions, no serious interruptions in the influx of classical influence, from the Northumbrian School which grew up in the second half of the seventh century to the mid-fifteenth century, though much of it was indirect. In the early period he notes especially the ‘remarkable sense of historical development’ in the Northumbrian School, and the way in which ‘classical studies formed the background to the Gregorian tradition in ritual and religious observance’ (p. 8)—because (p. 3) ‘what came to these early Northumbrian houses was the culture of the Roman Empire in its later Christian days’. In the tenth century the art of Winchester shows classical influence derived, Dr Jacob is inclined to suggest, through the Palace School at Aachen. In the twelfth century, it is interesting to note, Bishop Henry of Blois imported classical statues into England—perhaps the first man to do so, though he later sent them to Cluny in a fit of political panic. This was just before the great twelfth-century renaissance, and Dr Jacob devotes the rest of his lecture especially to Ailred of Rievaulx, Laurence of Durham and, in the next generation, Joseph of Exeter; neither of the last two, he considers, has been fully appreciated by English mediævalists.

Dr Hans Liebeschütz discusses *Der Sinn des Wissens bei Roger Bacon*. The older judgment of Bacon, as a precursor of the Renaissance, has, he points out, given way in recent years to the recognition that his thought was in fact in harmony with the thought of his age—even that, as Dr A. G. Little has argued, he had no new ideas of his own, but merely made new combinations; and that harmony in itself came from the general debt to classical learning. The influence of the Oxford School and of the hermetic writers is brought out, and there is a clear account of Bacon's belief in an original revelation surviving since the beginning of the world, preserved by Biblical tradition on the one hand, by the philosophers down to Aristotle and Avicenna on the other. To recover the whole of knowledge, both these branches must be studied, and studied directly, in preference to dialectic. There is a touch of the pragmatic in Bacon's thought, noted here and noted again, later in the volume, as 'echt-englisch' in Dr E. Cassirer's lecture on Shaftesbury (p. 139).

Professor J. A. K. Thomson's *Erasmus in England* follows, having as 'its main thesis' that 'the great contribution of Erasmus to European culture is this, that he brought back irony into literature. And I would add that he did it in conjunction with Sir Thomas More' (p. 67). He considers the meaning of irony to the Greeks, and then to Erasmus and to More; the morality of Erasmus, which rests on an ancient rather than a modern basis, on *sophrosyne*; the visits of Erasmus to England and his intercourse with More, one of whose most striking characteristics was that ironical humour which, as Dr Thomson has already pointed out, is an English quality (p. 64 and n.); the influence upon both men of Lucian, who 'supplied them at once with a classical model... and a lesson in the art of applying irony to literature' (p. 75); and the consequent production not only of *Utopia*, but of the *Moria* and the *Colloquies*—the two works of Erasmus which have had a real influence on the history of literature.

Professor Walter F. Schirmer's *Chaucer, Shakespeare und die Antike* draws an interesting contrast between the two poets in their attitude towards antiquity and their handling of classical subjects. In *Troilus and Criseyde* Chaucer deliberately used classical material to create 'den ersten modernen realistischen-dramatischen Liebesroman'; *The Legend of Good Women*, though superficially courtly, is also realistic—Medea comes near to Criseyde; and the *Canterbury Tales* show the triumph of a naturalism stimulated by Chaucer's classical reading. In the earlier plays of Shakespeare, on the contrary, we have to deal 'nicht mit einer "naturalisierten" Antike, sondern mit der klassischen Idealität, der Distanz fordernden heroischen Geste' (p. 92)—the Renaissance antique, in fact. But in the later plays one may speak of a 'Lösung von der Antike': heroic greatness and natural humanity are found together; and in the 'romances' Shakespeare reached 'die neue Synthese der vormals feindlichen naturalistischen und klassizistischen Bestrebungen' (p. 102).

Dr Oskar Fischel's paper on *Inigo Jones und der Theaterstil der Renaissance* and Dr Edgar Wind's on *Humanitätsidee und heroisiertes Porträt in der englischen Kultur des 18. Jahrhunderts*, though not printed con-

secutively, should be read in sequence. Both are illustrated with admirable reproductions which are collected at the end of the volume, and both, dealing with questions of art, consider the philosophies which lie behind them.

In *Shaftesbury und die Renaissance des Platonismus in England* Professor E. Cassirer points the contrast between Shaftesbury's reputation as 'ein Deist oder Freidenker, ein Ironiker und Spötter', earned for him by the *Letter on Enthusiasm*, and the impression which is given by his philosophical writings. These cannot be understood without some knowledge of the eighteenth-century habits of thought against which Shaftesbury rebelled—the English empiricism and Puritanism which, in spite of their fundamental contradictions, agreed in admiring action and in despising pure contemplation. But Shaftesbury, the disciple of Plato and Plotinus, brought up on the ancients, whom he knew before he knew the modern writers, 'vielleicht der einzige englische Denker des 18. Jahrhunderts, dem die Antike noch eine wirkliche geistige Gegenwart bedeutete', took his ideas, particularly his religious ideas of free and disinterested love, from them. His humour, and his emphasis on the free play of humour, Dr Cassirer derives from the scholars of the Renaissance. His æsthetic theory was fundamentally the same as his religion, 'amor non mercenarius', and so again was his conception of nature as to be understood and enjoyed through love, and to be regarded as an active process, not as one already completed. The importance of Shaftesbury's thought for that of the great German thinkers of the later eighteenth century—Mendelssohn, Carl Philipp Moritz, Kant in one line, Winckelmann and Herder, Goethe and Schiller in another—is brought out in the last part of the paper: 'Shaftesburys Lehre ist eine der wichtigsten Etappen auf dem Wege, der von Florenz nach Weimar, von der italienischen Renaissance des 15. Jahrhunderts, von Ficcin und Pico di Mirandola zum deutschen Humanismus führt.'

Dr E. de Selincourt considers *Classicism and Romanticism in the Poetry of Walter Savage Landor*, the most classic in his art, though not in his life, of all the poets of his age, sharing his love of Greek story with many of them, but differing in his approach to it. His 'genius was first awakened, and throughout his life was fostered, by ardent classical study'. The *Hellenics*, Dr de Selincourt considers, on the whole 'justify their proud title . . . as being in all English poetry that work which most fully and most faithfully reflects the spirit and feeling of Greek life and art'; and Landor's mastery of the epigram is also unexcelled; but even at his best he is not so great in poetry as in prose.

Sir Richard Livingstone concludes this series of lectures with a survey of *The Position and Function of Classical Studies in Modern English Education*. From a review of the wide diffusion of classical influence through modern English life, having its historical causes in the schemes of English education, he passes to a consideration of the present position of classical studies, using the phrase in the widest sense, and his conviction of the value of Hellenism to this generation.

*A History of Foreign Words in English.* By MARY S. SERJEANTSON.  
London: Kegan Paul. 1935. ix+354 pp. 21s.

There must be a rare satisfaction in producing a work which is 'inevitable', in the sense that it leads the reader to wonder why it has never appeared before. A comprehensive yet not unwieldy volume from the pen of a scholar whom one can trust, dealing with one of the most important and most 'humane' aspects of the study of the English language, how it absorbs, retains or rejects, modifies, combines and conceals its borrowings, this is so obvious a *desideratum* that one can only be grateful to Miss Serjeantson for not having waited for that ever-receding point of time, when all the spade work will have been done and all the problems solved.

She is fortunate in having found a subject of interest to a public much larger than the small inner circle of those seriously concerned with phonological and grammatical development. Yet the very wideness of the appeal must have been the source of some embarrassment, and this is reflected in certain aspects of the book. Chapter II, 'Latin Loan Words before the Conquest', affords an example. There is a danger here that the general reader will, quite erroneously, conclude from the thorough listing of loan words from Old English documents that the book is not for him. Indeed, Appendix A, where these same loan words are classified, would give him a better understanding of this element of the vocabulary than the chapter to which it is appended, yet the discouraged reader may fail to reach it. On the other hand, the student of language may feel that, given general guidance, he could himself have pursued the loan words through the documents, and may even be somewhat aggrieved at having been deprived of the pleasures of the chase.

Again, is the book to be read in a reference library, or at least with the *Oxford English Dictionary* at one's elbow? If not, many readers will be puzzled by the absence of definitions of many words with which he can hardly be expected to be familiar, both those which may once have been fully admitted into the language but have dropped out, and those which have never attained a wide circulation.

Miss Serjeantson is well aware of the difficulty of deciding what words to admit, as having been in any true sense 'in English' at any period. Her criterion for including or excluding naturally varies for different periods. In the early period many of the words listed may never have gained any real footing in the language. We have often no means of judging. For the modern period, the aim has been to include those words 'which the ordinary English reader is most likely to come across in not too specialised literature'. The present reviewer can only confess that she shut the book feeling healthily dissatisfied with the smallness of her vocabulary and the narrowness of her reading.

An introductory note explaining in more detail the plan of arrangement would have provided useful guidance. Without this it is difficult to understand the principle which underlies the use of different types, and to see why certain words are repeated without cross-reference, and why the modern equivalent or the nearest related form in the original language

is appended to one word rather than to another. All these things are almost certainly capable of satisfactory explanation, but have puzzled the present reviewer.

It is inevitable that in so detailed a work any reader should detect occasional errors and apparent inconsistencies. Thus, on p. 82 *þeʒz* appears as O.N., whereas it bears, of course, the unmistakable mark of Orm's orthography; on p. 228 the phrase 'early modern period' is surely made to carry an unusually wide meaning; on p. 167 *à la carte* is listed, whereas it seems to be excluded by the statement on p. 9.

It implies no criticism of the book, but rather an appreciation of the author's quality, to wish that she had not exercised such austere self-restraint in commenting upon movements and tendencies. But to demand of an admirable book that it should be essentially something other than itself, is to fall into one of the most foolish as well as the most ungracious errors of reviewing.

MARGARET ASHDOWN.

LONDON.

*A Bibliography on the Survival of the Classics. First volume: the Publications of 1931. The Text of the German Edition with an English Introduction. Edited by the Warburg Institute. xxiii+333 pp. London: Cassell and Co. 1934. Paper, 21s.*

The aim of this volume, the bilingualism of which is explained by the migration of the Warburg Institute from Germany to London, is to record all books and articles of the year 1931 'which either deal specifically under their own title with the problem of the survival of the ancients or are compelled by the nature of their particular theme to give some attention to this problem'. This it attempts to do in some 1200 entries, followed by review notices of varying length but mostly short. The editors have apologised in their English preface for possible incompleteness: but to the reviewer the miscellaneous character of the material which they have included seems a more serious drawback to the usefulness of the work than their omissions. They have tried to cover the 'survival of antiquity' in all fields—literature, art, philosophy, religion, folk-lore, law, the sciences: the material is carefully arranged under an elaborate classification, which is supplemented by a good index, but they have increased the bulk of the book without increasing its value by casting their net very wide. In the literary sections, naturally and properly at this time, work on the 'Fortleben' of Virgil and St Augustine takes a good deal of space: among the other entries are such things as Tacitus in Polish Culture, Stoicism in sixteenth-century France, Seneca's Influence on Robert Garnier, the Perseus Myth in Calderón, which will be of interest to readers of this *Journal*, though they will probably already have found most of them in specialised bibliographies. But 'Shakespeares Coriolan in der deutschen Shakespeare-Literatur des 19. u. 20. Jahrhunderts' seems to have little to do with the survival of antiquity, and two American notes recorded under the heading 'Humanismus und

Gegenwart', one comparing complaints from ancient authors of noise in Rome with paragraphs from American newspapers and another pointing out that Metellus Pius and the Duke of Wellington were both celebrated by Spanish poets, are ludicrously out of place. Similar examples are to be found in most of the sections: that on art records a booklet on 'Die grossen Kunstsammler', a popular account of art collectors from Verres to modern times, which may throw light on the survival of human nature but fits ill with the professed theme of the book. It is a pity that such a vast amount of expert labour should have been spent on producing a work the cost of which is out of all proportion to its value.

C. J. FORDYCE.

GLASGOW.

*The French Language.* By ALFRED EWERT, M.A. London: Faber and Faber. 1933. xii + 437 pp. 15s.

This valuable compendium has already proved its usefulness, both in the world of scholarship and also among the non-specialists for whom it was chiefly intended. Though following the usual lines in dealing first with the external history of French, then with phonology, morphology and syntax, vocabulary and semantics, and though owing much, as the author indicates, to the works which have preceded it, yet the judicious selection of examples and a certain freshness and suggestiveness of treatment give a special stamp to the book and testify to a desire to 'lift the study of language above the plane of dogmatic assertion'.

The phonology and morphology of the periods previous to the sixteenth century are considered chiefly in their bearing upon modern French: for the detailed study of the earlier stages the student is referred to such works as Professor M. K. Pope's *From Latin to Modern French*, in addition to those of A. Darmesteter, Kr. Nyrop, F. Brunot, A. Dauzat, etc. Yet even here certain points call for special notice, e.g., the paragraphs on syntactical phonetics and the influence of sense, position and context upon speech sounds, also the summary in chapter IV of the reasons which make spelling reform specially difficult in France.

The study of morphology *pari passu* with syntax in chapter V, instead of the usual division into watertight compartments, has manifest advantages for the comprehension of both, as for example in dealing with the evolution of the partitive article or with concord in general. Vocabulary and Semantics in chapter VI are approached, not as by M. Brunot in *La Pensée et la Langue* from the starting-point of ideas, but from that of the linguistic symbols in their twofold aspect of form and meaning. A number of typical examples of change of meaning are grouped under convenient headings, historical, psychological, formal, from which general inferences are drawn as to the tendencies to be observed in semantic evolution.

Scattered throughout these pages there are interesting reflections upon linguistic evolution in France. The following points may be specially noted: the outstanding homogeneity, sonority and vigour of twelfth-century French, the tendency of the mediæval mind to regard life itself

as a metaphor, the travail and conflict of the language during the Renaissance, the perfection of Classical French as an instrument for the psychological and dramatic literature in which the French genius seems to find its truest expression, the Romantic revolution as summarised by Victor Hugo in *Réponse à un acte d'accusation*, the disintegration now threatening the language, amid various experiments, to the detriment of clearness and order. Everything is examined as a phenomenon in the history of the language of a great nation and a great literature, a language which has been fashioned in the image of the race, and the historical study of which is 'an indispensable element in the special discipline provided by French studies'.

There are two Appendices; A gives texts, from the *Serments de Strasbourg* to passages from Molière and La Fontaine with contemporary spelling; B contains a Bibliography including periodicals. Finally there is an Index Verborum, which increases the value of the work both as a students' manual and for purposes of reference.

F. C. JOHNSON.

LONDON.

*Évolution et Structure de la Langue Française.* By W. VON WARTBURG. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner. 1934. viii + 256 pp. R.M. 5.40.

The last five years have seen the appearance of several shorter works dealing with the history of the French Language. Most of these aim at presenting the results so far attained by recent scholarship in a compact form which will enable the student to use for purposes of reference such longer works as F. Brunot's masterly *Histoire de la Langue Française* and Kr. Nyrop's detailed *Grammaire historique*. Among these recent shorter treatises mention may be specially made of A. Dauzat, *Histoire de la Langue Française* (1930); F. Brunot et C. Bruneau, *Précis de Grammaire Historique* (1933); A. Ewert, *The French Language* (1933); and M. K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French* (1934). These have been followed by a book on the evolution of the French language by W. von Wartburg, the eminent professor of the University of Leipzig, whose etymological French dictionary is now in course of publication.

What are the outstanding characteristics of the *Évolution et Structure de la Langue Française* which differentiate it to some extent from recent publications on the same subject? The title gives the key to the author's aim, which is on the one hand to trace the main lines along which the French language has developed during well-nigh two thousand years, and on the other to show the relation between the language and the nation generally, in its political, social and literary evolution, to demonstrate in short that the language has obeyed its own laws and followed its own tendencies influenced by the civilisation with which it has been in contact.

The seven chapters into which the book is divided are alternatively descriptive and historical; chapters 1, 3, 5 and 7 give some account of the state of the language at the principal epochs of its existence, the last being an interesting appreciation of present-day French; while chapters 2, 4 and 6 are historical, showing the working of the influences which have

made the language of Flaubert out of the language of Virgil. It is thus both an internal and an external history of the French language.

It might seem that there is no necessary link between a language and the people who speak it. We speak of Romance languages but not of Romance peoples. There is very little Roman blood in France; the people are Celts, Germans, Iberians and Ligurians, but hardly Latins. Yet, says Professor von Wartburg, there is a strong link in the common civilisation, the Latin culture. He then traces the centrifugal forces which caused a dissolution in the social life of the Roman Empire and notes how the internal development of the language in Gaul follows that of society and the state. He sees in the last two centuries of the Roman Empire the embryo of the Middle Ages, social, economic and religious. As for the language, almost all the elements characteristic of Old French are to be found in the Latin of the late Empire. He notes that the Gaulish words and ideas which had been assimilated by Latin, as a convenient part of the 'sermo rusticus', show great vitality; thus *vassal*, one of the key words of the feudal system, is Gaulish, not Germanic, and even to-day the French peasant's vocabulary bristles with Gaulish terms. The same influence, the author considers, may be traced in the tendency to palatalisation exemplified in the change of *u* to *ü*, and of *-ct-* to *-it-*. Here he seems to be on controversial ground, at least as regards the change in the place of articulation of the Latin *u*. He follows generally accepted views in finding even in classical Latin something of the analytical spirit that suppressed terminations in favour of prepositions and abandoned synthetic forms of gradation and conjugation, that made an article of the demonstrative and created a new conditional by means of the infinitive and the imperfect of *habere*.

It is perhaps difficult to find relations between civilisation and phonetic changes. Speech sounds seem to have little in themselves to do with the life of the mind, but at least accent, whether musical or emphatic, is connected with semantic content, and the peculiar development of sounds when used in continuous speech shows the tendency to semantic as well as phonetic assimilation.

In dealing with the period of Old French proper it is impossible, says Professor von Wartburg, to understand what took place in the language without taking into account the social and economic structure. On the one hand the Merovingian territorial distribution caused the formation of dialects, on the other hand, after the Carolingian Renaissance, the *lingua romana* becomes an individual, a minor still, but possessing a separate existence. Its different forms were regional rather than social, vertical and not horizontal. Certain regions, e.g. Normandy and Picardy, always had an intense local life. The central monarchy had little authority, yet it was a spiritual force, and by a sort of negative choice, by the avoiding of eccentricities, as well as on account of its geographical and political position, the dialect of Paris became the *koiné*, the standard. By the twelfth century the language was rich in sounds (fifty phonemes as against the thirty-six of Modern French), with an extensive vocabulary and great liberty in expression, if also some lack of precision. All

this part of the book, on the classical period (so to speak) of Old French, is fresh and of great interest, while the examples are lucid and illuminating, without undue detail. There are no French grammars at this time; the study of French grammar was born in England in the fourteenth century. In France it does not appear until the sixteenth century, with Dubois and Meigret. The man of these mediæval times lives in action, not reflection. For him the verbal notion dominates the phrase and is its pivot; all the other elements revolve round it like vassals.

Professor von Wartburg sees the beginning of Middle French rather later than the date (1328) chosen by Gaston Paris. When satire and history take the place of epic and romance, reflecting the tendency of the political life, the new phase has begun. With regard to the evolution of sounds at this period, we note that the views of the author do not entirely coincide with those of other philologists, notably those of Arsène Darmesteter in the treatment of the 'non-initiale non-accentuée', sometimes called the counter-final. *Serment* from *sacramentum* is apparently as regular as *ornement* from *ornamentum*. In the realm of style the author notes the appearance of perspective, in narration as in painting; there are now different planes in the sentence; the tenses acquire a relative value. At the same time the growing passion for Latinisms, at first necessary to express new ideas, will result in the curiously mottled appearance of Renaissance French. These loan words enrich the language and encourage its individuality. There are paragraphs on the influence of Rabelais on the vocabulary and of Calvin on semantic values.

It was in the seventeenth century that the soul of the nation fully recognised in the language one of its most important manifestations, its means of education and of touching other souls. Malherbe, 'le docteur en négative', helped the French nation to make its own linguistic laws, before the Academy and Vaugelas had decided on the vocabulary of the 'honnête homme'. Blurred semantic outlines are henceforth banned; there must be one form, one meaning. Many words were unfortunately lost (as La Fontaine and La Bruyère observed), e.g., *cuidier*, which is not a synonym for *penser*. Exaggerated purism led to reaction on the part of the 'esprit gaulois', to the burlesque and the ridicule of Molière.

'La véritable Révolution, c'est le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle tout entier.' There is much that we should like to quote in this connexion, but we must follow the author now to the Romantic movement, which overturned the barrier between literary and colloquial language and 'mit le bonnet rouge au vieux dictionnaire'. Yet neither Hugo nor Gautier cared for neologisms; their work was to enfranchise popular words. It was left for the realist Balzac to take all expressions as they occurred to him, and to Flaubert to subject everything to the severest discipline.

The last chapter, already referred to, has much that is suggestive on the present state of the French language. French is contrasted with German, the language of the author. Some of these points relate to the distinctness of the speech-sounds, the forward articulation, the tense muscles, the absence of facial expression. There are no diphthongs, the organs remain in position during the whole of the

articulation which is never relaxed or blurred. The consonants are not aspirated by the passage of air. The syllable is oxytone, sharp at the end, while the German syllable is barytone in the Greek sense. The unity is the rhythmical group. The monotony (patter might we call it?) of spoken French is redeemed by the diversity of the vowel timbre, the sixteen vowel sounds, and by the variety supplied by the emotional and emphatic accentuation. The author thinks there is no danger of a permanent shifting of the accent: the *Atlas Linguistique* does not represent normal pronunciation in phrases. Every Frenchman is a little Malherbe, on the look-out for harshness or ambiguity. It is true that no language is so plagued by homonyms (*ver* has five) and the consequent risk of puns, nevertheless the diction is sober and harmonious. The accent of intensity is usually fused with the musical accent (whereas the two are often opposed in German, giving an incoherent and dislocated effect). The charm and beauty of the language consists largely in suppressing what is not indispensable. It is incomparably clear, but not penetrating and not easily charged with music, static, using many nouns (rather than verbs like the more dynamic German). Though French only counts 45 millions who speak it as their mother tongue, as against the English-speaking 170 millions, yet it is the second tongue of the intellectual *élite* in most countries of the world 'alors que tout se démocratise', and this it owes to its delicacy, its elegance and its social character.

The book is furnished with a good index. Frequent abbreviations, even in the text, have effected an economy in space, and it is surprising how much has been compressed into a work that is easy to read and light to hold. The bibliography is rather a guide to students than a complete list of authorities; we note the absence of Nyrop's *Grammaire historique de la Langue Française* and of F. Brunot's *La Pensée et la Langue*. The author declares his wish to have been to 'présenter non pas démontrer'. This scientific attitude is accompanied by a manifest appreciation of beauty and attention to style. Enough has been said to indicate that the work before us supplies a much needed tool for the student of French philology who desires to obtain a general view of the evolution of French up to the present day, illustrated by well-chosen examples and illuminated by fresh and personal ideas.

F. C. JOHNSON.

LONDON.

*A Dictionary of French Slang.* By OLIVIER LEROY. London: Harrap. 1935. 237 pp. 6s.

We had already *A Glossary of French Slang* by the same author. This new volume is more complete than its predecessor; and, to quote from the preface, 'besides filling up many of the gaps in the original glossary the author has endeavoured to keep pace with the ever-increasing growth of slang in the French of to-day'.

Here is a book after my own heart. Give me a good dictionary, a collection of idioms, proverbs, 'wise saws and modern instances', a book

of slang, and I am happy; for, in studying them I learn, not only words and phrases, but, what is equally important and more interesting, I get an insight into the mentality and psychology of peoples: by their idioms and slang 'thou shalt know them'.

M Leroy knows his job, his command of English is excellent; and, considering the obvious difficulties confronting him, he has done his work remarkably well. I wish, however, that occasionally he had given us examples, or more examples, of the use of certain expressions. For instance, *Ne pas couper dans quelquechose* is given as 'not to believe something'. I think it would have been better to give us such typical sayings as: *Ne te figure pas que je coupe dans ces histoires-là. Si tu crois que je coupe dans ton histoire (dans cette balançoire) tu te trompes*, etc. The danger of not giving actual examples of the use of certain expressions is evident here and there: *avoir l'œil* is translated into English as 'to have credit', 'to buy on tick'. Quite right, if *avoir l'œil* is understood to mean *avoir l'œil quelque part*, or *avoir l'œil chez quelqu'un*. But, if we use *avoir l'œil* absolutely, e.g. without a complement, it means 'to be wide-awake': e.g., *Le patron avant l'œil, rien ne lui échappait*.

Sometimes, but not very often, it seems to me that the author has not found the best English rendering: e.g., *Je ne répète pas la messe pour les sourds* is translated by 'I don't like to say things over again'. This is the meaning right enough; but, in popular English, what I hear, more often than not, is: 'I don't boil my cabbage(s) twice'. And talking of cabbages, *être dans les choux* is given as 'to be in a fix' or 'in a mess', why not give 'to be in the soup', or 'to be in the cart'?

A dictionary of slang cannot be complete; the great problem is 'What shall we leave out?' All the same, I have missed such popular expressions as: *La foire n'est pas sur le pont* ('There's no hurry'); *faire chou blanc* ('to draw a blank', 'to fail completely'); *manger les choux par les trognons* ('to be pushing up the daisies'); *le torchon brûle dans ce ménage* ('there's discord in the household'), etc.

These are very small blemishes in an otherwise excellent piece of work and a valuable contribution to the study of popular French.

E. M. STÉPHAN.

LONDON.

*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Romanismen: I. Chronologische Phonetik des Französischen bis zum Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, Heft 82). Von ELISE RICHTER. Halle: Niemeyer. 1934. xvi+290 pp. M. 28.

The object of this scholarly book is, stated quite baldly, to establish in detail the chronology of the phonetic changes by which Latin was transformed into French. The importance of such an undertaking and the difficulties it presents are evident to the Romance philologist, and in fact to any philologist. Quite apart from technical competence, the task called for courage and tenacity of a high order, and the book establishes firmly Fr. Richter's claim to these qualities.

The application of a rigorous chronological method to the phonetic history of the French language was long overdue, although Professor Pope in her recent book endeavoured to apply the method as far as was possible within the accepted framework of an historical grammar. The book opens with general considerations on the chronological method and on the geographical and social factors which govern varying developments and the elaboration of different usages (cultured, popular, etc.). After a short section dealing with those features which have remained constant (unbewusste vollkommene Überlieferung), the various changes (unbewusste unvollkommene Überlieferung) are examined in chronological order, beginning with the loss of intervocalic and initial *h* and of final *m*, the earliest (type: *lardum*) of the five separate and successive syncopations distinguished by the author, and the loss of intervocalic *w*—all changes belonging, in that order, to the period before the eighth century A.U.C. Later changes follow chronologically, being treated under some 160 separate headings and concluding with the change  $\bar{u} > \bar{i}$ , which, according to Frl. Richter, may well have begun before 800 but was not completed before the tenth century. For this latter change, as elsewhere, the author distinguishes between the phonetic change as such and the later extension of the new feature of pronunciation.

Each change is examined under clearly defined headings, which are distinguished typographically: § — Evidence and materials; § — (A) Phonetic explanation; § — (B) Historical development; § — (C), (D) Implications and conclusions, followed occasionally by notes dealing with special cases of doubtful etymology, etc. In this way a remarkable degree of clearness is achieved, and occasional obscurities are due in the main to the use of a somewhat unusual terminology. The reader will be well advised to have at his elbow Frl. Richter's own *Lautbildungskunde* (Teubner, 1922). While one may agree that 'vorausnehmende Angleichung' is theoretically a more correct term than 'regressive Assimilation', one cannot but feel that the author is sometimes inclined to exaggerate the advantages of a new or more expressive terminology.

In the space of a short review it is obviously impossible to enter into a discussion of the details of this closely packed volume. One may point to an occasional over-readiness to assume contamination (e.g., in the discussion of *plaidier*, p. 13), or to dismiss anomalies as borrowings from other linguistic strata or usages. The theory of Celtic influence in the change  $\bar{u} > \bar{i}$  obviously does not find favour with Frl. Richter, but the objection she puts forward on p. 256 is hardly cogent, being based partly upon an *ex silentio* argument. While one cannot always agree with the conclusions the author draws from the evidence, and while she may eventually find herself induced to alter her chronology here and there in the light of future criticism, it can be confidently predicted that the main lines of her work will remain intact. It is, as she herself says, a pioneer effort, but it is at the same time a model of scientific method and is bound to bring about considerable modifications in the explanation hitherto accepted of the early evolution of the French language and of the development of forms or groups of forms. The working out of these

implications by others is facilitated by an admirable Index including under each lemma references to all the paragraphs in which are discussed phonetic changes affecting the word in question, even though the word itself be not mentioned in the particular paragraph.

A. EWERT.

OXFORD.

*Le Débat romantique en France, 1813-1830.* Par EDMOND EGGLI et PIERRE MARTINO. Tome I. 1813-1816, par EDMOND EGGLI. (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger, II<sup>e</sup> Série: Tome VI.) Paris: Les Belles Lettres. 1933. 496 pp. 50 fr.

While the chief Romantics have been the subject of countless studies, and Romantic tendencies and ideals have been freely discussed, it has been difficult hitherto to obtain a clear and comprehensive view of the Romantic movement as a whole. M. Bray's recent *Chronologie du Romantisme* was valuable in helping the student to assess the relative importance of various factors and to see the phases of the struggle in their true perspective, but it did not claim to be more than a handy manual for the bewildered examinee. MM. Eggli and Martino propose to follow the controversy stage by stage, laying before us all the documents in the order in which their influence was felt. Such well-known and easily obtainable works as *De l'Allemagne*, *Racine et Shakespeare* and the *Préface de Cromwell* are not given in full, nor are rarer works which have been re-edited, for example, by the Société des Textes français modernes; but they are analysed and discussed; their fortunes in France are closely followed, particular attention being paid to political causes of fluctuations in opinion; and the relevant parts of all the important reviews and articles which they provoked are quoted. In the case, however, of pamphlets or articles which, though they aroused considerable interest at the time, have sunk into obscurity and are now difficult of access, MM. Eggli and Martino propose to publish these *in extenso*, with all the polemical matter concerning them. Thus, in the first volume, three rare texts are reproduced—Soumet's *Les Scrupules littéraires de Mme de Staël*, Jay's *Discours sur le genre romantique* and the *Anti-romantique* of Saint-Chamans, along with a host of reviews and shorter articles which the student has now great difficulty in consulting.

The critical commentaries are not the least valuable part of M. Eggli's volume; he sifts his evidence scrupulously and supplies us unobtrusively with all the data necessary for the full appreciation of the significance of each text. Anonymous and pseudonymous writers are, wherever possible, identified and made real to us by a short account of their life and work. The notes are helpful throughout.

The limitation of the period dealt with to the years 1813-30 may be considered arbitrary, but MM. Eggli and Martino give in their Introduction excellent reasons for their choice. The publication in 1813 and 1814 of Sismondi's *De la Littérature du Midi de l'Europe*, Schlegel's *Cours de*

*Littérature dramatique* and Mme de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* first brought home to the literary public of France the realisation that classicism was menaced by a new æsthetic doctrine; 1830 is chosen as marking the end of the more combative phase of the controversy. The discussion continued, but the Romantic School as a fighting unit gave place to a generation of writers whose romanticism varied considerably in quality and in intensity. Social and political questions assumed more importance after the Revolution of 1830, and the interest of the purely literary quarrel waned.

MM. Eggli and Martino are rendering obvious service to all serious students of Romanticism in making available rare and remote documents and, even more, in bringing order into the chaos of a difficult period. Their method is admirable in its scrupulousness and sobriety, and their book is bound to become an invaluable instrument of research.

M. E. I. ROBERTSON.

LONDON.

*Sainte-Beuve. Correspondance générale. Tome I. Par JEAN BONNEROT.*  
Paris: Stock. 1935. 604 pp. 48 fr.

The published letters of Sainte-Beuve have hitherto been dispersed in many isolated books and articles: much of his voluminous correspondence has remained unpublished. M. Bonnerot has undertaken a complete edition, of which the first volume, covering the years 1818-35, has now appeared. It contains 511 letters, nearly a quarter of them inedited.

The editor's claim to present 'une histoire du mouvement littéraire en France entre 1825 et 1869, vue à travers Sainte-Beuve', is substantiated by this volume, which bears the sub-title, *Dans la mêlée romantique*. In these letters, arranged in chronological sequence, not only do we see Sainte-Beuve himself, developing from the somewhat priggish precocity of fourteen to the intellectual and emotional complexities of thirty-one, but we follow the fortunes of the Romantic school. We are conscious of the agitation in the central whirlpool of Paris, kept astir by first nights at the theatre and polemics in the reviews; of the concentric circles rippling out to provincial sympathisers like Victor Pavie or Théodore Carlier; and most curious of all, of the still waters beyond, untroubled by all this literary pother, which, seen *sub specie æternitatis* in rare confidences to a boyhood friend, the Abbé Barbe, dwindles to a mere tea-cup storm. Such distant views are the exception. No doubt, as Sainte-Beuve later declared, his intelligence never wholly assented to the Romantic doctrines, but these letters, with their alternations of ardent hero-worship, generous enthusiasm, jealousies and pique, prove that his emotions at least were vitally engaged.

The inedited letters will not upset accepted judgments. Spread over some sixty correspondents, they show how widely Sainte-Beuve, even as a young man, was recognised as an authoritative critic. Those to Buloz, Magnin and Renduel throw interesting sidelights on his finances and the preparation of his articles and books.

The rich variety of this correspondence is greatly enhanced by its setting. M. Bonnerot supplies numerous notes containing a wealth of relevant information, résumés of many letters from Sainte-Beuve's correspondents, a bibliography of his writings, a calendar and chronicle of contemporary events and a full index. No pains have been spared—for instance, by typographical devices—to make the book convenient and stimulating. Letters not available for publication are enumerated and their contents indicated where possible: from the indications given the numerous letters to Guttinguer (all missing) appear to have been of special interest.

We have noted some errors of detail inevitable in a work of this scope. The index is not perfect. The Mr 'Lockhard', M.P., with whom Sainte-Beuve stayed for a week when in England in 1828 was not Sir Walter Scott's son-in-law (p. 105, n. (7)), but, as pointed out by E. M. Phillips (*M.H.R.A. Bulletin*, April 1927), John Ingram Lockhart, M.P. for the City of Oxford. The numerous printer's errors are a regrettable blemish on this otherwise admirable publication.

CLAUDINE I. WILSON.

LONDON.

*Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz.* Von K. JABERG und J. JUD. Bd. v, herausgegeben von K. JABERG (Haus und Hausrat—Speisen—Essen und Trinken). Zofingen (Schweiz): Ringier. 1933. 189 maps. 220 Sw.frs.

This volume has been composed by Professor Jaberger, with the help of the indefatigable Mr Scheuermeier, who not only worked up the material for seven of the maps, but undertook, in 1932, still another journey in northern Italy to supplement and verify some of the factual information.

One closes the volume with the feeling of having spent hours and days in a richly stocked museum, amidst an amazing wealth of exhibits, admirably displayed and classified, but whose number and variety are almost overwhelming. The house and its components, furniture, lighting, heating, cookery, pots and pans, food and drink, the names and shapes of utensils, the hours and constituents of meals, even the varieties of sausage and macaroni, are here listed or plotted out cartographically and abundantly illustrated. Some of the pages, with their excellent line drawings by Mr Paul Boesch, particularly those illustrating varieties of earthenware, are like the show cabinets of a collection of antiques, so similar in shape and line are many of the exhibits to the relicts of Rome, so faithful has Italy remained to the traditions of her ancient culture.

This great wealth of ethnographical detail, the outstanding feature of the present volume, is not without its embarrassments, for the editor as well as for the reader, and brings out in acute form the difficulties entailed by the very method which makes this linguistic atlas so great an advance upon its forerunner, the *Atlas linguistique*, namely the coupling of word study with the study of things. In the practice of speech, word and thing are indissolubly linked together. But whereas

it is possible to present with ease and clarity a map of the words for 'the bee' or 'the cow', for 'marriage', 'school' or 'church', for 'to milk', 'to run', or 'to eat', that is, for concepts which can scarcely vary from place to place, though the words that express them may do so, it is quite a different matter to arrange cartographically, and at the same time adequately to illustrate, material collected under the headings: 'dish', 'jug', 'cake', 'saucepan', 'boiler', 'seat', where not only the word but the thing may differ widely from region to region, not to say from household to household. It may even be impossible, in a country as ethnographically variegated as Italy, to find a satisfactory single rubric for a map, as a comprehensive standard term may not exist, and a Tuscan term may connote outside Tuscany an entirely different object.

In some cases the editor found the difficulties insuperable, and deliberately sacrificed the material collected under the headings 'capanna', 'cortile', and 'orcio', as the objects carrying those names varied so much in the several localities that a complete presentation of the words and their uses would have been so confusing as to defeat entirely the purpose of the cartographical method. With other words, not quite so complicated, two methods of presentation, alternative to that hitherto pursued, suggested themselves to the editor. It might have been possible to compose maps restricted to certain lexicographical types. For instance, out of the numerous maps where the word 'solaio' occurs, a 'solarium' (or '\*solare') map might have been constituted showing its various semantic functions and their geographical distribution. It occurs, for example, on the 'soffitta' map (869), in 'la loggia' (870), 'la camera da dormire' (874), 'il pavimento' (876), and 'il soffitto di legno' (877). This would have formed a very interesting and instructive picture. Or again, a number of purely 'object' maps might have been composed, illustrating the variety of the 'things' used for a particular purpose, the *purpose*, not the *name*, supplying the unifying basis for the map. A beginning was even made in this direction in map 967, one of the seven composed by Mr Scheuermeier. This map bears as its rubric: 'Ricipienti da portar l'acqua dalla fontana in casa.' But despite the ingenious system of symbols which inform the reader of the type of object in use in each locality, the main stress is still lexicographical rather than ethnographical. Mr Scheuermeier has recently published (*Wasser- und Wengefässe im heutigen Italien*, Berne, Francke, 1934) a most attractive booklet, in which the material of maps 965, 966, 967, 968, and 969 of this volume is worked up and displayed cartographically on a purely ethnographical basis. It contains three maps which are an elegant and eloquent demonstration of the enduring identity of the great linguistic zones with the ancient cultural zones of Italy, and the accompanying photographs give a happy touch of picturesque realism to substantiate and adorn the lesson, a foretaste, by the way, of what the 'Illustrationsband', planned to follow the last volume of the Atlas, holds in store. But, rightly or wrongly, Professor Jaberg has refrained from departing farther in this volume from the strictly onomasiological method adopted hitherto, and from the principle of presenting the raw material elicited by the question-

naire with a minimum of preparation and thus allowing the user of the atlas to draw his own conclusions. It is a sound and laudable principle, no doubt, but one cannot help regretting that those most qualified to interpret the atlas<sup>1</sup> must perforce confine themselves for the time being to the arduous, self-sacrificing, and somewhat ungrateful rôle of presentation.

As it is, many of these maps present a rather blurred and confusing picture. They will become clearer, no doubt, when the 'Illustrationsband' is at the disposal of the reader. But even then, many will remain incapable of any clear-cut solution, and this is no dispraise, but a voucher for their reliability as a portrayal of the so often baffling intricacy of linguistic phenomena. But although the student interested chiefly in zones and stratification of words, their interplay and substitution, may not find such ready plunder as in some of the preceding volumes, owing to the variety and complexity of the ethnographical data, the lexicographer can fill his bag with ease and to overflowing. The phonological material is also as plentiful as ever, and I would draw particular attention to the morphological and syntactical importance of some of the maps towards the end of the volume, particularly: 'Sono digiuno' (1013), 'poichè hai fame' (1015), 'Mangeresti' (1016), 'se avessi fame?' (1017), 'Se fosse ben cotto' (1018), 'ne mangerei' (1019). 'Quando si ha sete' (1032), 'si ha la gola (secca)' (1033), 'Beverei' (1035). The maps containing the past subjunctive and conditional forms are of unique interest. Not only do they provide a conspectus and a basis of study of all the present-day forms in use in the peninsula, but they too are in the nature of an historical museum, containing as they do relics of all the devices to which vulgar Latin had recourse in the framing of hypothetical and conditional clauses; the use of the pluperfect subjunctive, the pluperfect indicative, the auxiliaries, *habere*, *venire*, *debere* and *velle*, in states varying from the complete independence of the auxiliary to its complete agglutination or absorption as a mere flexion.

Any elaboration of the rich data here provided would clearly exceed the scope and purpose of this notice. I confine myself to italicising a few of the more obvious points which occur to the reader, the significance of which, I fear, must remain quite out of proportion with the comprehensive importance of the volume.

'Fare un buco' (857):

One is surprised at the great number of forms reminiscent of French *bouge*. If the latter is Celtic, as asserted, the repartition of these forms calls for comment, as they go right down to Rome and beyond.

'... nel muro' (858):

In this map, and in 'In un canto' (875) forms from *intus* are found all over the peninsula, in Sicily, and in Sardinia. Tuscany itself is surrounded by such forms, and they occur, though not in great numbers, within Tuscany itself; e.g., *ndel muro*, 571, *nder muro*, 542; comp. *te mur*, at 490, the nearest point to Florence outside

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the admirable study by Jaberg in *Revue de Linguistique romane*, I, pp. 118-44, entitled 'Bezeichnungsgeschichte des Begriffes Anfangen', which utilises, *inter alia*, material here presented under the rubric 'Manifettere una salsiccia', map 1001.

Tuscany. It would seem, therefore, that the Vulgar Latin of Italy and Gaul (comp. Fr. *dans* < *de intus* and O.F. *enz en*) had recourse to *intus* in order to remedy the inconvenience arising from the double meaning of Latin *in*, 'in' and 'upon', though *in* survived in more cultivated speech. One suspects that the forms found in Old Italian texts: *in de la nave*, *in de lo legno*, etc. (vide Monaci, *Crestomazia*, p. 594) are merely graphical interpretations of these compounds of the article with *intus*, and not, originally at any rate, compounds of *in* and *de*.

### 'Il pavimento' (876):

Tuscan *impiantito*, which one would be tempted to derive from *pianta*, 'sole', 'flat surface', is accompanied on the east and south-east by forms which are clearly connected with *palanca* (comp. Fr. *plancher*, 'floor'). To take a few points from west to east: 543, *impiantito*; 544, *pianrito*; 546, *pyangito*; 548, *piangado*; cp. 478, *palancit*, and 35 (map 877), *palancia*. In other words, *impiantito*, found at p. 513 for the 'tiled floor', is originally synonymous with *intavolato*, found at the same point for the 'wooden floor'. *Impiantito* by its dissociation formally with *palanca* can thus readily be generalised to mean 'floor', after meaning 'wooden floor', and is available for subsequent specialisation to connote 'tiled floor' where the obvious *intavolato* is available for 'wooden floor'.

### 'Il soffitto di legno' (877):

This map has a bearing on the semantics of French *pla(t)fond*. The same word occurs frequently for 'ceiling' and 'floor', sometimes with, sometimes without, a distinguishing mark. As a number of the informants pointed out, what is ceiling to one room is floor to the room above. So we find, for instance at p. 9 in Rhetia, *cel sura* (*caelum supra*) for 'ceiling', and *cel sot* (*subtus*) for 'floor'. Point 9 also gives us an alternative *fun sot* (*fundu subtus*) for 'floor'. Point 7 gives us a better repartition with *il fuant* for 'floor' and *il cel* for 'ceiling'. It would seem therefore that *fundus*, 'floor', is a very ancient usage (cp. Fr. *de fond en comble*), and that *plafond* in the sense of 'fond d'un bassin', and 'plateforme qui fait le fond de la chambre d'un bateau' is earlier than *plafond*, 'ceiling'; cp. *plafond* (Jura), 'plancher épais', FEW s.v. *Fundus*, p. 875, g. *Plafond*, therefore, owes its meaning of 'ceiling', not to a use of *fond* analogous to that in 'fond d'un chapeau', as Gamillscheg suggests, but to a two-way use of *fundus* similar to the two-way use of *caelum* illustrated above.

### 'L' arppone' (881):

The forms of *canchalus* which one observes on this and the other 'hinge' map ('l' anello della bandella', 882), e.g., *kárkol*, 424, *káňkan*, 70, *kárganu*, 557, etc., make one wonder if, despite the accentuation, Fr. *carcan* is not also a representative of this word, applied by transference to the 'female' portion of the hinge, and then to the collar round a criminal's neck.

### 'La serratura' (885):

Pending a new study of the problem of *ser(r)are*, 'to lock' and 'to saw', in the light of the material provided by the *AIS*, it is interesting to notice at this stage the repercussions of the clash upon this map. *Serra*, 'saw', is found for 'sega' in Liguria, Southern Italy, Sicily and Sardinia. In the last three areas *serratura* means 'sawdust' and the word for 'lock' is provided by various substitutes: in South Italy, beside other derivatives from *sera* (*serraya*, etc.) and a derivative from *clavis*, *clavatura*, we have a predominant *masculum* or *masculatura* form; in Sicily, mainly *firmaura*; in Sardinia, the rather mysterious *tancatura* (cp. Cat. *tancar*), together with derivatives from *fistula* (?). At four points in Sardinia, however, we still have the complete identity of the two words: 922, 949, 955, and 985 give *serradura* with both meanings. Point 943 has *serradura* for 'lock', but *zerradura* for 'sawdust'. In Liguria, where *será* means both 'to shut' and 'to saw', *clavis* derivatives provide the word for 'lock' at all but three points, of which only one, 185, concerns us. Here we have almost a perfect clash with *šerrwéya* for 'sawdust' and *šerwéya* for 'lock'.

As for the other Ligurian words for 'sawdust', it is interesting to note, as further evidence of the entanglement, that among the *serra* derivatives which they offer, appear collectives of the type of *seralya* and *seraume* analogous to the forms *serraya* and *nserreym* which are used for 'lock' in the south-east of the peninsula.

'...un chiavistello' (888):

Note the mingling of *ferrum* with *veruculum*, particularly in north-western areas. This would have greatly interested Gilliéron.

'...una seggiola' (897):

*Seggia* and *seggiola* are confined to Sicily and south and central Italy, up to and including Tuscany. North of the 'seggia-seggiola' area we encounter a *scamnum* or *scamna* area, frequently with *r*-forms (*skrana*, beside *skana*) due to contact with a rival form which is variously *karea*, *karega*, *kadrega*, *kwadrega* (once only, p. 234), etc. It would seem that here *cathedra* has undergone contact, and, at some points, even complete identification with *quadriga*. Meyer-Lubke explains the *kadrega* forms as the result of a dissimilation of *d*—*d* to *d*—*g*. The contrast between the four-legged chair and the three-legged backed stool, admirably illustrated by the drawings, would account satisfactorily for the interference of *quadriga*. It should be noted that *quadriga* is accepted by Meyer-Lubke as a base for words with meanings more akin to its usual Latin meaning, and also that it is attested in Latin as indicating 'the union of four persons or things in common work' (Lewis and Short).

It is worth pointing out, in praise of the *AIS*, how sadly one misses on the 'chaise' and 'escabeau' maps of the *ALF*, the ample illustrative and explanatory material provided on this map and on the two following: 'lo scanno' and 'lo scabellino'.

'Il sego' (910):

*Sebum*, owing to the weakness of intervocalic *b* in Vulgar Latin, was in the nature of a 'mutilé phonétique'. The *g* of Tuscan *sego*, is to be considered either as a development of the bilabial of an early *sewo*, or as the product of a crossing with *\*sagimen*, a form Meyer-Lubke does not register, but which is vouched for by a number of Romance forms, and, *inter alia*, by *sim* on this map in the Piedmontese area, and, nearer Tuscany, by *sem* and *sama* at points 608 and 618 respectively. If the latter explanation is correct, the crossing must have taken place very early, before the palatalisation of *g* before a front vowel. A point of phonological interest is the resistance of the bilabial in this word in Lombardy, where the *p* of *capu*, 'head', has entirely fallen: *sef* as against *ko*.

'L' esca' (917):

The frequency of words for 'tinder' which present the agglutinated article (*la lesca* or *la lisca*), points to a very early date for this phenomenon. In our review of vol. iv we suggested that the derivation of Italian *lisca*, 'fish-bone', from a Germanic word meaning 'reed' or 'sedge', sponsored by Meyer-Lubke and others, ran counter to the geographical facts. In view of the evidence provided by this map we are also led to the conviction that Fr. *lèche*, 'slice', O.Prov. *lesca*, 'slice', 'piece', Cat. *lesca*, 'slice of bread', are not metaphorical uses of this German base, but merely agglutinated forms of *esca* plus the article. Latin *esca* itself, English *bait*, and the words *cibo* and *boccone*, which figure on the margin of map 524 among the Italian words for 'bait', lend probability to this view. Whereas the possibility of the word for 'sedge' giving rise to such a widespread metaphor seems, to say the least, remote. It is true that on the margin of map 986 of the present volume ('Un pezzo di pane'), where the dialect words for *fetta*, 'slice', are given, *leska* or *leska* appears at seven points, namely 645, 646, 648, 658, 664, 682 and 701, and that here 'tinder' shows the agglutinated article only at point 701, *la lisca*; the other points giving us *l' iska*, except 658 (*l' eska*) and 648 (*u mafficc*). But this state of affairs represents a subsequent disentanglement. In support of this view I would point out that in South Tuscany and Umbria, and only here, certain informants replied for *esca*, 'tinder', *un pezzetto d(i) (l)esca*, a phenomenon only to be accounted for by entanglement between *esca* and *pezzo* or

*pezzetto*, the common word in use with *pane*, to indicate a 'piece of bread'. *Piece*, used alone, in the sense of 'slice of bread', is widespread in Scots and English dialects. That this sense of *piece* is of French origin is confirmed by Walloon *pece di pan*, 'tranche de pain' (Haust), and even by French, now archaic, 'il l'a eu pour une *pièce de pain*' (Littré); cp. also Fr. *dépecer*, 'trancher'. So that Scots *piece*, 'slice of bread' and 'workman's lunch', associated with English 'bait', 'workman's lunch' as well as 'fish-bait', gives us a complete semasiological parallel to the representatives of (*l'esca*). Dialect English provides further confirmation with *snap*, *snag*, and the more general *snack*, all of which mean a 'bite' or 'hasty meal', and Wright gives examples of 'a snap of bread-and-cheese' and 'a snack of bread-and-cheese' where standard English would say 'slice'.

'La brace' (927):

Italian *brace*, beside Fr. *braise* and other Romance forms, is curious phonologically. The root word is given by Meyer-Lübke as Germanic *brasa*. The frequency of forms with a palatalised ending would appear to point to a very early *brasia* form for Italy. This could be accounted for if we admitted the possibility that collectives in *-ia* (cp. O.Fr. *crigne* < *crinia*), could still be formed when the word entered the peninsula. In that case the widespread Tuscan *brascia* would represent the normal local correspondence of unvoiced for voiced medial sibilants, e.g., *casa* for standard *caza*. *Brace* then is a further step, the result of a pluralisation of the collective (cp. *le braze*, at point 511), and a 'correction' of *brascie* to *brace* on the analogy of vulgar *pasce* for *pace*. This explanation, it is true, does not account for the numerous *braska* forms found in the north. These are probably throw-offs from a verb in *-icare* of the 'luccicare', 'pizzicare' type; cp. Cherubini, *Dict. Mil.-Ital.*, *Brascà*: abbracciare, abbraggiare. Gamillscheg, *Romania Germanica*, p. 33, also claims *brasa* as a very early borrowing from Germanic, but explains the *brasca* forms as representatives of a V.L. *brasica*.

'La fuligine' (929):

The material provided on this map may one day help towards a solution of the problem of French *suie* and the kindred problem of *suif*, as the two words are hopelessly entangled in the French dialects. We note that point 222 returns a 'suie' form, *sugo*, well in the *caligo* area, which, in turn, reveals itself as an invader of an earlier *fuligo* area. To the future investigator of this problem I would suggest, somewhat dubitatively, that the possibility of an interference of *sepa* on the 'suie' map is not to be excluded off-hand. Both *sepia* and *fuligo* were used in the making of ink. *Sepia* appears in Provençal, according to Meyer-Lübke, as *sepcha*, *sipia* and *supia*. This last form would correspond remarkably well with some of the forms returned for *suie* in eastern France. A preliminary survey of the French maps for 'suie' and 'suif', ALF, 1265, 1266, offers a tempting solution of the etymology of French *saindoux*, 'lard'. The first element of this word is *sagimen*; the second is clearly the adjective *doux*, and not *d'oue*, 'goose', as, according to Littré, some have suggested. But why the compound? I would suggest that it is the direct result of the clash, in certain Old French dialects, of *suie* and *suif*. That this clash, which is so manifest on the ALF maps, is an ancient one, English *suet*, borrowed from French, but with a *t* which is either the *t* of *soot* or a *t* which appears sporadically still on the French 'suie' map, seems to give convincing proof. Now 'suie', 'soot', is the symbol of bitterness in mediæval literature:

Quanques Diex aime li anuie  
Et li est plus amer que *suie*,

says Rutebuef in *Voie de Paradis*, l. 402. And Chaucer writes, *Tr. and Cr.*, III, 1194: 'To whom this tale be suere or soot'. In view of the early weakness of Latin *sebum* to which we have alluded above, large areas had recourse to the less specific term *sagimen* to replace it. *Sagimen* for *sebum* is still found in a wide area in France in the south-east, an area which is continued right up to the Saône-et-Loire department by the still later substitute *graisse*, and still further north, in the Côte-d'Or, by *sè*, at point 19. In the clash of *suif* and *suie*, *sagimen*, still vigorous in the north-east (cp. Haust, *Dict. Liégeois*, s.v. 'sayin'), again provided a way out, and when we see

on the 'sue' map that a point, 290, returns *souyin de cheminée* for 'soot' we are led to visualise the process resulting in French *saindoux* for 'lard' as follows: *sain*, adopted for *suif*, as a remedy to avoid the clash, suffers in its turn from the persistent homonymy and comes also to mean 'soot'; *Sain de cheminée* and *saindoux* are the next therapeutic devices, and *saindoux*, the 'sweet *sain*' as opposed to the 'bitter *sain*', the *sain de cheminée*, had the good fortune to be accepted as standard.

'E intero' (976):

*Sano* as the word for 'whole', 'intact', is found in all the south and central area of Italy, and even crops up sporadically north of the Po. Tuscany clearly belonged once to the 'sano' area, a further proof of the contribution made by the dialects of the north to that composite language which we call standard Italian and which the Tuscans would fain annex as their own.

JOHN ORR.

EDINBURGH.

*Tasso*. Per LUIGI TONELLI. Turin: Paravia. 1935. 353 pp. L. 12.

Tasso has not been luckier since his death than he was during his tragic life. When the *Gerusalemme liberata* appeared—and it was published against his will—it was compared with the *Orlando furioso* and bitterly criticised as well as highly praised from a wrong angle. Later the fame his poem had won for him throughout Europe suffered from a thrust, as deadly as it was superficial: 'le clinquant du Tasse' was a jibe that was echoed far and wide; and despite the admiration of poets as Alfieri and Leopardi, and the unique following Tasso enjoyed among the people (the story about the Venetian gondoliers reciting Tasso was still true less than a century ago), he was destined to find no mercy with Romantic critics; for De Sanctis saw in Tasso the embodiment of all he disliked and failed to understand in the Renaissance and the Counter-Reformation, and his strictures were readily developed by later critics, some among whom gave credence to the *dicta* of anthropologists of the positivist school, according to whose laborious diagnoses there was ample reason for certifying Tasso as a lunatic. Even as penetrating a critic as Donadoni was merciless in condemning the man no less than the poet. 'Pazzo di genio' was as much as they could say for him. Only some parts of the *Gerusalemme liberata*, which was described as an elegiac rather than as an epic poem, and the *Aminta*, which was considered as an autobiographic pastoral, were singled out for qualified praise. His love lyrics were spurned as being at the same time sensuous and insincere; the *Rinaldo* was thrown over as an immature effort, and all that Tasso wrote after the *Gerusalemme liberata* was condemned as the work of a man who had previously been a poet, 'un ex-poeta'. As a man Tasso was represented as unbalanced, weak, grasping, tireless in mendicancy.

A reaction against so sweeping a criticism was, *a priori*, overdue; Professor Tonelli provides it in his book. There are moments when his work seems to be too obviously inspired by the desire to disprove what so many among his predecessors have said; a more independent approach might have proved more convincing; but so weighty a mass of adverse criticism, even if more impressive by reason of the names of its protagonists than the cogency of their remarks, could not be left aside

without a reply; and Signor Tonelli, in the positive sections of his book, is as penetrating as he is well informed; within the compass of a work the limits of which were prescribed by the character of the series of which it forms part, his championship is generally convincing. From his earlier book *L'amore nel Rinascimento* he is able to derive as a corollary that Tasso's loves for Lucrezia Bendidio and for Laura Perperara, if brief, did not lack intensity; and he shows that the lyrics addressed to these two ladies are deserving of attention and praise. He makes some of his best points in assessing the value of the *Rinaldo* in which he discerns an original attempt at departing from the prevailing Ariostian model in the direction which was to lead Tasso to the *Gerusalemme liberata*. The *Gerusalemme* itself is shown to contain much that is truly epic, while the modernity of Tasso's technique, in which colour prevails on design, and the effect depends rather on musicality than on the finished propriety of the imagery, is effectively illustrated. Signor Tonelli does not, of course, claim that the *Conquistata* is a successful effort, but by diligently retracing the development of Tasso's poetical theories and moral scruples he shows more convincingly than had been done hitherto, how this recasting of the *Gerusalemme* took place. As to the later works the author claims, I believe rightly, that the *Re Torrismondo* is, despite its imperfections, one among the most notable tragedies of the Cinquecento, and perhaps the most successful of all. Also on *Aminta* he has much to say that is convincing and new, though he does not seem to me to have fully conveyed the inexpressible charm of this play.

In discussing the merit of Tasso's works Professor Tonelli writes with his accustomed ease and fluency, but he is so keen on avoiding the jargon of literary æsthetics that he may incur the charge of having used too freely expressions like 'à bello', thus risking to appear making his own impressions and his own taste the standards by which he measures the value of Tasso's achievement. This may be partly due to the desire of being simple and clear in his writing, a desire that was never more praiseworthy than at present; and more praise is due to him for having succeeded in dealing with the intricacies of Tasso's love story and in avoiding the separation of the study of the poet's works from the account of his life.<sup>1</sup>

C. FOLIGNO.

OXFORD.

*Ugo Foscolo: L'Homme et le Poète.* Par ARMAND CARACCIO. Paris: Hachette. 1934. xxi+609 pp. 60 fr.

Foscolo has not been made the subject of any important work outside Italy: despite his long period of residence in England there is no English book on his life and works. The greater becomes the interest aroused by M. Caraccio's monograph, for there are difficulties in appreciating Foscolo's poetry that all non-Italian readers have in common. The stern

<sup>1</sup> The printing is accurate, but there is an unfortunate lack of consistency in the marking of accents. Tonelli's intention appears to be to follow the system of accentuation adopted by Croce, but he has not always been consistent, and we find *bensi* next to *altresi*, *più* next to *più*, *giudizi* and *occhi*.

classicism of form that Foscolo adopted constitutes a more serious obstacle for English than for French readers, but there are obstacles which Englishmen and Frenchmen have in common and that this book will help to overcome. French scholars readily condescend to open out their store of information to a wide public, but the general public they envisage is formed of students and of lovers of literature more exacting in their requirement than the readers to whom English works of divulgation must address themselves. And this book, without laying claim to original research, is consequently a serious contribution to the interpretation of Foscolo on the part of a scholar who is not Italian. He is generally as familiar with the facts, as he is fair and understanding in his appreciation; therefore his book will prove of advantage despite its incompleteness; for it provides a biographical study and an analysis of Foscolo's poems, while the study of the prose works is left over for a later volume.

The only serious observations which seem to be called for concern a biographical point that M. Caraccio is evidently anxious to make. Foscolo was by birth only half Italian, his mother having been Greek, and M. Caraccio is at considerable pains firstly to reduce the amount of Italian blood that ran in the veins of the poet, and later to impress upon his readers that Foscolo considered himself as much Greek as Italian. The measuring of the purity of his paternal ancestry I would willingly leave to some German specialist practised in assessing the exact amount of Aryanism each individual possesses; for my part I should hold that any man belongs to the nation which he considers and feels to be his; and no amount of impurity can throw doubt on the fact that Foscolo felt himself to be Italian and was proud to belong to that nation. Are we to cease to consider Émile Zola a Frenchman because his father was Italian? But M. Caraccio, because of this bee in his bonnet, is inclined to scoff at Foscolo's patriotism as if it had been a pose rather than a real feeling. It may be granted that Foscolo frequently struck attitudes, but he was never so sincere and so consistent as when he proclaimed his love for Italy, and the circumstances of his departure from Milan, which are rather misunderstood and misinterpreted by M. Caraccio, bear on the contrary a striking evidence of the wholehearted patriotism of the poet as Professor Fassò has recently shown.

Of the critical section of this book the more original and perhaps most valuable is that which deals with the *Grazie*. M. Caraccio follows Citanna in ascribing to this unfinished work a greater importance than earlier critics gave it; perhaps not every scholar will be ready to accept his conclusions in full, but he will need to give them consideration. The criticism of the *Sepolcri* is less penetrating; on the other hand the chapter on Foscolo's satiric poetry is excellent, and the chapter on *Ortis* is satisfactory, if rather needlessly long owing to a reconsideration of the connexion of *Ortis* with Goethe's *Werther*, which adds little to what Foscolo himself and countless critics after him have written on this barren point.

C. FOLIGNO.

*Coplas de Yoçef. A Medieval Spanish Poem in Hebrew Characters.* Edited by IGNACIO GONZÁLEZ LLUBERA. Cambridge: University Press. 1935. xxxi + 50 pp. 8s. 6d.

*Les Juifs dans la littérature française du moyen âge (mystères, miracles, chroniques).* By MANYA LIFSCHITZ-GOLDEN. Publications of the Institute of French Studies. New York: Columbia University Press. 211 pp. \$2.25.

Among the linguistic discoveries of recent years has been a whole nexus of Judæo-Romance dialects, everywhere written in Hebrew characters and bearing characteristics which distinguish them clearly from the ordinary speech. Ladino, or Judæo-Spanish, as spoken in the Levant and northern Africa, was of course vaguely familiar to scholars, no less than the Yiddish, or Judæo-German, of Russia and Poland; while isolated texts had been published in Judæo-Italian, Judæo-Provençal and so on. It was left, however, for the late David Blondheim to place the study of these dialects on a scientific basis, to show the connexion between them, and to put forward a reasonable hypothesis concerning their structure and origin.

The text of the *Coplas de Yoçef*, which Professor González Llubera publishes from a manuscript in the University Library at Cambridge, is a valuable addition to this literature. Written in Spain well before the expulsion of 1492, it is one of the oldest texts of the sort in existence. It comprises (or rather comprised—for the MS. is unfortunately fragmentary) a rhymed version, in inelegant doggerel, of the story of Joseph, as elaborated in Jewish legend: not an uncommon topic for such compositions, since (in addition to the later editions which the Editor mentions) one was printed at Salonica in the middle of the sixteenth century. Noteworthy in this text is the paucity of Hebraisms, which are so prominent in the Judæo-Spanish dialect as spoken to-day. The Ghetto was needed, it seems, before the language as spoken by the Jews, and by their neighbours, became sharply differentiated. Unfortunately, the omission of vocalisation in the original Hebrew text makes it difficult to establish the precise nature of certain vowels, and thus deprives the fragment of part of its value for linguistic study. Professor González Llubera's editing is a model of meticulous—indeed, over-meticulous—scholarship.

Dr Lifschitz-Golden's work is a systematic study of the Jew as he appears in French mysteries, miracle-plays and chronicles of the Middle Ages. Almost invariably, he serves to point a moral or adorn a somewhat improbable tale. He performs unlikely outrages, is convinced by well-timed miracles, and so on. There is little indication in any of these stories that the writer had ever spoken to a Jew: and the accounts are in general as lacking in verisimilitude as they are in historical importance. Much of the volume is taken up with ample, and arid literary disputations between bellicose Christians and singularly backboneless Jews—the subject, in its wider aspects, of a very recent German monograph by H. Pflaum. Only a few of the mentions in the contemporary chronicles

which are recorded (none of them, indeed, overlooked hitherto) have some permanent value. It is worth quoting, once again, the lament of 'Geffroi de Paris' on the departure of the Jewish usurers:

Car Juifs furent débonères  
Trop plus, en fesant telz affères,  
Que ne sont ore crestien. . . .

C. ROTH.

LONDON.

*Supervivencia del poema de Kudrun (Orígenes de la balada).* By R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL. Madrid: Hernando. 1933. 59 pp. (Extracted from *Revista de Filología Española*, xx, 1933.)

After the publication of Friedrich Panzer's exhaustive work, *Hilde-Gudrun*, Halle a.S., 1901, in the course of which all the ballads generally associated with the *Kudrunepos* were discussed, no further advance in determining the relationship of the ballads to the Middle High German poem was possible until use had been made of unpublished material.

Dr Martha Kübel has enriched her frequently quoted book, *Das Fortleben des Kudrunepos*, Leipzig, 1929, by printing for the first time several important variants of the *Ballade der schönen Meererin*, a ballad, as Sr Menéndez Pidal reminds his readers, discovered in 1869 by K. J. Schröer 'en el islote lingüístico de Gottschée, territorio de 25,000 alemanes, enclavado en el país eslavo de Carniola, antes austriaco, hoy de Yugoslavia'. In her valuable appendix Fr. Kübel has also inserted several fresh variants of *Deutsche Südeliballaden*, one form of which, printed as early as 1808 in Seckendorf's *Musen Almanach*, became known to all through its inclusion in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*.

Since 1849, the date of its appearance in a note in Durán's *Romancero general* (*Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, x, p. lxxv) the *Romance de Don Bueso* has attracted much attention, both in its variant 'del Noroeste de la Península' and since 1896 in that of the 'judíos de Marruecos y de Oriente'. Other versions have been published since Panzer's time, e.g., in the *Revue hispanique*, I, 1920, pp. 208-9, from Arcera (Santander) and from Estépar (Burgos) in the latter of which poems Don Bueso appears as Don Zoilo. Of the 'versiones judías' [J] Don Ramón remarks that he has 'bastantes otras inéditas', and that of the North-West [NO] variants he possesses 'unas 60 versiones inéditas' from which he freely quotes.

To the Scandinavian ballads connected with the *Kudrunepos* both Dr Kübel and Sr Menéndez Pidal refer frequently, but neither has considered it necessary to draw upon any unpublished material.

For the elucidation of the connexion of the Gudrun poem with the relevant ballads, something more was required than fresh material. Could a scholar of Menéndez Pidal's authority apply the results he had obtained in his Spanish studies to this epic? He has always found that 'una gesta es la fuente de un romance'. Was not the poem of Kudrun the source of all the ballads connected therewith?

With the exception of Panzer, who considers *Die schöne Meererin* to be a mere variant of *Südeli*, German scholars agree in regarding the *Kud-*

*runepos* as the source of the Gottschee ballad. Sr Menéndez Pidal is of opinion that it preserves more faithfully than any other ballad 'la llegada de los desconocidos en la barca ante la joven lavandera'. The ballad of *Sudeln* which most German scholars think to be the source of the trials of 'la princesa cautiva' is considered by Don Ramón to have been contaminated by the 'canción francesa de *La Porcheronne*'.

Sr Menéndez Pidal divides the ballads relating to Kudrun into two sections: 'grupo primero de versiones modernas: Bueso, Meererin'; and 'grupo segundo de versiones modernas: Svend, Isemar, Hafsfrun, Südeli'. In the first group attention is concentrated on the 'princesa lavandera' and on the washing as 'un malo trato, un castigo a que está sometida la protagonista'. In the second group the domestic tasks required from the heroine, as for example those from 'la ilustre fregona' in Cervantes, are not set as a punishment.

It is however 'Don Bueso', which has best preserved 'el recuerdo de la princesa cautiva', for *Die schöne Meererin* is merely a fragment—though the best fragment we possess—of the primitive ballad of *Kudrun*. Don Ramón has, of course, to explain how the Kudrun theme came to Spain. Perhaps it was communicated to a poet of north-west Spain by a 'peregrino a Santiago' or by an 'emigrado alemán'. Or it may have come from France, for as Don Ramón remarks: 'si en Francia se cantó una canción de Kudrun, es lo más probable que el Don Bueso provenga de Francia y no de Alemania'.

In whatever way knowledge of the *Kudrunepos* was brought to Spain, the banished Jews have preserved it best in their ballads, one of which from the island of Rhodes has been printed since the appearance of Sr Menéndez Pidal's article. Sr Diaz-Plaja, in a contribution to the *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo*, xvi, pp. 49–50, has included this poem with many reminiscences of 'Don Bueso'. The brother found his captive sister engaged in washing:

Y dixo:—¡qué manos blancas en las aguas frías!

On their return she recognised the scenery through which they passed:

Se besaron y se abrazaron y por hermanos se conocían.

The brother calls to his mother to open the doors of the palace and tells her he is bringing back her daughter instead of a daughter-in-law. The mother remarks:

—Salid, la buena gente, veréis esta maravilla:  
después de quince años la hija a casa me venía.

A reference to one of Don Ramón's critics may here be welcome. Dr Ingeborg Schröbler, in her well-documented work entitled *Wikingische und spielmännische Elemente im zweiten Teile des Gudrunliedes*, Halle (Saale), 1934, comments on his article as follows:

'Den Germanisten ist an diesen Ausführungen erstaunlich die ungeheure Auswirkung, die dem G. zugeschrieben wird, das doch in der deutschen Literatur nur kaum sichtbare Spuren hinterlassen hat (Klage, Biterolf) und für dessen geringen Einfluss auf die Zeit vor allem die

handschriftliche Überlieferung spricht.' Don Ramón, however, is aware that the poem 'no tuvo en su época gran resonancia en los círculos literarios'.

'Kudrun es la Odisea alemana.' It is noteworthy that the washing scenes in the *Odyssey* and the *Kudrunepos* are among those best remembered, for Nausikaa too can be described as a 'princesa lavandera'. That such scenes in the Kudrun poem should inspire 'a los cantores de baladas' is not strange. Almost a century after the composition of the epic King Dinis of Portugal found delight in the popular theme of washing at the break of day:

Levantou-s' a velida  
levantou-s' alva,  
e vai lavar camisas  
e-no alto.  
Vai-las lavar alva.

His poem as well as the ballads connected with Kudrun have found their way into anthologies, a sign of the popularity of a subject which has mainly contributed to the 'Supervivencia del poema de Kudrun', now best represented in the 'bello romancillo de *Don Bueso*'.

H. GORDON WARD.

LIVERPOOL.

*Der Vocabularius Sti. Galli in der angelsächsischen Mission.* By GEORG BAESECKE. Halle: Niemeyer. 1933. xii+169 pp. With 44 Plates. 40 M.

In *Der deutsche Abrogans* (Halle, 1930) Baesecke had attempted to show the Longobardish-Bavarian traditions that lay behind much of the Old High German glossarial activity; in the present book he deals chiefly with problems of the Anglo-Saxon mission of the eighth and ninth centuries. MS. 913 of the St Gall Library is a curious collection of Christian lore and commentary which, at the end, contains a Latin-German vocabulary arranged mainly under subjects. Baesecke gives a full and careful description of the MS. and its contents (pp. 1-10). A connexion is then established between the *Vocabularius* and the scholarly activities of southern England at the time of Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Hadrian, Abbot of Canterbury. This is proved by the many glosses shared by the *Vocabularius* and the Old English *Corpus* and *Aldhelm* glosses. But Baesecke is also able to connect other parts of the MS. with southern English learning of the early eighth century, notably the letter from Jerome to Paulinus, otherwise known as *De studio scripturarum* and the so-called *Joca monachorum*. The *Vocabularius* contains certain forms, chiefly *eo* for *iu* in a number of instances, that already led Kögel to doubt its Upper German origin. On linguistic grounds Baesecke regards Murbach as the most likely home of the MS. He is only able to find one Murbach MS., however, that shows the 'insular semi-uncial' hand of St Gall 913 (cf. Plate 12), and it cannot be proved even that this MS. was written at Murbach. Certain contents of the

second part of St Gall 913 are of Visigothic, Provençal and West-Frankish origin: this is brought into connexion with Pirmin, the founder of Murbach and Reichenau. The nearest approach to the 'insular semi-uncial' writing is in a charter of Uuihtraed of Kent (700 or 715). The date is fixed at about 790.

A very careful study has been made of the origins of the glosses (pp. 33-81). The *Vocabularius* is very closely connected in its matter with a Vatican MS., preserved in a tenth-century copy, and *Vaticanus* is largely derived from the third-century *Hermeneumata*. For the *Hermeneumata* there is abundant authority though none of it earlier than the ninth century. The *Hermeneumata* was intended to teach Latins Greek, and consisted of an alphabetical Greek-Latin glossary, according to subjects, and conversational matter between teacher and pupil. When this school-book was used in Western Europe the Greek was left out and the vernacular substituted. Traces of the Greek, however, are found in quite late sources. Very plausibly, Baesecke connects the appearance of this book in Western Europe with Archbishop Theodore. A complete family-tree of the *Hermeneumata*-tradition, in so far as it concerns St Gall 913, is given on p. 82.

The third part of the book (pp. 83-162) goes far beyond what one usually finds in a work devoted to paleographical and linguistic investigation of glossarial sources. An excellent picture is presented of the missionary activity of Boniface and numerous quotations from letters written home to England show the urgent need for books. It has been impossible to find any of the books sent over in modern libraries, but Baesecke gives (pp. 87 ff.) an imposing list of MSS. in an insular hand preserved largely at Kassel (from Fulda) and Würzburg. The facts have, of course, been known to paleographers for a long time; never before, however, have they been so well placed in their cultural setting.

On pp. 111 f. the Old Saxon *Taufgelöbniß* is, with cogent linguistic arguments, said to be a translation from High German made by an Anglo-Saxon monk at Mayence. The vernacular of the *Markbeschreibung* of Hammelburg and of Würzburg is put down to Anglo-Saxon influence, since Carolingian charters show no German apart from names (p. 113). The Anglo-Saxon connexions of the *Basler Rezepte* have always been admitted: the source of the second *Rezept* Baesecke sees in the *Læceboc* of Bald. On p. 115 the texts are given side by side, and a not entirely convincing explanation of the various absurdities of the German text is offered on p. 116. The *Wessobrunner Gebet* shows well-known Anglo-Saxon peculiarities, and two more are added: *mareo* in the sense of 'bright' (O.E. *mære*), and *geista* in the sense of 'angels'. The second can only have arisen from mechanical translation, the first is a little doubtful. Baesecke, as do a number of other modern scholars, seeks the ultimate home of the *Wessobrunner Gebet* in Fulda, and he stresses the many reasons which argue for a connexion between Fulda and the Old Saxon *Heliand*. Part of the Praefatio of the *Heliand* is clearly dependent on Bede's account of Caedmon, and Baesecke points out that Boniface, the founder of Fulda, wrote to Archbishop Egbert of York requesting the

works of Bede (p. 85). *Muspilli* is said to be originally Franconian, and *kosa*: battle (German: conversation), *pimidan*: hide (German: avoid), the use of *altfiant* and *mord*: deadly sin are compared to the English use of *mareo* and *geista* in the *Wessobrunner Gebet*. Baesecke further thinks it significant that the term *muspilli* is confined to *Muspilli* and *Heliand*. He forgets to add that we do not know exactly what it means and that the term does not occur in Old English. The theory that *Muspilli* goes back to two poems is accepted, the rhymes are said to be pre-Otfridian and another sign of Anglo-Saxon influence. Both poems originated in Franconia, about 790, both had a later independent written existence in Bavaria and were combined in Bavaria about 890. The two independent Bavarian poems are improbable, similarly the 'south-eastern' *Muspilli* of Babylonian origin, said to have come to the north-west in almost pre-historic times, in spite of the close parallels quoted from a Babylonian 'Hymn of Creation' on pp. 123 f. The connexion of the Old English *Crist* (III) with *Muspilli* and *Heliand* is accepted, and parallel passages are cited. Not all are equally convincing. Thus *Muspilli* 101: *dar der heligo Christ ana arhangen uuard* corresponds to *Crist* 1094: *þæs he on þone halzan beam ahonzen wæs*. Need they therefore be related? With the Old Saxon *Genesis* the continent began to repay the debt to England. Baesecke agrees with the late R. Priebsch that the Cotton MS. of the *Heliand* was written in England, either in Canterbury or in Winchester, and that there must have been an early copy of the Old Saxon *Genesis* in England from which the English *Genesis* was interpolated.

There is hardly an Old High German document of importance that is not referred to in the book, and it is impossible, in the space of a review, to mention, let alone to evaluate critically, the numerous new and suggestive ideas. On pp. 155 ff. Baesecke sums up the importance of Anglo-Saxon missionary activity for German civilisation and literature in a fuller and more authoritative fashion than has been done up to now.

The plates are excellently reproduced, and throughout the book the paleographical arguments are supported by reference to the reproductions.

F. NORMAN.

LONDON.

*Forschungen zur deutschen Sprache und Dichtung*. Herausgegeben von JULIUS SCHWIETERING. Münster: Aschendorff. Heft 1: *Der Renner Hugos von Trimberg*. Von FRANZ GÖTTING. 1932. 119 pp. 4 M. Heft 3: *Liturgische und volkstümliche Formen im geistlichen Spiel des deutschen Mittelalters*. Von ALFONS BRINKMANN. 1932. 92 pp. 3 M. 35. Heft 4: *Die Architekturdarstellungen in der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung*. Von HEINRICH LICHTENBERG. 1931. 118 pp. 4 M. 50. Heft 5: *Traum und Vision in der erzählenden Dichtung des deutschen Mittelalters*. Von WILHELM SCHMITZ. 1934. 99 pp. 3 M. 40.

This series of studies embodies the results of research undertaken by the students of Professor J. Schwietering in the mediæval seminar at the University of Münster. Heft 2 (*Hartmann und Chrétien*, von Herbert Drube) was reviewed in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxvi, p. 375.

Heft 1, *Der Renner Hugos von Trimberg*, is concerned with the ethical notions underlying Hugo's work. Ehrismann has already discussed many of the problems here touched upon in his edition of the *Renner*, and he has dealt with the more general aspects of the mediæval system of 'virtues' in his article in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, LVI, 'Die Grundlagen des ritterlichen Tugendsystems'. Götting accepts most of Ehrismann's conclusions and he has now gone over the same ground rather more thoroughly. He reduces the rambling and unmethodical enumeration of virtues and vices in the *Renner* to order, arranges the material under Latin and Middle High German head-words, and gives full and satisfactory references for his quotations and conclusions. Following in the footsteps of Schwietering Götting stresses the importance of classical antiquity for the writings of the Hohenstaufen period in German literature rather more than will be generally acceptable, but in his 'Schlusswort' he attempts to draw a parallel between the *höhe muot* and Christian *magnanimitas* which shows that he is sceptical of the attempts made to derive the civilisation of mediæval knighthood too exclusively from heathen—germanic and classical—notions. The system of morals set out in the *Renner* Götting is able to derive to a large extent from Augustinian ethics. There is thus no reason to assume that Hugo was acquainted with the works of his near contemporaries Albertus and Thomas Aquinas.

Heft 3, *Liturgische und volkstümliche Formen im geistlichen Spiel des deutschen Mittelalters*, is an ambitious piece of work couched in esoteric language. There are many fanciful neologisms and much space is taken up with explaining their precise significance. The author is not so readily at home in more familiar fields: he is not always conversant with the accepted methods of quoting, he may or may not give page references, and journals are frequently cited by year instead of by number. The book attempts to separate liturgical and popular elements in the mediæval religious drama and instead of attempting this separation by the ordinary means known to literary scholarship the difference between the two is exemplified by the philosophic idea of 'contrast' borrowed from the writings of Romano Guardini. Chosen scenes of chosen plays are then examined in order to establish either 'symbolische Bedeutsamkeit' or 'zeitlicher Ausdruckswille' which are the two important 'Bedeutungsgegensätze'. There are five 'formaussagende Gegensatzpaare' which are each treated separately together with their examples. Apart from the cant in which the material is presented there are many observations of real value. The author shows a sensitive gift of appreciation for mediæval drama, and he rightly insists that it must be judged by its own standards and not by those of later times which developed a totally different dramatic technique.

Heft 4, *Die Architekturdarstellungen in der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung*, is a model of clarity. All architectural descriptions in mediæval poetry from the end of the eleventh to the beginning of the fourteenth century are considered. The typical terminology in which the architectural details of early descriptions of the heavenly city are presented is convincingly

shown to be a necessary reflection of the objective reality of a fixed and predetermined picture. Clerical poets were slow to import new details since all architectural features had their underlying symbolical significance. During the first half of the twelfth century description became a little less stereotyped; largely, as the author shows, under the influence of the hellenistic novel of Alexander which reached Germany *via* France. More naturalistic elements are introduced and the descriptive passages begin to bear a recognisable relation to the layout and architecture of the mediæval walled town. With the rise of more secular poetry and the composition of long secular epics by knights the tendency towards detailed description becomes still more marked. It is interesting to note from the examples cited that at the beginning of the classical period authors are more concerned with massive and monumental exteriors and that the purely ornamental, especially as regards interiors, only begins to become important in the latter half of the thirteenth century. The material is dealt with under two headings: sacred and profane. The author admits, however, that the only reason for this method is the different type of building considered under each which naturally demanded a different type of architectural description. The line of development (typical, massive, ornamental) is the same. Of especial interest is the way in which in literature written by knights defensive works become a feature of the architectural description. An enumeration of the defences is even found in some of the descriptions of the heavenly city!

Heft 5, *Traum und Vision in der erzählenden Dichtung des deutschen Mittelalters*. The author discusses a selection of dreams and visions in mediæval German literature from the tenth century onwards. The dreams in *Waltharius* and *Ecbasis Captivi* are analysed and it is shown that in these Latin epics the dream serves as a warning before impending disaster. The method of presentation makes it clear that authors and audience were completely convinced of the prophetic nature inherent in dreams. A closer linking of dreams with the Christian God occurs in *Ruodlieb* and in the religious poetry of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Whereas dreams in the earlier works show magical elements and are looked upon as embodying the workings of fate, they are now pressed into the service of Christian conceptions and become messages from God or, more rarely, the devil. In the secular poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries utilisation of dreams becomes a formal element of composition devoid of any transcendental significance. In court poetry dreams are considered to be at most 'wish-fulfilments' and the telling coupling of 'Traum' and 'Trug' occurs sufficiently often to allow us to conclude that for the court poet dreams had no special significance. In the latter half of the thirteenth century secular poetry shows the 'courtly' and formal use of dreams, religious poetry the legendary use, and more popular poetry the 'volkstümlich-magische Auffassung'.

The book suffers from a tendency towards over-classification. The author himself admits that conditions in the thirteenth century do not allow of strict arrangement, and he does not give enough consideration to the point that dreams are quite useless in literary composition unless they

are in some way bound up with the action: dreams must either foretell an event or characterise the dreamer (or both). The former use is characteristic of mediæval literature, and the author has done valuable work in classifying the occurrences.

F. NORMAN.

LONDON.

*Shakespeares Sonette in Deutschland: Versuch einer literarischen Typologie.*

By LUDWIG W. KAHN. Bern und Leipzig: Gotthelf Verlag. 1935.

122 pp. 4s. 11d.

Herr Kahn at the outset of his work tells us that his main purpose is to compare various translations of the Sonnets, taken from different periods, and by so doing to emphasise the features of style which characterise each of the periods concerned. Whether this end is better gained by a comparison of translations than by the more ordinary method of comparing original works, in which the author expresses himself more spontaneously and, therefore, more characteristically, may be open to doubt. But even those who question Herr Kahn's method would agree that he has at any rate used it to advantage; he has, that is to say, made these translations of the sonnets a touchstone by which not merely the ability of the translator, but the literary style of his period (taking style in the widest sense) is effectively appraised.

The three periods thus illustrated are the Romantic, the Nineteenth Century and the subsequent period of reaction, and in each instance we are shown how much the influence of the translator's age affects his rendering of the technique and spirit of the original. Thus the tendency of the Romantic translator is to emphasise and intensify the note of passion: the 'bourgeois' spirit of the nineteenth century shows itself in renderings which are flat, smooth and commonplace: while translations of the succeeding period, in their reaction against these failings, are marred by the opposite extremes of stiffness and obscurity.

With a comparison of the different versions in respect of their merits as versions Herr Kahn is not directly concerned. Of the majority he has evidently but a poor opinion, which the specimens which he quotes certainly justify. He gives high praise, however, to the version of Gottlob Regis, the Romantic translator. Regis alone, in his opinion, has preserved something of the rhythmic swing and power, and splendour of diction of the original; though even he has forfeited what Herr Kahn terms the 'logical structure' of the Sonnets—the strict and lucid sequence of thought, which checks and yet emphasises the rhythmic movement. And here it may be said that Herr Kahn's analysis of the structure and spirit of the sonnets (a necessary part of his undertaking) is in itself a valuable piece of work. Incidentally, too, he throws light on many problems of literary and æsthetic interest, in particular on that of the art of translation. He has much to say as to the special difficulties attending translation from English into German and *vice versa*, and his conclusions will doubtless be endorsed by translators in both languages.

In fine, his book may be recommended as a scholarly and stimulating piece of work in a perhaps too little explored field.

J. SHAWCROSS.

LIVERPOOL.

*La Légende de Heinrich von Kleist. Un poète devant la critique.* By ROGER AYRAULT. Paris: Nizet et Bastard. 1934. 120 pp.

*Heinrich von Kleist.* By ROGER AYRAULT. Paris: Nizet et Bastard. 1934. 588 pp.

These two books, the author tells us in the introduction to *Heinrich von Kleist*, should be read together, the one being the 'indispensable preface' to the other. *La Légende de Heinrich von Kleist* offers a comprehensive survey of the critical literature on Kleist from 1821 to 1931—the year in which M. Ayrault began his own study of the poet's life and work. This survey is not restricted to books dealing with Kleist; it also includes articles of substantial value published in periodicals. M. Ayrault makes a bold claim in the preface: 'Nous ne pensons pas que l'on puisse relever dans ces pages une seule omission grave'; he adds, however, that many of the articles published since 1900 have been omitted, on account of their purely derivative character. His selection from the later critical literature is thus in itself critical—a fact which undoubtedly contributes to the effect of order and lucidity in his survey. With admirable conciseness M. Ayrault analyses the trend of each work, and indicates its significance in the general development of Kleist criticism. In this development he discerns three distinct phases: the first characterised by a gradual growth of interest, still hesitant and vacillating until the end of the nineteenth century, the second by the birth of an admiration which finds its most effective expression in scientific study of the poet's life and works, the third by a widespread recognition of his fame which ranks Kleist finally among the poets who become prophets for their people. In the course of his analyses, M. Ayrault sometimes indicates the dangers of arbitrary interpretation which attend this third phase.

It was perhaps the recognition that such dangers had not in general been avoided that impelled M. Ayrault to undertake a biography of Kleist, on modern lines, which should not incur them. For in the introduction to *Heinrich von Kleist*, he sets himself an aim which he does not consider to have been fulfilled by any of the works enumerated in his critical survey:

saisir dans leur richesse vivante, et... présenter sous forme de synthèse, une vie, une personnalité, un ensemble poétique, un art littéraire: la totalité des aspects sous lesquels se manifeste tour à tour l'un des très beaux génies du dix-neuvième siècle....

The study of Kleist which has resulted is a very important contribution. It offers an exhaustive psychological analysis, admirably documented by reference to the poet's works and letters. All students of Kleist—indeed, all students of literature—must be grateful to M. Ayrault for his clear

recognition of the fact that ample evidence for psychological interpretations should be given:

Un livre comme celui-ci, qui se fixe pour but l'image totale d'un poète et pour moyen l'investigation psychologique la plus minutieuse, suppose-t-il avant tout un contact permanent avec les œuvres elles-mêmes, avec les documents directs qu'a déposés le poète, non avec les commentaires plus ou moins contradictoires qui en ont été faits (p. 9).

That M. Ayrault's practice accords entirely with his theory in this vital matter is one of the great merits of his book. The deliberate reticence concerning the work of previous critics which is observed throughout the volume is explained (though perhaps not fully justified) by the statement that reference is only made to the few works whose conclusions he fully accepts (p. 9). For the rest, he is content to refer the reader to *La Légende de Heinrich von Kleist*. This mode of avoiding polemics in a primarily interpretative study has manifest advantages; on the other hand, it may contribute to a certain neglect of the fundamental importance, even for modern criticism, of such older biographies as those of Otto Brahm and Wilhelm Herzog—whose historical position, indeed, M. Ayrault recognises in the *Légende*.

If brevity and conciseness are striking features of M. Ayrault's survey of Kleist-literature, these qualities can hardly be claimed for his own study of Kleist. It is a very long book, and it reveals both the advantages and the disadvantages of the method of the 'lecture expliquée'. It is full of penetrating observations which illuminate the poet or his work. A fundamental difference between *Der zerbrochene Krug* and *Penthesilea* is formulated in an arresting contrast: 'Avec sa comédie, Kleist donne la mesure de sa science dramatique; avec *Penthesilée*, il donne la mesure de son art' (p. 509). Or the atmosphere of *Die Hermannsschlacht* is caught in a phrase: '[la] monotonie grandiose dont toute l'œuvre est imprégnée' (p. 523). Or again, two short statements in the course of a long analysis of *Der Prinz von Homburg* seize the essential features in the Prince's portrait: 'Ou bien il s'absorbe dans l'action ou bien il s'absorbe dans le rêve, et, entre ces deux extrêmes, il n'éprouve pas la présence de la simple réalité. Or il va la découvrir brusquement, en mesurer tout le tragique, réfléchir sur elle, la vaincre en pensée...' (p. 400). 'Par des gestes, des questions soudaines, des accès de violence contenus, Kleist a indiqué, plus qu'il ne les a formulées, les réactions intimes de son héros' (p. 420).

But M. Ayrault's method, while it affords him ample opportunity to show the power of acute analysis which is so distinctive a feature of his work, has some disadvantages. There is a considerable amount of repetition, though not always in an obvious form; indeed, the whole arrangement of the book makes repetition to some extent unavoidable. Of the three parts into which it is divided, the first, under the heading *Le Poète*, contains two long sections, *Sa Vie* and *Son Portrait*; the second consists of two chapters, *Sa Vision du Monde* and *Sa Vision de l'Homme*; the third, entitled *Son Art*, deals with the external influences on Kleist's dramatic work, with the technique of his dramas and tales, and with his style. It is clear that in such an arrangement there must be overlapping.

In the final section of the first Part, for example, the portrayal of Kleist's temperament is intimately related to an analysis of his dramatic characters, since it is from their revelation of themselves that the critic draws his parallels:

Fureur concentrée et désespoir qui s'épanche, Hermann et Penthesilée, plus que tous les autres personnages de Kleist, reçoivent de lui seul leur vie profonde. Du fleuve musical de ses grandes passions: haine absolue et ambition démesurée, ces deux images se détachent; et il passe en elles, vit et parle par elles, anticipe avec l'une un avenir possible, recrée avec l'autre son plus intime tragique (p. 252).

But it is difficult to separate this conclusion from that in *Sa Vision du Monde*, where the critic reaffirms the intimacy of Kleist's relations with his characters:

À quel point Kleist parle ici [in *Penthesilea*], un fragment de lettre suffit à l'attester. . . Il fallait six longues années de méditation sur soi-même . . . pour qu'elle trouvât sa consécration dans *Penthesilée*, l'œuvre où Kleist a mis le plus de son propre mystère (p. 333),

or from that in *Sa Vision de l'Homme*:

Non seulement les conflits où il fait entrer ses personnages ne sont que des transpositions de ses conflits intimes, mais ses personnages à leur tour ne sont que des transpositions de son *moi*, non pas de son *moi* apparent . . . mais de son *moi* supérieur, tel que le composent ses désirs, ses ambitions et ses rêves . . . (p. 387).

And many similar instances might be quoted. That a cumulative effect is produced by such reiterations is not to be denied; but over-elaboration is not always avoided, and the book suffers somewhat from its length. M. Ayrault's method was deliberately chosen, however, for the advantages he considers it to possess over the traditional biographical form. Since his aim is above all to present the complexity of Kleist's genius, he prefers the method of 'gradually acquiring and gradually presenting our image of the poet' (p. 10), stressing always the fact that 'chez Kleist, le poète et l'homme sont absolument confondus' (*ibid.*). And the result is a portrait of the tragic artist which is singularly convincing and complete. Each work, instead of providing material for a section in itself, reappears in a fresh aspect in every chapter of the book: in its relation to biographical facts, to fundamental traits in Kleist's own nature, to his poet's vision of the world. '[L'œuvre] n'est pas posée une fois pour toutes et définitivement; elle se déroule peu à peu et révèle toujours davantage son propre mystère' (pp. 11-12). Perhaps the chief advantage of this method lies in the fact that not only the critic but the reader is thereby compelled to think in the poet's terms. It is impossible to read M. Ayrault's book without feeling that one has lived with Kleist's work, and has dwelt, for a while, in his world. And to create this conviction in the mind of the reader is to achieve one of the major objects of criticism as an interpretative art.

M. Ayrault's intensive preoccupation with Kleist, however, appears to restrict his sympathies in other directions; dominated by a fixed idea that Kleist is '[le] seul génie tragique de l'Allemagne' (p. 79)—is indeed the only German poet worthy of a place beside Goethe (p. 11)—he is much

less than fair to others—Grillparzer, Hebbel, or Novalis—whom he uses to point a contrast. It is also impossible to accept without reserve the series of assertions made in the brief section devoted to the 'external sources' of Kleist's art. Here the French drama is considered to have equal significance with that of Greece for Kleist's development, while M. Ayrault would confine the influence of Shakespeare in the main to *Die Familie Schroffenstein*, counting any later similarities as isolated phenomena (p. 463). This section, in fact, is the least satisfying in the book; there is little indication of the profound differences which underlie the surface parallels. But when M. Ayrault turns to the discussion of Kleist's technique, he displays his customary power of analysis. The importance of the 'Novellen' is duly emphasised, and the contrast between narrative and dramatic methods skilfully illustrated. The critic's keen sense for architectural and musical effects is constantly displayed—though here, too, his appreciation of Kleist's art leads him to deny to any other German dramatist a similar mastery over such effects (p. 500). For M. Ayrault, there is, apart from Goethe, no such verbal artist as Kleist in German poetry; and he ranks the music-drama of Wagner beside the poetic drama of Kleist as the only European achievements in German literature since Goethe (p. 585). Approving Wilbrandt's comparison of Kleist with Byron—a comparison apt to fall strangely upon English ears—he would assign to the German poet a place in that 'European romanticism which extends from Rousseau to Wagner' (*ibid.*). But if such comparative estimates are not wholly convincing, this fact does not lessen the value of M. Ayrault's comprehensive study of the poet himself, a study which is a very notable contribution to the critical appreciation of Kleist.

EDNA PURDIE.

LONDON.

*The Tyranny of Greece over Germany.* By E. M. BUTLER. Cambridge: University Press. 1935. 351 pp. 15s.

The influence of Greek art and poetry on the great German writers since the eighteenth century is a fascinating theme, and Miss Butler has given us a lively and stimulating book, written with her usual wit and intelligence. It consists of a series of essays on the authors who can, with 'a certain stylisation', be considered to mark the chief points in the historical development of Hellenism in Germany since Winckelmann, and 'the criterion for inclusion has in nearly every instance turned on the question of personal fate'. It is a study of the life and personality of the authors as much as of their works, intended for the general reader as well as, or rather than, for the German specialist. Quotations are all in English, German verse being translated by the author into similar English metres. There is a select bibliography, but no references are given in the text.

We are not long left in doubt as to the author's opinion about the results of Greek influence on a people inspired, she thinks, with 'a hopeless

passion for the absolute'. 'The Germans have imitated the Greeks more slavishly; they have been obsessed by them more utterly, and they have assimilated them less than any other race.' Winckelmann, for instance, 'The Discoverer', though he rediscovered the art of antiquity and even divined the spirit of Greek sculpture before the best of it was known, made the mistake of taking as an example of the 'noble simplicity and serene greatness' of Greek art a late work, the Laocoon group, in which these qualities, Miss Butler thinks, were lacking. If only he had listened to the voice of his genius and gone on from Rome to Athens he would surely not have popularised such an unjustifiably 'serene' view of the Greeks.

The Leitmotiv of the Winckelmann chapter, Laocoon, is heard again in the brief studies of Lessing and Herder. Lessing's *Laokoon* Miss Butler presents as a drama, one which unfortunately further stimulated an uncritical enthusiasm for things Greek. Herder is very briefly dismissed as the writer who added the elegiac, Ossianic note and proclaimed the ideal of Humanität. After him nothing could stop 'the invasion of Germany by the mythical inhabitants of a Greece that never was on sea or land'. It is chiefly to the 'Tyranny of Greece' that Miss Butler ascribes Goethe's avoidance of the tragic, his refusal, after Italy at least, to enter into 'direct and mystical contact with the spirit of life' by following his daimon. Like Professor Robertson, she prefers the Sturm und Drang poet to the mature Goethe, and finds a break in the construction of *Tasso*. *Iphigenie's* conflict, she thinks, as Lewes did, is no conflict at all, merely a series of beautiful monologues, and Max Beerbohm's presentation of Goethe in Italy as a 'completely uninspired and loftily boring tourist' is for her not too much of a caricature. There is English precedent for her rather unsympathetic attitude to Goethe, but whether it is sound or not is another matter. Some of her phrases, unless they are meant to shock us into attention, suggest that Miss Butler has had a little too much prescribed Goethe for the time being. One feels that she regards him too exclusively from the æsthetic standpoint and quarrels with him for having sought wisdom as well as beauty.

Three fairly full studies of Schiller, 'The Antagonist', Hölderlin, 'The Martyr', and Heine, 'The Rebel', follow, in all of which some good and many arresting things are said, and Heine is credited with having ushered in Dionysus (in 'The Gods in Exile') and revised the current conception of the Greeks, thus preparing the way for Nietzsche's revelation of their tragic pessimism. In a final chapter Schliemann, Nietzsche, Spitteler and Stefan George ('The Mystagogue') are incisively sketched.

Miss Butler is at her best perhaps in these brief essays on more modern writers, where her gift for telling phrases finds full scope. Her book as a whole is learned and richly allusive, but by concentrating so much on personalities she has made it at once easier for the general reader and less satisfactory for the student. Instead of explanations she often gives us mythical constructions of her own, involving fate and genius and other semi-mystical (and very German) conceptions. The old view is surely truer, that German enthusiasm for the Greeks was well founded in the

religious, political and social conditions of the time, the reaction of the educated middle class against a narrow Protestantism, against French cultural ascendancy and against a decadent aristocracy. Discontented, like Rousseau, with modern civilisation, they found a new ideal both for life and art in ancient Greece, and that Winckelmann was partly wrong about Greek art does not prove that all the rest were mistaken in their admiration for Greek literature, which Miss Butler has very little space to discuss. We take a different view of the Greeks now, but so will every age until the end of time, for every view involves both seer and seen.

W. H. BRUFORD.

EDINBURGH.

*L'influence du symbolisme français dans le renouveau poétique de l'Allemagne. Les Blätter für die Kunst de 1892-1900.* By END L. DUTHIE. (*Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature Comparée*, Nr. 91.) Paris: H. Champion. 1933. 571 pp. 75 fr.

In this work a theme as attractive as it is involved has been treated thoroughly and in great detail. In the preface Dr Duthie sets herself the following task:

L'objet de cette étude est de préciser les rapports du groupe allemand des Blätter für die Kunst avec le symbolisme français dans les années 1892-1900. C'est dire en même temps qu'elle n'a point la prétention d'étudier dans son ensemble le mouvement des Blätter für die Kunst. De même, en parlant du symbolisme français, elle ne fait que signaler ces aspects qui ont directement influencé les nouveaux poètes allemands. Mais malgré ces restrictions, le sujet de ce travail ne cesse pas de présenter des difficultés évidentes, puisqu'il s'agit d'une comparaison entre deux esthétiques dont chacune s'affirmait, dans ses débuts au moins, comme un contraste absolu avec l'esthétique traditionnelle. Mon espoir a été de donner, malgré toute insuffisance, un tableau assez ressemblant des premières années du mouvement für die Kunst pour en faire ressortir la qualité si noble de son idéalisme et pour montrer qu'il existe, entre ces poètes et le symbolisme français, des liens indiscutables.

Dr Duthie has done more than justice to this task and her results are sound and hardly to be questioned, even though they are not quite proportionate to the size of the study. The nature and extent of the influence of French symbolism on Stefan George and his circle are treated in an exhaustive manner. The size of the book suggests that the author is almost too generous in her broadly planned investigations and numberless separate references. She sets out from the side of German poetry and gives a rather orthodox survey of it as found by George. The first part of the book is mainly occupied with George himself and develops an exhaustive picture of the poet and his works as far as 1900. The exposition is consistently objective—an advantage over many other representations of the same subject. She shows us George's first contact with the French artistic world. At the beginning of his stay in Paris, the young George made the acquaintance of the French poet A. Saint-Paul, who introduced him to Mallarmé's famous Tuesday evenings. Mallarmé gathered round him the young people of talent and the symbolist poets of all countries. And it was in this circle that flocked round Mallarmé where George learnt

joy in pure form for its own sake and the gospel of the sacredness of poetic language. At a time when the German language was distorted and its level sunk to an alarming degree he learnt the science of sound-values and the rhythm of words. His object was to master the means which would bring his language and national poetry to recovery and restore their lost dignity. In this circle he learnt the means by which poetry might be saved and propagated at a time when literature was being prostituted to commercial ends. These means were the 'Kreis' and the periodical with restricted circulation, destined for a small number of adherents and readers who were in sympathy with the movement. And so George collected a circle of which he was the 'leader'. The title of his periodical, *Blätter für die Kunst*, is the exact equivalent of Mallarmé's *Écrits sur l'Art*, from which was borrowed its absence of punctuation, while the habit of suppressing capital letters carried out a suggestion made many years before by Jakob Grimm. All these contacts and connections are followed up by the authoress, and in particular his relation to Baudelaire, Verlaine, Mallarmé, etc., the fulfilment of the symbolist ideals in the 'Hymnen' and 'Pilgerfahrten', the contact with the French Decadent movement in 'Algalab', and finally the gradual loosening of the bonds and the ripening of his individual genius in the publications of the years 1895-1900. The authoress is consciously on guard against such exaggerations as may easily occur in a work of this kind; she knows that with George it can never be a question of the mere adaptation of the ideas of others. For George remains individual, even as a translator. Everything that he touches becomes his own, and every new translation is a triumph of individual style.

It is to be regretted that Dr Duthie neglected two works which deal with the subject from the German point of view. Where the French are liable to over-estimate their influence on George, the Germans tend to under-estimate it. So for example Freya Hobohm, in her treatise *Die Bedeutung französischer Dichter im Werk und Weltbild Stefan George's* (Marburg, 1931) comes to the conclusion that the connexion is hardly worth mentioning and valid only in the smallest degree. She will not allow that George was influenced at all, and finds it outrageous to search poems that are perfect in themselves for superficial resemblances of detail. She ends with some sharp polemics against the over-estimation of French influence on George. The work of Marie-Luise Sior, *Stefan George und der französische Symbolismus* (Giessen, 1932) is different. This sets out to trace the resemblances in expression and theme between French lyric poetry and the early poems of George. But this work again glides over the problems that arise. One looks in vain for the names of well-known French poets who occupied George in his early phase. Sior reaches the conclusion that the influence is a formal one only, no more than tricks of technique which could have no decisive bearing on the intrinsic form of George's work. In comparison with the foregoing, Dr Duthie steers a middle course, and with more fruitful results. She has an exact knowledge of the French symbolist movement which is lacking in the two German books. But all three demonstrate the difficulties and

uncertainties of arriving at tangible conclusions in a case where there can be no question of mere imitation of foreign models, but where all turns on influences of which some are more easily defined than others, and where, above all, those qualities which separate one poet from another need their due share of consideration in the discussion.

In a second and less important part, Dr Duthie discusses the *Blätter für die Kunst* and gives accounts of the various contributors to the periodical up to the year 1900 (Hofmannsthal, Wolfskehl, Gérardy, Klages, Perls, etc.). In this connexion she discusses the artistic principles and ideas of the circle, whose watchword was: 'Wir wollen die geistige Kunst'. This 'geistige Kunst' is a sharp critic of its time. It stands in strong contrast to that threadbare and inferior school which sprang from a false conception of reality, and it has no concern with the social reform and dreams of universal happiness to which literature at the present time is looking for renewal, and which whatever they may be worth, hardly belong to the province of poetry. Finally this new movement defends itself against a reproach that has often been made against it: 'We have suffered the reproach that our whole movement of the *Blätter* is too Latin and too little German. But it is almost the most natural and most outstanding of German racial characteristics to seek final perfection in the south...to which we poets go as pilgrims to add *light* to profundity'.

K. W. MAURER.

LONDON.

## SHORT NOTICES

Dr John E. Mason's *Gentlefolk in the Making* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: H. Milford; Oxford University Press. 1935. 18s.) provides for the student of social history and educational theory a comprehensive survey of 'courtesy literature' in its various manifestations and disguises from Elyot to Chesterfield, but bears too clearly the marks of its origin as a Ph.D. thesis to be properly described as a 'book.' The abundant material is skilfully dissected and is reviewed under four heads (parental admonitions, books of polite conduct, books of policy, and books of civility) with summaries of each important volume; as these books are frequently rare and inaccessible, the descriptions have considerable value, but too often space is given to accounts of books available in modern editions that might have been better spent upon further discussion of the problems and conclusions suggested. We are not told, for instance, how far the multitude of theories regarding the right making of 'gentlefolk' were put into practice, or what were the respective parts played by tradition and experience in the formulation of those theories. Sometimes, too, a word about the social status and upbringing of the lesser-known authors would have been enlightening.

That anyone should feel the necessity for setting out to prove that instruction in the code of good manners habitually associated with the

word *gentleman* should find a place in every scheme of education may seem strange to those brought up in the tradition of European culture, which has been perhaps too long accustomed to take such things for granted. Dr Mason has served the cause of education well by examining this important question scientifically and without prejudice, and 'by arriving at the conclusion that 'the inculcation of piety, learning, manners, and service to the state', the humanists' idea of the purpose of education, will continue to be recognised as a worthy objective in educational philosophy.

M. C. PITMAN.

Mr W. J. Calvert's *Byron; Romantic Paradox* (University of North Carolina Press; Oxford University Press. 235 pp. 11s. 6d.) may be 'written with considerable verve', but there are sentences, especially in the earlier part, which show that he has hardly found his bearings in certain tracts of English criticism. This, for example (p. 38): 'The great and living art of the eighteenth century had been satire, which persisted in the prose of Lockhart after it had ceased to thrive in verse'. His thesis of the paradox presented by Byron is of course sound enough—the fustian romance poured out by a convinced adherent of neo-classical principles. And one willingly grants that Mr Calvert has beat the matter out fine enough. But he will assert: 'Our epic, as I have been at pains to assert, is an essentially humorous composition'. This of *Don Juan*! All the same, the reader who is not hypercritical will find a good deal to ponder in this study. One may not like such chapter headings as 'Escape', 'Rebirth', 'Achievement', but this should not blind us to the fact that Mr Calvert has toiled at his thesis and in the process brought to light a good deal of relevant material.

G. KITCHIN.

In his edition of *Walter Savage Landor. Last Days, Letters and Conversations* (London: Methuen. 1934. xiv + 174 pp. 6s.) Mr H. C. Minchin gives the story of Landor's last five years and some of Landor's latest work. The story itself, except for the beautiful and unclouded friendship with the Brownings and, in the last days, the dutifulness of Landor's younger sons, is a sad one, and it appears sadder in Landor's own letters, but it is right that it should be told. This version of it is derived from two volumes of Landor MSS. presented by Dr A. Joseph Armstrong to Baylor University, Waco, Texas, and lent by him to Mr Minchin with permission to publish their contents in Great Britain. The first contains a certain amount of hitherto unpublished work; the second, the more important, a few documents of minor interest and Landor's letters to Robert Browning. Browning's replies have unfortunately not been preserved, though they can sometimes be guessed at. Included in Landor's letters are two short Imaginary Conversations between Abélard and Héloïse which are here printed for the first time. Mr Minchin has connected the documents by a thread of narrative and brief comments.

The newly published matter adds little to our understanding of Landor,

but confirms all we knew of him: here as elsewhere he is exquisitely tender and ungovernably violent, enjoying the prospect of his own speedy dissolution, and so full of vitality that the wonder is he should ever have died. The frontispiece—like the other illustration, a portrait of Browning, taken from a collection made by Mrs Browning—shows him at eighty-six, a magnificent old lion, and three years later, within a month of his death, he was still roaring formidably. That Browning was able to cope with him and retain his affection must increase one's admiration for Browning.

E. C. BATHO.

R. A. Lochore's *History of the Idea of Civilisation in France, 1830–1870* (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid. 1935. 245 pp.) is the second of a series of monographs on the above subject begun by Joachim Moras in 1930. The latter considered the period 1756–1830, and Dr Lochore carries on the investigation to 1870. Both theses attempt, by intensive documentation, to trace the development and ramifications of the 'civilisation-idea' in French thought and literature. Dr Lochore (a New Zealander) has striven, as he says, to conform throughout to 'the penetrating and fruitful methods of German philological science, and to attain to its lofty standard of scholarship'. His thought and language are therefore frankly Teutonic, and though written in English (?) his work is not intended for English readers. Hence two glaring defects in the book which render it unreadable to any Englishman who loves clarity and respects his native language. The first defect is that it is couched in a pseudo-metaphysical, pseudo-scientific, teutonised jargon which is no legitimate medium for lucid expression of thought. The reader wades knee-deep in 'bloom-times', 'end-sums' and 'end-results', and is continually invited to wrestle with such monsters as 'functionalisation', 'geopolitical problems', 'humanity-ethos', 'laissez-faire Weltanschauung'. The other defect, even more fatal, is in the method of exposition chosen. On pp. 2–3 three broad definitions of the 'civilisation-idea' are stated, and forthwith the author plunges into a welter of subordinate definitions, rich and varied no doubt, but incoherent and bewildering, culled from a host of French writers from 1830 to 1870. No guiding thread is provided, except in so far as the writers considered are grouped in categories according to the 'science'—history, economics, moral philosophy, anthropology, etc.—they pursue. After some 50 pages the reader is tempted either to throw the book away or turn hastily to the Conclusion, which, alas! is as chaotic and incomprehensible as the rest. The Subject-Index which the author has added is a poor compensation for what he himself admits as 'the violence done to the sequence of ideas'. There are copious notes and a respectable supplementary bibliography, but it is impossible to see what purpose this volume can serve except as a compendium of isolated definitions, rendered obscure by a misuse of technical language.

H. J. HUNT.

In publishing for the first time *Pierre Gringore's Pageants for the Entry of Mary Tudor into Paris* (University of Chicago Press; Cambridge University Press. xxxii+43 pp. 7 plates. 7s.) the late Professor C. R. Baskervill has added to the canon of the *Mère Sotte* a work of much interest if not of first-rate literary merit. The book is excellently produced and is printed in a pleasant bold type. A businesslike introduction deals with the history of pageantry in the early sixteenth century, with Gringore's activities and with the sources of information; the text is given with the minimum of editing; the plates are well reproduced in the size of the original miniatures and are of considerable artistic interest (why, by the way, are the two supporting pillars never of the same design in any one miniature?); and appendices give a contemporary printed account of the entry and extracts from municipal records.

Gringore's creations present an odd mixture of biblical and pagan symbolism. At the Trinité, Louis XII was represented as Solomon, Mary as the Queen of Sheba (in contemporary costume of course), while at the Châtelet Maris Stella (Mary), cheek by jowl with Minerva (Prudence), is joined by Bon Accord to Phœbus (Louis XII) and Diana (France). The verses recited by the 'Expositeur' or inscribed on the scaffolds exhibit the contemporary love of word-play and jingle with what appears to be genuine delight in the peace newly arranged and now confirmed between France and England; they vary from simple *chansons* and *rondeaux* to a formal *ballade* composed with skill but without inspiration. The symbols, their interpretation and their illustration offer a most entertaining specimen of transition from the mediæval (still predominant) to the neo-pagan symbolism of the Renaissance and to the student of literature that is perhaps their chief interest.

H. W. LAWTON.

In '*Ces Monts affreux...*' (1650-1810) (Paris: Delagrave. 1934. 320 pp. 25 fr.), Claire Eliane Engel and Charles Vallot have given us an anthology of mountain literature which serves admirably to illustrate M. Mornet's *Le Romantisme en France au XVIIIe Siècle*, M. Monglond's *Histoire intérieure du Prérromantisme français*, or, indeed, Mlle Engel's own *La Littérature alpestre en France et en Angleterre aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles*. The title, borrowed from Fontanes, characterises the contemporary attitude to Nature:

Jusqu'en ces monts affreux elle est pour moi sublime.

The earlier travellers, mountaineers from force of circumstances, not from choice, had been more concerned with their own discomfort and weariness than with the grandeur of the scenery they traversed. Milton crossed the Alps in 1639 but seems to have drawn no inspiration from them. From about 1650 onwards, however, it is possible to note a growing interest in the wild majesty of mountain scenery, and this anthology gives us ample material in which to study the development of new reactions. Britain is represented by Evelyn, Gray, Windham, Amory, Hutchinson, Blaikie (the Scottish gardener), Beckford, John

Moore, Mrs Radcliffe, Wordsworth and Coleridge, ably translated by Mlle Engel. An interesting feature of the French selection is a series of ten hitherto unpublished letters from H. B. de Saussure to his wife. The book contains sixteen original and striking illustrations by Samivel.

M. E. I. ROBERTSON.

*La Terre et les Morts dans l'Œuvre de Chateaubriand* by Olga Longi (Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, vol. XXIII. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1934. 135 pp. 6s.) is an earnest and conscientious study of a rather slender subject. There is a historical introduction, too full for the balance of the essay, yet not full enough to be comprehensive. Chateaubriand's works are then examined chronologically, and a few pages are devoted to an attempt to trace the influence of his peculiar form of patriotism on later writers. There is much repetition, much quotation and paraphrasing of texts, not always clearly distinguished from the author's personal views. Her attitude is uncritical; she seems to identify herself completely with Chateaubriand's conception and to be obsessed with the 'culte des tombeaux', even considering it an indispensable condition of a belief in immortality. The book contains, however, some excellent pages on the factors dominating Chateaubriand's attitude—his Breton heredity, the influence of Young and Gray, public reaction against the Revolutionary violation of tombs, etc. (pp. 82 *seq.*). In these pages and in the first part of the Conclusion the author really gets to grips with her subject and handles it ably. It would have made an excellent ten-page article; it is a pity that it has been expanded into a book of 135 pages.

M. E. I. ROBERTSON.

In Mr I. F. Fraser's *Bibliography of French-Canadian Poetry* (Part I. Institute of French Studies, Columbia University, New York. 1935. 195 pp.) we have the first part of what promises to be a very useful work, particularly as he proposes to include the bibliography of the younger French-Canadian poets now writing. In Part I we have the period from the beginnings of the literature through the *École littéraire de Montréal*. An admirable feature of this compilation is that it embraces general works on French-Canadian literature and poetry, in addition to a very complete bibliography of the poets themselves. I wonder if there exists a similar book dealing with English poetry in Canada? If not, it should. Meanwhile, let us be grateful to Mr Fraser for his initiative and for the methodical way in which he has grappled with his task.

F. C. GREEN.

D. Salvador de Madariaga's *Guía del Lector del Quijote* (Madrid, 1926), which appeared in a limited English edition in 1934, is now available to a larger public (*Don Quixote, An Introductory Essay in Psychology*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1935. 159 pp. 7s. 6d.). In the translation,

by the author and his wife, only the Introduction appears to have suffered change, notably in the suppression of the phrase, so ill at ease with all that followed, 'Todo en el *Quijote* revela improvisación'. For the rest Sr de Madariaga does not take sides in the now fashionable setting of the hero against his creator, nor even in the attaching of interpretative values. These are academic themes, that by their stressing have incurred a measure of responsibility for making the book seem already to some a museum piece. 'Not what Cervantes meant, but what he did, is our patrimony.' *Don Quixote* is a novel.

The essay falls into two parts. The first discusses the conception of the work, soon to be outstripped by its development, and the resulting dualism. The second analyses the psychological depth of Cervantes' creation of character. Fear lest a surfeit of knight and squire might induce boredom led Cervantes, it will be remembered, to side-track the reader with extraneous tales and characters. A similar motive possibly explains the two chapters given here to 'Dorothea or Cleverness' and 'Cardenio or Cowardice'. If they reaffirm Cervantes' gift for probing human thought and action, they are still asides. In the interplay of Don Quixote and Sancho is where genius and interest reside—it was a loss, we think, not to anglicise the original titles of the two most suggestive chapters, 'La quijotización de Sancho', 'La sanchificación de Don Quijote'—and this is here admirably brought out. A novel is great in virtue primarily of character in solution. *Don Quixote* criticism claims to be the first and still the greatest of modern novels. What it needs is readers. They will appreciate its subtlety the more for this penetrating guide.

W. C. ATKINSON.

A publisher's notice of *La Littérature Portugaise* by Georges Le Gentil (Paris: Armand Colin. 208 pp. 10.50 fr.) asserts that in France 'où depuis cinquante ans il n'a paru aucune histoire de la littérature portugaise', it 'dispensera de recourir désormais aux travaux anglais et allemands'. Considering that the whole of Portuguese literature is here compressed into 180 small pages, with another twenty pages added for the literature of Brazil, that is surely to assume that the French are easily satisfied. The distinguished author himself in his preface is more modest in his claims: 'Cet ouvrage prétend moins à l'originalité qu'à une relative objectivité', and he refers to 'les omissions imposées par les dimensions restreintes de ce volume'. It is, in fact, not so much anything original or new in its contents as the exquisite tact and sense of proportion that give value to the volume. M. Le Gentil takes for his motto 'Ne quid nimis'. While placing Fernam Lopez above Froissart as an artist, he refuses him Southey's praise of 'the greatest chronicler of any age or nation'; he appreciates the art of Gil Vicente but might have laid more stress on the glory of his lyricism. Portugal's two most interesting centuries in literature are the thirteenth and the sixteenth, and these, especially the latter, receive adequate recognition here. Sometimes severe limitation of space reduces criticism to a bare catalogue of names,

as in those of seventeenth-century prose writers on p. 103 or the twenty Brazilian authors mentioned on the last half-page of the book. But on the whole M. Le Gentil is to be congratulated on the skill with which he has given us in so narrow a room a moderate and comprehensive summary of Portuguese literature.

A. F. G. BELL.

Mr C. A. Williams' account of the *German Legends of the Hairy Anchorite* (*University of Illinois Bulletin*, vol. xxii, May 1935, 140 pp. \$2) is an interesting and well-ordered contribution to the study of hagiography. The significance of the remote and curious legend of an anchorite doing penance for sin as a beast-man lies mainly in its antecedents, in its resemblances to the Enkidu-episode of the Babylonian *Gilgamesh Epic*, and in the suggested transformation of an ancient fertility-hero into the saintly ascete of Christian legend. The introduction deals briefly with these wider aspects, for a more specific treatment of which the author refers to his earlier work in the same series. There follows an excellent account of the German texts of the legend: a fifteenth-century *Meisterlied* and a closely related though also somewhat divergent prose version from an Augsburg passionist, *Der Heiligen Leben*, which belongs to the same period. The anchorite is identified in both with St John Chrysostom. These two texts are fully edited, the *Meisterlied* for the first time; and the interest is enhanced by the reproduction of illustrations by Dürer and Cranach and of woodcuts from *Der Heiligen Leben*. Parallel Latin texts from the *Viaticum Narrationum* and from Hermann Korner's *Cronica Novella* complete this survey of the tradition on German soil. With it are incorporated two Old French texts on the legend, edited by Professor Louis Allen.

M. F. RICHEY.

The scope of Dr Svanberg's book (*Verner von Heidenstam och Gustaf Fröding. Nordiska Texter och Undersökningar*, No. 1. Hugo Gebers Förlag, Stockholm. 1934. Kr. 5) is indicated by its sub-title, 'Two Chapters on the Style of the Nineties'. By analysing and comparing the work of Heidenstam and Fröding in terms of 'style' he has succeeded in defining, to a degree of precision not arrived at before, the individual qualities of these writers, as well as in demonstrating their conformity to the style of a period. The verbal elements of their writing are classified according to such categories as imagery, vocabulary, syntax, and rhythm, and the effects of each shown in its relationship to the rest. By this method Dr Svanberg is able to trace the development towards a completely integrated style which is the final expression of a generation: it is only in the 'symbolism' of its mature phase that this generation gets beyond exploiting their gift of vivid sensuous response (to the world of sight in Heidenstam, and in Fröding to the rhythms of spoken Swedish) in descriptive and satiric impressionism or ironic pastiche, and achieves the positive statement in high seriousness of personal conviction, expressed

in works presenting or permeated by one concentrated symbol of infinite suggestion. It will be seen that Dr Svanberg's study, exhaustive in illustration as it is and exhibiting the results of detailed analysis in a systematic and somewhat compact form which will be appreciated by specialists, has more general interest than the majority of its kind; it is a contribution to literary criticism—not least, incidentally, because it testifies to a growing awareness of how the same organisation of experience that appears in an author's themes may also be evident in the 'minute particulars' of his writing.

ERIK MESTERTON.

Small though it is, Jón Helgason's *Norren Litteraturshistorie* (Copenhagen: Levin und Munksgaard. 1934. 238 pp.) is something more than a dry catalogue of facts like so many that have gone before it. Its greatest interest lies in the more general passages. In these, the author deals with the outstanding problems of tradition and composition, both of the sagas and of the Edda poems. Very briefly Professor Helgason states the much disputed arguments for the home and date of the Edda, but in much greater detail he discusses questions relating to the prose literature of Iceland. He lays full stress on the current opinions of Liestøl and the value of Neo-Norwegian traditions for elucidating the problems of reliability and authorship in the Icelandic prose epics. Short but illuminating accounts are also given of the less famous branches of Norse literature, including the religious, legal, grammatical and astronomical studies of the early Middle Ages. The more important works, especially the classical sagas, have received separate treatment.

G. TURVILLE-PETRE.

Some new and revolutionary conclusions are drawn in Zetterholm's study of *Atlamál* (*Atlamál, Studier i en eddadikts stil och meter. Nordiska Texter och Undersökningar*, No. 2. Stockholm and Copenhagen: Geber. 1934. 122 pp. Kr. 4), a poem which has proved enigmatical to all critics. He urges emphatically that the poem should be judged on its own merits, and not, as has generally been done, from the heroic standpoint of the parallel *Atlakviða*.

*Atlamál* is shown to be a realistic and analytical composition, in contrast not only to *Atlakviða*, but to all other poems of the *Edda*. It is suggested, however, that this divergence from the other poems is due rather to the author's individual character than to his home and the surroundings in which it was composed. The various arguments laid down by Finnur Jónsson, Hempel and most previous investigators are seen to be unconvincing, for it appears that the psychological and reflective nature of the poem is characteristic of a scholar rather than of a Greenland settler. The author suggests that this break with tradition is to be regarded as a matter of the poet's individual taste. At the same time, the German influence in this poem is given less prominence than has pre-

viously been usual, and its relationship with *Atlakviða* and other poems of the Edda correspondingly stressed.

The work includes a detailed study of the diction and metre of the poem.

G. TURVILLE-PETRE.

Valter Jansson's *Fornsvenska Legendariet* (No. 4 of *Nordiska Texter och Undersökningar*. Stockholm and Copenhagen: Geber. 1934. 241 pp. Kr. 6.50) deals primarily with the MSS. of the Swedish *Legendarium* and their mutual relationship. The author gives separate accounts of the language in the three main MSS., and discusses their variation, thereby seeking to reconstruct the phonology of the original text. In his introduction Jansson goes into the question of authorship, and discusses how far the extant MSS. represent the original work. The views of Stephens are sometimes strengthened by new evidence, while those of Schück are often sharply criticised. Nevertheless, the author tends to agree, both from evidence already produced by Schück, and to a lesser extent from his own linguistic researches, that the *Legendarium* originated in a priory of Götaland, most probably the Dominican Skänninge or Skara. He produces further evidence suggesting that the author was acquainted with foreign countries better than with his own, particularly with Germany, perhaps also with England. The work is characterised by patient scholarship, but the omission of a word index will be regretted by many readers.

Of less general interest is Gunnar Leijström's account of the indefinite article (*Om Obestämda Artikeln*, No. 3 of the same series. 1934. 192 pp. Kr. 5). It will be agreed, however, that the work has been carefully prepared, and the figures thoroughly studied. Particular attention is paid to monuments of the classical period of Old West Norse, and their usages are contrasted with those of selected *Riddarasögur* and other late literature. Of special importance are the chapters in which Leijström discusses, with full consideration of Modern Icelandic, how far the use of *einn* as an indefinite article may be regarded as native. In the following chapters the author gives a short but instructive account of the indefinite article in other Germanic languages, together with a study of its use and growth in East Norse.

G. TURVILLE-PETRE.

## NEW PUBLICATIONS

October—December 1935

With the collaboration of Dr MARY S. SERJEANTSON (English),  
A. T. HATTO and F. NORMAN (German)

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- Geschichte der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Grundriss der indogermanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde, ii, 2, 2). Berlin, De Gruyter.
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- HUDSON-WILLIAMS, T., *A Short Introduction to the study of Comparative Grammar*. Cardiff, Univ. Wales Press Board. 3s. 6d.
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- LAGARDE, G. DE, *La Naissance de l'esprit laïque au déclin du moyen âge, I: Bilan du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, II: Marsile de Padoue, III: Guillaume d'Ockham* (two vols. issued so far). Paris, Éditions Béatrice. 70 fr.
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DESTREZ, J., *La Pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIII<sup>e</sup> et du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle.* Paris, Vautrain. 275 fr.

DUDDEN, F. HOMES, *The Life and Times of St Ambrose*, 2 vols. Oxford Univ. Press. 35s.

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**Italian.**

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*Deutsches Dante-Jahrbuch*, ed. F. Schneider, XVII. Weimar, Böhlau. 10 M.

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- SANDOMIRSKY, V., Eduard Morike, sein Verhältnis zum Biedermeier (Erlanger Arbeiten zur deutschen Literatur, 6). Erlangen, Palm und Enke. 3 M. 50.
- SAUER, A., Das aphoristische Element bei Theodor Fontane (Germanische Studien, H. 170). Berlin, Ebering. 6 M. 80.
- SCHLAGENHAFT, B., Wielands Agathon als Spiegelung aufklärerischer Vernunft- und Gefühlsproblematik (Erlanger Arbeiten zur dt. Literatur, 4). Erlangen, Palm und Enke. 7 M.
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- SCHMIDT, A., Deutsche Dichtung in Österreich. Leipzig, Luser. 4 M. 80.
- SCHMIDT, K., Untersuchungen zu den Marchensammlungen von Ludwig Bechstein (Form und Geist, 37). Leipzig, Eichblatt. 10 M.
- SCHNEIDER, F. J., Deutsche Textproben für literaturwissenschaftliche Übungen. Halle, Niemeyer. 2 M. 20.
- SIEGEL, H., Das grosse, stille Leuchten. Betrachtungen über C. F. Meyer und sein Lebenswerk. Basel, Geering. 4 M. 40.
- SOMMERFELD, M., Goethe in Umwelt und Folgezeit. Leyden, Seijthoff. 8 M. 60.
- STUCKERT, F., Wilhelm Schäfer. Ein Volksdichter unserer Zeit. München, Langen/Müller. 1 M. 80.
- ULSHOFER, R., Die Theorie des Dramas in der deutschen Romantik (Neue deutsche Forschungen, 1). Berlin, Junker und Dunnhaupt. 7 M. 50.
- VIÉTOR, K., Deutsches Dichten und Denken von der Aufklärung bis zum Realismus (Sammlung Göschen, 1096). Leipzig, De Gruyter. 1 M. 62.
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# MODERN HUMANITIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

## INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30 SEPTEMBER 1935

(Incorporating the American Transactions for the Period to 18th September 1935)

1934	EXPENDITURE	1934	INCOME	
£	£ s. d.	£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
25	To Printing, Stationery, Postages and Travelling Expenses	94	By Subscriptions General	96 7 2
-	Do. (American expenses)	3	Proportion of Life Membership subscriptions	8 15 0
69	Secretarial Assistance and Audit Fee	54	American Members	70 19 7
-	Do. (American expenses)			176 1 9
150	Modern Language Review Provision for payment to Publishers in respect of 1935 volume	132	Modern Language Review Sales	159 3 2
3	Payment to Publishers for 1934 volume and index	17	American Sales	27 12 4
	Less provided in last account	6	Advertisements	186 15 6
			Grants	2 17 0
180	Bibliography Printing Literature, etc. Volume 1934-35 estimate	20	English Association 1934-35	20 0 0
35	Do. Volume 1933-34	25	Modern Language Association 1932-33	- - -
	Less provided in last account	25	1933-34	- - -
				20 0 0
190	Year Book Printing, etc.	80	Bibliography Sales	104 17 0
17	Bulletins and Indexes Printing, etc.	19	Advertisements	19 4 0
		36	American Sales	41 14 7
				165 15 7
		62	Year Book Sales	88 7 7
		7	Advertisements	7 10 0
		11	American Sales	15 17 2
				111 14 9
		8	Bulletins and Indexes Sales and Advertisements	4 15 3
		10	Bank Interest	7 15 11
		60	Deficit for year Carried to Balance Sheet	79 16 10
		£669		£755 12 7

# MODERN HUMANITIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

## BALANCE SHEET AS AT 30 SEPTEMBER 1935

LIABILITIES			ASSETS		
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£
<i>Capital Account</i>					
As at 30 Sept. 1934	...	...	<i>Cash at Bank (England)</i>	724	13 10
Add: Donations received during year	...	459 15 5	On Deposit Account	...	...
Life Membership subscriptions	26	5 0	On Current Account	...	25 12 7
Less: Proportion transferred to subscriptions	...	8 15 0	<i>Cash at Bank (America) at 18 Sept. 1935</i>	...	750 6 5
			<i>Sundry Debtors</i>	...	133 3 0
			<i>Income and Expenditure Account</i>	...	...
<i>Sundry Creditors</i>	...	...	Deficit for year, per Account	...	79 16 10
			Less: Surplus as at 30 Sept. 1934	...	78 17 8
					<u>19 2</u>
					<u>£890 13 6</u>

### AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE AND REPORT

I have prepared the above Balance Sheet after examination of the books, records and vouchers relating thereto, and certify that in my opinion, it shows the true and correct position of the Modern Humanities Research Association as at 30 September 1935. The Cash at Bank in America and the American Receipts and Payments for the period to 18 September 1935, are in accordance with the certified statement of the Treasurer in America.

(Signed) W. ARMSTRONG,  
Chartered Accountant.

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE  
1 November 1935

ANGLO-DUTCH LITERARY RELATIONS, 1867-1900<sup>1</sup>

## SOME NOTES AND TENTATIVE INFERENCES

## A. THE FORTUNES OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE NETHERLANDS

(i) *Shakespeare*<sup>2</sup>

THE protracted resistance to Romanticism put up by the Dutch affected the fortunes of Shakespeare's works in the Low Countries. Though when they were current literature in the seventeenth century these were known and imitated<sup>3</sup> there more extensively than in any other continental country, and though Holland shared fully in the Anglomania of the eighteenth century, as far as the periodical essay and the novel were concerned, the archæological, critical, doctrinaire and imaginative *revival* of Shakespeare remained inchoate for an unusually long time. It showed many parallels to the same thing in Germany when it came, but it came from 35 to 80 years later. When, therefore, the opposition to Romanticism began to crack about the middle of the nineteenth century and broke down finally and overwhelmingly in the 1880's, there was much leeway to make up; and the last third of the century accordingly reveals a remarkable and fruitful activity on the part of Dutch scholars and men of letters to make Shakespeare in all his aspects a part of the national heritage, as he had become in other countries in Europe.

The first translations of Shakespeare into Dutch were the fifteen *Tooneelspelen* that appeared at Amsterdam 1778-82.<sup>4</sup> But the first prose version of all the plays was not completed for a century, when the fiftieth instalment of *Shakespeare's Dramatische Werken vertaald en toegelicht*<sup>5</sup> door A. S. Kok (1872-9) was published by Funke of Amsterdam.<sup>6</sup> Kok was

<sup>1</sup> By this is meant the relations between the English literature of the United Kingdom and (without prejudice to 'Groot Nederland' issues) the Dutch literature of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, as they appeared from 1867 to 1900 inclusive. The lines of circumscription have not always been easy to draw; where there was doubt I have leaned to inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Arnold, T. J. I., *Shakespeare-Bibliography in the Netherlands* (1879, an offprint from his *Bibliographische Adversaria*, iv, 4 and 5), Schneider, L., 'Shakespeare in den Niederlanden' in *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, xxvi (1891), pp. 26 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Jan Vos's *Aran en Titus* (1641) from *Titus Andronicus*; Gramsbergen's *Kluchtige Tragedie of den Haartog van Pierlepon* (1650) from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*; Sybant's *Dolle Brunloft* (1654) translated from *The Taming of the Shrew*. Cf. Worp, J. A., in *Nederlandsche Spectator* (1880), pp. 144 ff. and Moltzer, H. E., *Shakspeare's Invloed op het Nederlandsch Tooneel der zeventiende Eeuw* (1874), who thinks that Starter's *Tymbre de Cardone ende Fenice van Messina* (1618), Struys's *Romeo en Juliette* (1634) and Brandt's *Vainzende Torquatus* (1645), though taken from Shakespeare's sources, owe something also to recollected performances of *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet* respectively.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Beer, T. H. de, 'Een Reuzenwerk voltooid' in *Portefeuille*, x (December 8, 1888), II, pp. 353 f.

<sup>5</sup> The notes are brief.

<sup>6</sup> Second edition 1884-5; third edition 1900.

capable of verse translation;<sup>1</sup> indeed, his first experiments in rendering Shakespeare had been metrical, to illustrate his study, in the February number of *De Gids* for 1859, 'Iets over Shakspeare's Sonnetten'; and (where the originals warranted it) for *Hamlet, Prins van Denemarken* (1860), *Orlando en Rosalinde* (1860) and *Koning Richard III* (1861) he had used blank verse. But in his complete edition he was concerned less with style and 'histrionic possibilities than with accuracy, and he deliberately preferred prose, limiting his verse renderings to the songs and other definitely lyrical passages.

Experiments in verse translation had begun with various Dutch versions of Weisse's *Romeo und Julia* in 1778, 1784 and 1786, and with M. Nieuwenhuyzen's *Desdemona* (1789).<sup>2</sup> After two excerpts in his *Vertalingen en Navolgingen in Poezy* (1834),<sup>3</sup> J. van Lennep had furnished a more or less complete *Romeo en Julia* in 1852 and *Otello*<sup>4</sup> in 1854. These had been preceded by J. Moulin's *Macbeth* (1835) etc. After Kok's three verse translations came G. Timme's 'metrische vertaling' of *Coriolanus* (1876) and K. B. Pekelharing's of *Macbeth* (1877).

In 1878 Dr L. A. J. Burgersdijk (1828-1900), teacher in the natural sciences at the Gymnasium and the Hoogere Burger School of Deventer,<sup>5</sup> published *Cymbeline*, on which he had begun on February 9 of the previous year.<sup>6</sup> His *Inleiding* shows him alive to the difficulties of his enterprise, but it was a poetic version (wherever the original warranted it) that he made, and in the following year he acquitted himself of an even more ambitious task when he published a complete translation, in sonnet form, of *Shakspeare's Sonnetten*: all but the dozen done by Kok for his article in *De Gids* seemingly<sup>7</sup> appeared in Dutch for the first time. Burgersdijk had now settled down to the gigantic enterprise of making a verse translation of the whole Shakespearean canon. The plays were finished on August 23, 1885, *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* shortly

<sup>1</sup> *Inter alia* Dante's *Divina Commedia* (1863), Calderon's *Vida es Sueño* (1871) and Byron's *Cain* (1906).

<sup>2</sup> Bilderdijk translated (*via* Voltaire, it seems) 'To be or not to be' into heroic couplets in 1783, as *Hamlets bekende Alleenpraak* (no place or date); for his translation of 'Take, oh take those lips away' see p. 294 below.

<sup>3</sup> In the same year L. P. C. van den Bergh published his *Bloemlezing uit de dramatische Werken van William Shakspeare in nederduitsche dichtmaat overgebracht*, comprising passages, mostly short, from fifteen of the plays.

<sup>4</sup> In *Dramatische Werken*, III (1854), pp. 307 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Burgersdijk, after taking his degree at Leiden, had in 1852 joined the staff of the Royal Military Academy at Breda to which the Englishman M. P. Lindo was added the following year. It seems likely that Lindo's propagandist zeal for the literature of his native land was one of the effective causes of his colleague's later translation.

<sup>6</sup> This date is copied from *Ned. Spect.* (1886), p. 396, but must be taken with some reserve; it is stated there, for instance, that the Sonnets (though actually published in 1879) were undertaken after the plays.

<sup>7</sup> *Inleiding* to Burgersdijk's translation, VII.

afterwards, and the whole *Werken van William Shakespeare* published in 12 volumes by the firm of Brill at Leiden between 1884 and 1888.<sup>1</sup>

J. J. L. ten Kate, the foremost poet-translator of his day, adapted from the German of Moritz Petri *Shakspere ingeleid in den christelijken kring* (1882), and translated the excerpts contained in it from the originals. Otherwise, while Burgersdijk's great undertaking was under way, the voices of would-be competitors were hushed, and it was not until 1895 that one of them made himself heard, Edward B. Koster publishing the first and only instalment (*Macbeth*) of Shakespeare's *Tooneelstukken, metrisch vertaald*. In *De Nieuwe Gids* for 1898,<sup>2</sup> the painter-litterateur Jacob van Looy published his poetic version of *Macbeth* which, on its appearance in book form (1900), contained also a valuable 'Decoratie-Beschrijving', in part suggested by Forbes-Robertson's production in Amsterdam.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile, Shakespearean study was going forward on other lines as well. There were, for instance, Dutch editions of the English text of *Hamlet* (by A. C. Loffelt, 1867, and R. D. Nauta, 1900), *Romeo and Juliet* (C. Stoffel, 1869), *Richard III* (Kok, 1871), *Julius Caesar* (C. W. Opzoomer, 1872; Kok, 1872; K. ten Bruggencate, 1897), *Merchant of Venice* (Bruggencate, 1899);<sup>4</sup> a *Keur van Stukken uit . . . Shakspere* (1881), adapted from the German of K. Meurer; T. H. de Beer's *Short Account of the Plots or Fables of Shakespeare's Plays* (1871); G. B. Kuitert's *Meesterstukken onder Shakespeare's Pseudo-Drama's* (1882);<sup>5</sup> there were critical writings of all kinds and sizes, such as the Dutchman Dr Timon's *Shakespeare's Drama in seiner natürlichen Entwicklung dargestellt* (1889), Van Dam and Stoffel's *William Shakespeare, Prosody and Text* (1900), and a whole host of articles in periodicals, of which only a few among the more outstanding can be named here:<sup>6</sup>

Huet's general essay, proceeding from the *Sonnets*, in *Nederland*, I (1881), pp. 109 ff.<sup>7</sup>

M. P. de Haan's and A. Jolles's character studies in *Gids*, III (1883), pp. 34 ff. and 222 ff., I (1884), pp. 37 ff. and IV, pp. 430 ff., and *Kroniek*, V (1899), pp. 123, etc. respectively.

Criticism of individual plays and poems (J. K. von Goltstein's 'Koning Johan' in *Gids*, II (1870), pp. 46 ff.).

Albert Verwey's celebrated 'Het Sonnet en de Sonnetten van Shakespeare' in *Nieuwe Gids*, I (1885), I, pp. 67 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Second edition 1894-6; third edition 1897-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Nieuwe reeks*, III, pp. 186 ff., 249 ff., 345 ff., 383 ff., 514 ff., 602 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For the acting history of Shakespeare's plays see pp. 334 ff. below.

<sup>4</sup> Lindo's edition of *Macbeth* (1853) went into its second edition in 1867.

<sup>5</sup> Viz. *Arden van Feversham* and *Een Treurspel in Yorkshire*, verse translations.

<sup>6</sup> Other contributions by Loffelt and Kok will be found in the next section.

<sup>7</sup> Reprinted in his *Litterarische Fantasien en Kritieken*, XII (n.d.), pp. 106 ff.

W. G. C. Bijvanck's 'Raadsel van Shakespear's Sonnetten' in *Ned. Spect.* (1886), pp. 25ff.

H. J. Boeken's 'Richard II' in *Nieuwe Gids*, xiv (1900), pp. 284ff. and W. G. C. Bijvanck's 'Inleiding tot Shakespear's Hamlet' in *Gids*, iv (1900), pp. 509ff.

Histories of Shakespeare's fables (L. S. P. Meyboom on Hamlet in *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen*, i (1869), pp. 101ff.).

Reviews of major books on Shakespeare (J. van Vloten's 'Gezond Verstand en Onzin over Shakespeare' in *Levensbode*, ii (1867), pp. 481ff.)

G. J. Kolff's 'Shakespeare's Hamlet en Carl Werder' in *Banner*, ii (1876), ii, pp. 105ff. and 198ff.

An anonymous article on 'Swinburne over Shakespeare' in *Banner*, vi (1880), i, pp. 317ff.

Kok's 'Hamletvraag' in *Gids*, iii (1890), pp. 145ff. à propos of Swinburne's *Study of Shakespeare*, and his articles on Brandes's and Lee's biographies in *Ned. Spect.* (1898), pp. 228ff. and 412f. respectively.

Bijvanck's 'Nederlandsche Shakespeare-Kritiek' in *Gids*, iii (1900), pp. 308ff. and 528ff.

General discussions of translations (Kok's 'Shakespeare vertaald' in *Portefeuille* (1881/2), pp. 185ff.).

Accounts of performances (A. G. van Hamel's 'Hamlet te Parijs' in *Gids*, i (1887), pp. 466ff., H. L. F. Pisuisses's 'Shakespeare en de Meiningers' in *Gids*, iii (1888), pp. 222ff.).

Bibliographical matter (Kok's 'Shakespeare's "First Folio"' in *Ned. Spect.* (1899), pp. 200ff.).

Contributions to the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy (H. L. Berkenhoff's 'In het Doolhof' in *Vader. Letteroef.* (1876), pp. 838ff.).

As a formative literary influence Shakespeare is of small account at this time. The prestige of his name furthered the vogue of the sonnet, as Albert Verwey and Miss Irving<sup>1</sup> intended; and his practice left a mark on the former's sonnet cycle *Van de Liefde die Vriendschap heet*,<sup>2</sup> possibly also on his tragedy of *Johan van Oldenbarnevelt* (1895).

## (ii) 'Anglisten'

Among the critics continually occupied with Shakespeare the most eminent were Kok, Loffelt and Stoffel.

Cornelis Stoffel (1845-1908), described as, during his lifetime, 'de grootste kenner van het Engelsch... op het geheele vasteland',<sup>3</sup> was most exclusively the scholar and philologist. His *Studies in English* (1894), a collection of papers on English grammar, on 'Scriptural Phrases and Allusions in Modern English' and 'Annotated Specimens of "Arryese"', form his most original work. He edited *Romeo and Juliet* (1869), brought out a *Handleiding bij het Onderwijs in het Engelsch* (1879), revised (1897) William James's *Dictionary of the English and German Languages*, as well as (1900) the English-German part of Muret and Sanders's great

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 298f. below.

<sup>2</sup> Reprinted in *Verzamelde Gedichten*, i (1911), pp. 50ff.

<sup>3</sup> Swaen, A. E. H., in *Levensberichten... van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* (1919) [q.v.], p. 169.

work, and contributed the first of Hoops's *Anglistische Forschungen* with a monograph on *Intensives and Down-tones* (1900).<sup>1</sup>

Anthonie Cornelis Loffelt (1841–1906) was a man with a wide range of interests, not confined to literature. In addition to reviews of the translations of Kok (*Gids*, 1872), Timme (*Ned. Spect.* 1878), Pekelharing (*Gids*, 1878; *Ned. Spect.* 1878) and Burgersdijk (*Ned. Spect.* 1886), he wrote the following articles on Shakespeare, later collected in his *Uren met Shakespeare* (1889): 'Hamlet', 'Shakespeare's Hamlet en Bara's Herstelde Vorst',<sup>2</sup> 'De Liefde in Romeo en Julia', 'Mijne Indrukken van verschillende Hamlet-vertooners'; also 'Shakespeare geïllustreerd' (*Ned. Spect.* (1895), pp. 22 ff.),—there are short articles by him on 'Andrew Marvel, een Engelsch Dichter, in Holland' (*Ned. Spect.* (1871), pp. 327 f.), 'Het Byron-schandaal' (*Ned. Spect.* (1869), pp. 359 and 400), 'Ouida' (*Ned. Spect.* (1876), pp. 176 f.), 'De nieuwste Engelsche Letteren' (*Ned. Spect.* (1887), pp. 367 f.), 'Goethe en Hamlet' (*Ned. Spect.* (1870), pp. 286 f.), a full review of *The Tragedy of Sir John van Olden Barnavelt* (*Ned. Spect.* (1885), pp. 127 ff.), 'Taal en Stijlgeknutsel en velerlei Gemaaktheid' (on Euphuism, *Ned. Spect.* (1896), pp. 101 ff.) and the series 'Nederlandsche Navolgingen van Shakespeare en van de oude Engelsche dramatici in de zeventiende eeuw' (*Ned. Spect.* (1868), pp. 30 f. etc.). Moreover, he was responsible for the Rotterdam editions (1870 and 1884) of Tennyson's *Complete Works*, in English.<sup>3</sup>

A fair amount has already been said about Abraham Seyne Kok (1831–1915).<sup>4</sup> After noting a full essay on Sheridan, in *De Gids* for 1867 (I, pp. 264 ff.),<sup>4</sup> one should add to the Shakespearean work discussed above: 'Shakespeare' in *Bato* ((1867) II, pp. 241 ff.; (1868) I, pp. 315 ff., II, pp. 365 ff.), 'Shakespeare in wapenrusting' in *Gids* ((1883) III, pp. 377 ff.), 'Hamlet als Neurastheniker' in *Ned. Spect.* ((1897), pp. 173 ff. and 180 ff.) and 'Bijdragen tot de Shakespeare-Literatuur in ons Land' in *Portefeuille* ((1883/4), pp. 233 ff., 249 f., 261 f., 269 f.). Another valuable sequence of papers was that contributed as 'Arenlezing' to *Noord en Zuid* (xvi (1893), pp. 47 ff., etc.) and collected, with some modifications, in the two volumes *Van Dichters en Schrijvers* (1899). Here Kok's interest

<sup>1</sup> In the new century he co-operated with B. A. P. van Dam, in *Chapters on English Printing, Prosody and Pronunciation* (*Anglistische Forschungen*, IX), in 'The Fifth Act of Thomas Heywood's Queen Elizabeth: Second Part' (*Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, XXXVIII (1902), pp. 153 ff.) and in 'The Authority of the Ben Jonson Folio of 1616' (*Anglia*, XXVI (1903), pp. 377 ff.), the collaboration having begun with the work on Shakespeare mentioned above.

<sup>2</sup> This has reference to the tragedy by Jan Bara, *Herstelde Vorst ofte geluckigh Ongeluck* (1650).

<sup>3</sup> For his contributions to the London *Athenaeum* see pp. 338 f. below.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Levensberichten . . . van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* (1915), pp. 78 ff.

is principally directed to comparative literature: in 'Een Pseudo-Sonnet van Pieter Cornsz. Hooft' (*Dichters en Schrijvers*, I, pp. 77f.) he shows, for instance, that the sonnet 'Friendship' translated by Gosse for Waddington's *Sonnets of Europe* is a version, not of a sonnet, but of an *ottava rima* chorus in *Achilles en Polyxena*; 'Rhodope-Mythe' (I, pp. 87f.) deals with the different treatment of the story by Morris in *The Earthly Paradise* and Cats in *De Proefsteen van den Trouwring*; 'Jacob Cats, Lord Bacon en Thomas More' (I, pp. 19ff.) argues that Cats knew the work of the other two; some papers on Bilderdijk draw attention to his translation of 'Take, oh take those lips away' (I, pp. 143f.), the resemblance between his poem 'Aan mijne Vrienden in Amsterdam' and Goldsmith's *Traveller* (I, pp. 139ff.), and the echo from Shakespeare's in the epitaph he composed for himself (I, p. 188): 'Potgieter en het Sonnet op het Sonnet' (II, pp. 3ff.)<sup>1</sup> gives, with the originals and comment, Kok's own translations of Wordsworth's 'Scorn not the sonnet' and Theodore Watts-Dunton's 'The Sonnet's Voice', and Dr C. A. Tebbenhoff's translation of R. W. Gilder's 'What is a Sonnet', while quoting also Bell Scott's 'Shakespeare-Sonnet'.<sup>2</sup> Kok had previously dealt with the last-named subject in 'Het Sonnet en de Sonnettendichters in de Nederlandsche en Buitenlandsche Letterkunde', dated December 1893 and printed in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* (v (1894) pp. 113ff.) in which he quoted Surrey, Spenser, Milton, Wordsworth in the original, and translations from Shakespeare and Milton.<sup>3</sup>

Before leaving the *Anglisten* we should recall the names of two Old English scholars, Bernhard ten Brink (1841-92) and P. J. Cosijn (1840-99), and the beginnings of Dr A. E. H. Swaen, with his edition ('Mermaid series', 1896) of Sir John Vanbrugh<sup>4</sup> and his *Short History of English Literature* (Groningen, 1900). L. Simons did a literal, blank-verse translation of *Beowulf* (1896),<sup>5</sup> C. C. Uhlenbeck having written on that epic in *De Gids* for July 1890.<sup>6</sup>

### (iii) *Comparative Literature*

Besides Loffelt's<sup>7</sup> papers on Andrew Marvell and the fortunes of the Elizabethan playwrights in Holland and Kok's studies in *Dichters en*

<sup>1</sup> It owes something to Miss Irving's paper (see pp. 298f. below).

<sup>2</sup> After this collection came 'James Darmesteter over William Wordsworth' and 'Blank Verse Line' in *Ned. Spect.* (1900), pp. 35ff. and 335 f. respectively.

<sup>3</sup> This study of Kok's is also later than Miss Irving's (see pp. 298 f. below), but there is no reference to her in either.

<sup>4</sup> For which he wrote a Preface, a Bibliography, a Genealogical Table and a Biographical Notice.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Tinker, C. B., *Translations of Beowulf* (Yale Studies in English, xvi (1903), pp. 109ff.).

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, pp. 126ff. G. M. wrote a poem on 'Caedmon' in *Nederland*, II (1895), pp. 383f.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. also (p. 338 n. below) his two papers in *The Athenaeum* for 1871.

*Schrijvers*, there were the following contributions from the Dutch side to the study of Anglo-Dutch literary relations:

Jorissen, T., 'John Donne en Constantijn Huygens' in *Nederland*, III (1870), pp. 62 ff.  
Eymael, H. J., 'John Donne's Invloed op Constantijn Huygens' (*De Gids*, II (1891), pp. 344 ff.).

Muller, F., 'John Locke in Nederland' in *Ned. Spect.* (1871), pp. 155 ff., with a 'Bericht' on the same by B. ten Brink (*ibid.*, pp. 171 ff.).

Brill, W. G., 'Twee Engelsche Dichters over Holland' in *Noord en Zuid*, VIII (1885), pp. 169 ff. (on Dryden's and Goldsmith's abuse).

Worp, J. A., 'Tobias Smollet over ons Tooneel' in *Ned. Spect.* (1881), pp. 153 ff.

Eyk, A. van der, 'Een paar Opmerkingen over twee landelijke Dichters' in *Banner*, II (1876), II, pp. 46 ff. (on Burns and Poot).

Prins, J. Winkler, 'Van Lennep en Walter Scott' in *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen*, (1874) II, pp. 667 ff. (which draws a full parallel between their early lives and temperaments and then between *Ivanhoe* and *De Roos van Dekama*).

Meijer, J. L. C. A., 'Het Oorspronkelijke van Da Costa's "Bede" bij Byron weergevonden' in *Ned. Spect.* (1884), pp. 106 ff., with a letter on the subject by Gosler, W. (*ibid.*), p. 116.

An obituary of Sir John Bowring in *Ned. Spect.* (1872), p. 401.

The whole field was opened up to view by two articles in *Jaargangen* IX (1886), pp. 65 ff. and XI (1888), pp. 107 ff. respectively of the periodical *Noord en Zuid*. They were signed 'N'<sup>1</sup> and formed pendants to enquiries first by Hellwald, then by Kaakebeen on the influence of Germany on Dutch literature.<sup>2</sup> 'N's' later and considerably shorter article is entitled 'Nederlandsche Letteren bij Engelsche Lezers', the earlier, of 83 full pages, 'Invloed der Engelsche Taal en Letterkunde op de Nederlandsche'. This is a rather superficial essay, which does not even try to do all it proposes, since linguistics receive virtually no attention, though the whole leads up to the odd conclusion<sup>3</sup> that there is no better way of learning to appreciate Dutch as a medium of expression than by means of translation from choice English writers! But it indicates the chief divisions of the subject from the time of Starter to the 1880's and is most satisfactory on the important Dutch writers during the first two generations of the nineteenth century whose work bears the imprint of their English reading: Bilderdijk, Jacob van Lennep, Mevrouw Bosboom-Toussaint, Ten Kate, Beets, Potgieter, Hasebroeck and the other humorists, with Southey, Byron, Lamb, Scott, Tennyson, Dickens among the main creditors.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ignoring Hellwald's article in the same magazine, 'N' claims that his is the first Dutch essay in Comparative Literature since W. de Clercq's *Beantwoording der Vraag: Welken Invloed heeft vreemde Letterkunde... gehad op de Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* (1824).

<sup>2</sup> *Noord en Zuid*, III, pp. 280 ff. and X, pp. 65 ff. respectively.

<sup>3</sup> IX, p. 146.

<sup>4</sup> The most vexed question of Anglo-Dutch literary relations at that time concerned Milton's alleged indebtedness, for *Paradise Lost*, to Vondel's *Lucifer*. As, however, it first became acute in Great Britain and as it is an aspect of the impact of Dutch literature upon English, it will be mentioned more fully in the second part of this study (pp. 340 ff.).

(iv) *Taco de Beer and Miss Irving*

Above the many who addressed the Dutch public on the subject of English literature, but who cannot be ranked as scholars in the same class as a Stoffel, two seem to stand out because of the influence that they exerted: De Beer and Miss Irving.

It is perhaps unfair to withhold the title of scholar from the former of these. But Taco Hajo de Beer (1838-1923)<sup>1</sup> was by nature, it appears, a man of the world and organiser of opinion on a large scale. He found himself fully when in 1877 he removed to Amsterdam and within the space of four years, besides editing *De Tooneelalmanak* for 1877 and 1878 and (in 1879) assuming the editorship of *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel*, set up and edited alone or in partnership no less than five periodicals,<sup>2</sup> none of them ephemeral.<sup>3</sup> In all these magazines and in *Euphonia* (1877-9), on which he was active too, 'British interests' were always strongly represented. Both *De Portefeuille* and *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel* (which became *Het Tooneel* in 1881) kept, for instance, a very close eye on the current Shakespeare translations and efforts to acclimatise them on the Dutch stage. Among his signed articles, one may single out a long 'Carlyle' in *De Portefeuille*, II (1880/1), pp. 325 ff.

Perhaps De Beer's most important work in the field under review was *The Literary Reader* (1874), an anthology, with full connecting matter, which, primarily designed for school use, not only enjoyed an extensive circulation in the Netherlands, but was prescribed<sup>4</sup> in certain schools of Austria, Belgium and Germany as well. In it De Beer claimed<sup>5</sup> he had been the first in his country to draw attention to the pre-Raphaelite poets and their immediate successors in Great Britain; he had the greatest admiration for these, declaring<sup>6</sup> that Swinburne, Morris, Rossetti and O'Shaughnessy (in addition to Browning) belonged to the greatest poets that not merely England, but the whole world had produced. Directed as it was<sup>7</sup> to the next generation, the *Literary Reader* had particular value in two ways: first, by setting out to show that great poetry could

<sup>1</sup> Always interested in German studies too, De Beer seems progressively to have turned to them from English. In his old age he became a 'Baconian' and published, in the vituperative style, *Shakespeare... een pseudoniem* (1917). Cf. Loghem, M. G. L. van, in *Mededeelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde... 1923-1924* (1924), *Levensberichten*, pp. 7 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Two general weeklies, *De Amsterdammer* (1877, with Van Loghem) and *De Portefeuille* (1879); a journal for teachers, concerned mainly with Dutch language and literature (*Noord en Zuid*, 1877); a more narrowly philological journal (*Taalstudie*, 1878); and a journal devoted to the study of dialects (*Onze Volkstaal*, 1881).

<sup>3</sup> All the while he was a fully employed secondary schoolmaster!

<sup>4</sup> Loghem, *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> *Euphonia*, I (1876/7), xxvi, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Euphonia*, III (1878/9), p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Euphonia*, III (1878/9), p. 1.

still be written and had not fatally come to an end with the deaths of Byron and Goethe; and, second, by insisting that Shelley, hitherto looked upon on the Continent either as the poet of a narrow clique or as an atheistical and anarchistic rhymster, should be judged by the standards applicable to Chaucer, Shakespeare and Milton. These doctrines were to have a great effect on a few boys whom De Beer taught at the Hoogere Burger School in Amsterdam: Perk, the pioneer of the new poetry, Kloos and Albert Verwey, two of its foremost creators and critical champions, and Frank van der Goes, a publicist whose importance did not become clear till later, though he, like Kloos and Verwey, was one of the editorial committee of five that set up *De Nieuwe Gids* in 1885.<sup>1</sup>

For the second edition of the *Literary Reader* (1882-4), De Beer enjoyed the co-operation of Miss Elizabeth Jane Irving,<sup>2</sup> who seems to have been solely responsible for the form taken by the last (third) volume of the greatly expanded third edition (1887).<sup>3</sup> This is an excellent piece of work, rightly appreciated as such by *De Nieuwe Gids*.<sup>4</sup> To begin with, the following 'new' authors<sup>5</sup> are added, and it will be agreed that they are an admirable choice: Matthew Arnold, W. Bell Scott, Meredith, Christina Rossetti, William Morris, Hardy, Buchanan, William Black, O'Shaughnessy, Austin Dobson, Andrew Lang, Gosse, P. B. Marston.<sup>6</sup> But more than that: the whole historical presentment had to be remodelled. Accumulation of new material rendered it impossible to consider Victorian literature as merely extension upon extension of the Romantic epoch; Miss Irving saw herself obliged to look upon the literature of the nineteenth century after 1830 as a more autonomous entity, and the articulation she made was necessarily, as she claimed, her own to a great extent.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> De Beer's influence on them emanated, directly and indirectly, from his anthology and some critical writing. (Private information from Professor Verwey, who contrasted the nullity of De Beer's personal influence with the stimulus imparted by his colleague at the H.B.S., Dr Doorenbos.) Under the title *Van Westminster naar het Binnenhof* (1875) De Beer translated J. E. Jenkins's *Glances at Inner England* (1874, amplifying it with his own 'Blik in het Innerlijk Leven van Nederland'), and (1875) T. Bailey Aldrich's *Prudence Palfrey*. He also contributed the annual article on Dutch Literature to the London *Athenaeum*, 1892-5 (see p. 339 below).

<sup>2</sup> I have discovered nothing about Miss Irving's life. In 1872 she published a collection of original poems, *Fireside Lays*, on the title-page of which she is described as 'of Castle-Douglas'.

<sup>3</sup> She had help from Gosse and from Stoffel.

<sup>4</sup> III (1887-8), 1, pp. 320 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Tiel, C. van, *A Course of English Literature, Victorian Poetry (1837-1875)* (Leden, 1879), a meritorious anthology, had already included pieces from Meredith, Christina Rossetti, Buchanan, O'Shaughnessy, Marston and William Morris.

<sup>6</sup> She regretted that the latest writers, like Stevenson and Haggard, had to be omitted (Introduction, p. vii).

<sup>7</sup> The works of Saintsbury and Dr Walker appeared in 1896 and 1897 respectively.

The *Literary Reader* was not the only English anthology in which Miss Irving was concerned; she also published *Gems from the Novelists* (2 vols. of extracts from Scott's novels, 1882) and *A Casket of Jewels* (1887, a selection from nineteenth-century English poets, including the Rossettis, Marston, O'Shaughnessy, Arnold and Patmore).

From 1881 to 1889 Miss Irving was likewise a publicist of importance in the field under survey, as a contributor to *De Gids*,<sup>1</sup> *Nederland*,<sup>2</sup> *De Nederlandsche Spectator*,<sup>3</sup> *Noord en Zuid*<sup>4</sup> and *De Portefeuille*.<sup>5</sup> One may consider as typical, in the concise factual references and in the unpretentious touching upon general æsthetic questions that were then impassioning the rising writers, her short article on 'Dante Gabriel Rossetti', inserted in *De Portefeuille* shortly after the subject's death.<sup>6</sup> The writer gives a very few biographical details, laying of course some stress on Rossetti's painting and the connexion with his verse; then she bestows some sentences on his

kostbare gave, die van een verwonderlijke macht om het bovennatuurlijke te schilderen. In deze zeldzame gave heeft Rossetti [*sic*] slechts één mededinger, Coleridge... Hij maakt het fantastische en bovennatuurlijke als werkelijk en geloofwaardig door innig menschelijk leven en door het aan Dante ontleend gebruik van kleine en nauwkeurige details...<sup>7</sup>

and later discriminates between Rossetti and two more popular poets, Tennyson and Longfellow:

Van deze beiden kan alleen gezegd worden, dat zij in schoone taal uitdrukken, wat iedereen gedacht en gevoeld heeft. Maar in Rossetti is niets alledaags, niets sentimenteels, iedere regel schittert van verbeelding, gloeit van hartstocht of treft door zijn diepe beteekenis.<sup>8</sup>

But her most important piece of critical writing was the paper on 'Het Sonnet' contributed to *Noord en Zuid*<sup>9</sup> at the time of the renewed interest in the form, fanned by the publication of Perk's *Gedichten* (1882) and William Kloos's introduction to them, but before Verwey's<sup>10</sup> and Kok's studies and Beets's depreciation in *De Gids*.<sup>11</sup> This topical appositeness is

<sup>1</sup> 'John Ruskin' in *De Gids*, iv (December, 1889), pp. 485 ff. I have not been able to discover whether this and Miss Irving's other contributions to Dutch periodicals were originally written in Dutch or sent in in English and then translated.

<sup>2</sup> 'Curren Bell', iii (1883), pp. 111 ff.; 'Percy Bysshe Shelley', i (1888), pp. 113 ff. and 243 ff.; 'Matthew Arnold', ii (1888), pp. 264 ff.

<sup>3</sup> 'Dowden's "Leven van Shelley"', in *Ned. Spect.* (1887), pp. 12 ff.; 'Walter Besant's Jongste Roman' [i.e. *Herr Paulus*] *ibid.* (1888), pp. 223 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See below.

<sup>5</sup> 'Benjamin Disraeli' in *Portefeuille*, iii (1881-2), pp. 149 ff., 157 ff.; 'Mevrouw Lynn Lynton', *ibid.* (1882-3), pp. 9 ff., 17 ff.; 'Engelsche Correspondentie', *ibid.* (1882-3), pp. 19 ff., 49 ff.; see below also.

<sup>6</sup> *Portefeuille*, iv (1882-3), pp. 25 f.

<sup>7</sup> P. 26.

<sup>8</sup> P. 26.

<sup>9</sup> *Noord en Zuid*, vi (1883), Bibliotheek, pp. 77 ff.

<sup>10</sup> 'Het Sonnet en de Sonnetten van Shakespeare' in the first number of *De Nieuwe Gids* (October, 1885); when I spoke to Professor Verwey about it in January, 1934, he declared that that was the first he had ever heard of Miss Irving's paper.

<sup>11</sup> iii (1884), pp. 373 ff.

deliberate and obvious. While denying that it is the history of the sonnet form for which Kloos had called, Miss Irving begins her essay by quoting in full Perk's 'Klinkt helder op, gebeeldhouwde sonnetten', she comes back to him more than once to speak in terms of high admiration and she concludes by the quotation, as appropriate to him too, of Rossetti's sonnet, 'Untimely Lost', on the death of Oliver Madox Brown; and one of the purposes of her writing is to urge Dutch poets to continue cultivating this form, which Perk virtually created in their literature,<sup>1</sup> and to study their English peers. 'Niet schoonheid van vorm alleen, maar het tooien van een edele gedachte in een waardig kleed, was het doel, waarnaar Jacques Perk streefde. . . . Wie zal den mantel opnemen, die hem van de schouders is gegleden?' Miss Irving gives the 'rules' which may be inductively formulated for the sonnet.<sup>2</sup> She quotes in full, *inter alia*, Wordsworth's 'Nuns fret not at their convent's narrow room', W. Bell Scott's 'An art grows up from year to year',<sup>3</sup> Rossetti's 'The Last Three from Trafalgar at the Anniversary Banquet'; mentions the sonnets of Surrey, Wyatt, Drummond, Milton and Mrs Browning (as well as Shakespeare's); praises especially on the one hand 'de volmaakte harmonie van vorm en geest, die het sonnet bereikt heeft in de handen van Rossetti en zijne school',<sup>4</sup> and, on the other, the way in which Shelley, Swinburne, Rossetti and Tennyson have turned into melody 'de ruwe onhandelbare Engelsche taal'.<sup>5</sup> Viewed retrospectively, all this harmonises astonishingly well with what was at the moment fermenting in the minds of *les jeunes* and was about to be decanted into *De Nieuwe Gids*.<sup>6</sup>

(v) *The British Poets: Shelley and Keats*<sup>7</sup>

Shelley's name had just lived on in the Netherlands as that of a shadowy blasphemer and revolutionary from the time of his death to past the mid-century. A fuller interest in him proceeded from each of the four seminal minds that, with Multatuli, did most to prepare for the literary revival of the 'eighties, Potgieter, Huet, Vosmaer (1826-88) and Van Vloten (1818-83). The last, already in the 'sixties, assumed knowledge

<sup>1</sup> There had been 14-liners in Dutch before; but Perk had only been able to find one in five-stressed iambic lines, Hooft's sonnet on Grotius. He overlooked Nieuwland.

<sup>2</sup> She acknowledges indebtedness in this to Mark Pattison, Hall Caine, Hueffer, Stedman, 'de artikelen in de *Athenaeum*'.

<sup>3</sup> Kloos likewise came to write a sonnet on the Sonnet, in German (*Verzen*, I (3rd ed. 1907), p. 96).

<sup>4</sup> P. 84.

<sup>5</sup> P. 78.

<sup>6</sup> Miss Irving contributed also items to the other side of the account, with the following translations from the Dutch: *In Troubled Times* (1883, A. S. C. Wallis's *In Dagen van Strijd*); *The Amazon* (1884, C. Vosmaer's *Amazone*); *Royal Favour* (London 1885, A. S. C. Wallis's *Vorstengunst*).

<sup>7</sup> This section is extensively based on Dr G. Dekker's admirable dissertation, *Die Invloed van Keats en Shelley in Nederland gedurende die negentiende eeuw* (1926).

of him as part of an educated Dutchman's make-up, though he made little use of him (as some of his German counterparts had done)<sup>1</sup> in his campaigns on behalf of free-thinking. Potgieter (1808-75) had read and loved Shelley for many years back, but did not write of him at any length before his 'Herinneringen en Mijmeringen' of 1872,<sup>2</sup> when, without any apparent knowledge of his greatest works, he yet showed appreciation of him as one of the supreme poets and disclosed a very good, if necessarily incomplete, idea of the general trend of his thought.

In the same year Busken Huet (1826-86) devoted an article<sup>3</sup> to 'Byron en Shelley', which, though mainly biographical, led to deeper study of the subject, not only by some of Huet's readers, but apparently by Huet himself. In 1875 A. C. Loffelt wrote a note on the death of Shelley in *De Nederlandsche Spectator*,<sup>4</sup> in the course of which he suggested that the Dutch Vredebond should arrange for a good translation of *Queen Mab*. The first translation from Shelley into Dutch, however, was that of the *Ode to the West Wind*, which W. Gosler applied himself to in 1879 and had printed in *De Gids* for April 1884.<sup>5</sup> In the following year Edward B. Koster published his poetic version of *Time* in *De Nederlandsche Spectator*.<sup>6</sup> A. S. Kok gave a partial translation of *The Cenci* to *Nederland* for 1888,<sup>7</sup> and *Dichters Verdediging* (1891) comprised Albert Verwey's translation, with an introduction, of *The Defence of Poetry* and Sidney's *Defence of Poesy*.

The most important<sup>8</sup> critical papers on Shelley were:

N.Q., 'Shelley en Byron' in *Portefeuille* for August 17, 1880;<sup>9</sup> Miss E. J. Irving, 'Dowden's "Leven van Shelley"' in *Nederlandsche Spectator* for 1887<sup>10</sup> and 'Percy Bysshe Shelley' in *Nederland* for 1888;<sup>11</sup> W. G. C. Bijvanck, 'Shelley' in *De Gids* for August and September, 1892;<sup>12</sup> H. P. G. Quack, 'Rondom Prometheus' in *Uit den Kring der Gemeenschap* (1899);<sup>13</sup> and H. J. Boeken, 'Gorter over Shelley', called forth by the former's 'Kritiek op de litteraire Beweging van 1880 in Holland', in *Nieuwe Gids* for 1899.<sup>14</sup>

By the end of the century Shelley's name had become as current in educated Holland as in Great Britain. But that was due in the first place

<sup>1</sup> Dekker, pp. 34 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In *Studien en Schetsen* (1879) II, pp. 179 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Reprinted in *Litterarische Fantasiën en Kritieken*, IV (n.d.), pp. 99 ff.; it was written in November, 1872, ostensibly as a review of Trelawny's *Recollections*.

<sup>4</sup> P. 403.

<sup>5</sup> II, pp. 187 ff.

<sup>6</sup> P. 67; in addition to this, the 'Vertalingen' in Koster's *Verzamelde Gedichten* (1903), pp. 361 ff., include the following from Shelley: 'Vereering', 'Arabisch Lied', 'Vrijheid', 'Shelley's "Lament"', 'Goënacht', 'Klacht', 'Lied' (from *Cenci*, v, iii).

<sup>7</sup> II, pp. 213 ff.; cf. also Thieme, P. J. van E., 'Shelley's Treurspel "The Cenci"' in *Ned. Spect.* (1886), pp. 231 ff.

<sup>8</sup> In addition there were anonymous notices of the Shelley Society (*N. Gids*, I (1885-6), II, p. 159), Salt's *Shelley Primer* (*Portefeuille*, IX (1887/8), p. 82) and Wise's *Letters of P. B. Shelley to J. H. Leigh Hunt* (*Kroniek*, I (1895), pp. 284 ff.).

<sup>9</sup> II, pp. 153 ff.

<sup>11</sup> I, pp. 113 ff. and 243 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Pp. 344 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Pp. 12 ff.

<sup>12</sup> III, pp. 308 ff. and 478 ff.

<sup>14</sup> XIII, pp. 61 ff.

less to the intellectual interest which the publications just detailed represent than to the passionate championship of him by the new school of poets who were in process of transforming the literary scene and to the obvious effect his example and precept exerted upon them. J. Winkler Prins (1849–1907) had mentioned Shelley (whom he judged the great English poet after Shakespeare) in *Nederland* for 1877<sup>1</sup> and later made verse translations of *The Cloud*, *To a Skylark* and *The Sensitive Plant*. In his original poetry—seeing that it is *Kleinkunst* and nothing else—there could not properly be much direct influence from Shelley, but he liked to identify his own ‘Natuursymboliek’ with what he appreciated so intensely under the same name in Shelley. Moreover, he was keenly alive in the English poet to that ‘harmonie tusschen inhoud en vorm’ which he held<sup>2</sup> to be ‘een der hoofdstukken van de aethetika der toekomst, misschien wel het voornaamste’, and to the fact that ‘Hij is alles in één . . . Zijn gevoel is redeneering tegelijk en zijn geestelijk gezicht is tevens zijn gevoel’<sup>3</sup>—an aspect which struck with equal force the genuine ‘Tachtigers’, with whom he had so much in common, though not always reckoned one of them.<sup>4</sup> Another ‘outrider’ of the movement, Marcellus Emants (1848–1923), denied<sup>5</sup> influence from English poetry upon his work. But the description of Adam’s wanderings through Paradise, in the epoch-making narrative poem of *Lilith* (1879), have something in common with the later parts of *Alastor*.

Jacques Perk (1859–81), with whom the ‘De Beweging van Tachtig’ is often held to start, certainly had some personal knowledge of the work of Shelley; on a holiday in the Ardennes he met Oscar Wilde and Rennell Rodd (now Lord Rennell), ‘full of Shelley and Keats’,<sup>6</sup> who communicated to him his enthusiasm. One of his last poems, *Iris*, with its first lines:

Ik ben geboren uit zonne-gloren  
En een zucht van de ziedende zee,  
Die omhoog is gestegen, op wieken van regen,  
Gezwoolen van wanhoop en wee,<sup>7</sup>

could not have been invested in its metrical form and much of its imagery but for *The Cloud*. The famous sonnet cycle of ‘Mathilde’, however,

<sup>1</sup> III, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Reddingus, J., in his Inleiding to Jacob Winkler Prins’s *Gedichten* (Nederlandsche Bibliotheek, n.d.), x.

<sup>3</sup> Reddingus, *ut supra*, p. xi.

<sup>4</sup> Dekker (pp. 224f.) sees neither influence nor affinity between Winkler Prins and Shelley.

<sup>5</sup> Dekker, p. 227.

<sup>6</sup> Private communication to the writer; Lord Rennell believes that the date was 1880; Dutch critics have usually given 1879.

<sup>7</sup> Perk, J., *Gedichten* (17th ed., n.d.), p. 191. Cf. Stutterheim, C. F. P., ‘Perk’s “Iris” en Shelley’s “The Cloud”’ in *Nieuwe Taalgids*, xxx (1936), pp. 98ff.

was written earlier and probably in complete independence of Shelley, though both poets' native passion for spiritual beauty and the determination to wed the most exquisite expression to 'thought' necessarily engendered some resemblances.

On William Kloos (born 1859), the animator and representative of the new poetic movement, the influence emanating from Shelley was preponderant especially during his earliest, formative period,<sup>1</sup> though then already it seems to have been the explicit theory of Shelley, more even than the general 'sentiment' underlying his work, that operated most powerfully. There is an occasional verbal echo in Kloos's original poetry from Shelley's, as in these lines cited by Dr Dekker:<sup>2</sup>

Hoe gaan dees donkre dagen langs mij henen,  
Het hoofd omhuld, als zwijgend-sombre bruiden,  
Die, stappend stil, 't verloren lief beweenen,  
Dat slaapt ver-weg onder vaal-dorre kruiden.

(Kloos, *Verzen* II, cxcvii.)

and

And as slow years pass, a funereal train,  
Each with the ghost of some lost hope or friend  
Following it like its shadow, wilt thou bend  
No thought on my dead memory?

(Shelley, *Julian and Maddalo*, ll. 489 ff.)

But fundamental to all lay a passionate admiration for the genius who had so miraculously combined artistic expressiveness of the highest order with original criticism and thought and for the author of *Epipsy-chidion*, 'den schoonsten hymnus, die ooit ons aller Moeder een sterveling heeft ingefluisterd'.<sup>3</sup> Kloos's general critical position is virtually conditioned by *The Defence of Poetry*, from which he took not only the wider theory that poetry springs from the unconscious—a particularly challenging belief at a time (like this in Holland) when both practitioners of poetry and their public regarded poetry as a pretty medium for telling a story or expounding moral sentiments—but also the idea that language originated in primitive man's cries of admiration, i.e., that the lyric is the primordial mode of speech.

This opinion was likewise repeated in one of the earliest essays of Albert Verwey (born 1865)—'Dichterlijke Taal', contributed to *De Amsterdammer*<sup>4</sup> seven years before he published *Dichters Verdediging*, in which he was to 'transpose into Dutch words beliefs revealing a greater fullness of sweet and mysterious wisdom than he had ever dreamed'.<sup>5</sup> Verwey's early poetry, going back to *De Rooze* of January 1882, which

<sup>1</sup> 'Zoo begon onze litteratuur te herleven en veranderde radicaal van koers op het oogenblik, dat Kloos hier Shelley ging lezen' (Raaf, K. H. and Griss, J. J., *Zeven Eeuwen, Stroomingen en Gestalten* (2nd ed., 1931), p. 227).

<sup>2</sup> Kloos, W., *Veertien Jaar Literatuurgeschiedenis* (1896), I, p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> August 10, 1884.

<sup>5</sup> *Dichters Verdediging*, Pref.

bears the impress of *The Sensitive Plant*, shows that Shelley had worked on it more strongly than on that of the others: according to Dr Dekker, the deepest marks were left by *Autumn: a Dirge* and the other Dirges, *Adonais*, the *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*, *Ode to the West Wind*, *Alastor*, and, especially, *Epipsychidion*, which is most strongly perceptible in *Cor Cordium*,<sup>1</sup> one of the finest and most typical of Verwey's early poems—the very title taken from Shelley's cenotaph at Rome. *Rouw om het Jaar*, one of the most applauded items in *Persephone* (1885), beginning

Maanden komt, brengt bloemen aan,  
De lucht is blank met de laatste maan,  
En het jaar, het jaar is dood....

is very largely a mosaic of recollections from the *Dirge for the Year*.

Albert Verwey, with his interest in ideas, always had by temperament more in common with Shelley than Kloos and even Perk had. Yet the influence of the English poet upon the most typical poets of 'Tachtig' was one-sided. In their preoccupation with founding a new art, supreme and autonomous, they neglected his social idealism altogether.<sup>2</sup> The atheism and anarchism, which had roused some languid interest in him for upwards of a generation, made no appeal to them.

In Van Eeden (1860–1932) and Gorter (1864–1927), who turned from poetry to socialistic propaganda, it is natural to seek closer resemblances to Shelley, the subversive visionary gifted with tongues. The first-named knew his work very well, and Dr Dekker has shown<sup>3</sup> how often his thoughts and his images reflect that knowledge. This is perhaps most obviously seen in 'De Eigen Uitvaart' of 1886, in which the poet's Thoughts, gay and sombre, are seen floating about his bier. *Prometheus Unbound*, *Stanzas written in Dejection near Naples*, *Epipsychidion*,<sup>4</sup> are potent in *De passielooze Lelie*, *Ellen* and *De Broeders*. *Over Kritiek* sometimes echoes *The Defence of Poetry*. Moreover, though he was less imbued by the doctrines of the latter than either Kloos or Verwey, his whole conception of the 'hero as poet', as he himself tried to incarnate it, would seem to be largely inspired by Shelley's example.

Gorter's impassioned love of movement and light hues, the chastity of his passion, resemble Shelley's, and the whole story of *Mei* (1889), the supreme poetic product of 'Tachtig', reveals much of his myth-making capacity.

<sup>1</sup> Winkler Prins had a poem of the same title (*Zonder Sonnetten* (1886), p. 2).

<sup>2</sup> Donker, A., *De Episode van de Vernieuwing onzer Poezie* (1929), p. 46, remarks how *De Nieuwe Gods*, for instance, ignored the publication of Dowden's *Life of Shelley*.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 173 ff.

<sup>4</sup> His poem on 'Shelley's *Epipsychidion*' appeared in *De Beweging*, 1 (1905), pp. 207 ff.

With greater or less intensity and with longer or shorter persistency all these writers, who between them refashioned Dutch poetry and advanced it to the front rank in contemporary Europe, were haunted by Shelley. They made him more than a household word; in no other country has he, thanks to them, been accepted so unreservedly as the supreme exemplar of poet, critic and thinker combined, occupying the kind of position which elsewhere is commonly reserved for Goethe.<sup>1</sup> Thus Van Eeden (in the days when he believed Jesus Christ to be a character of fiction) called him 'de sterkste en heerlijkste oorspronkelijke ziel die de wereld na den dichter van het Jezus-drama heeft voortgebracht'.<sup>2</sup>

The impingement of Keats upon the Dutch national consciousness was more sudden but no less forcible than that of Shelley. Hardly even a name in the Netherlands before, he attracted the attention of Busken Huet, and Huet dealt with him pretty thoroughly and appreciatively in 'Drie Voorwaarden van Kunstgenot', which enjoyed unusually extensive currency, since it was originally delivered in 1878 as lectures in Amsterdam, Den Haag, Haarlem, Leiden, and Dordrecht, printed in *Nederland* for March, 1879,<sup>3</sup> and republished among the *Litterarische Fantasien en Kritieken*.<sup>4</sup>

In the 1870's, again, Warner Willem van Lennep began to translate *Hyperion* into Dutch blank verse and to use it for illustrating his own libertarian views of prosody.<sup>5</sup> His admirable version of *Hyperion* was printed for private circulation in 1879 and reinforced the enthusiasm for a plangent, fluid blank verse, with the paragraph rather than the line as its essential unit, which he had begun to communicate to *les jeunes* and to which they were speedily to bear witness, with a corresponding disregard of the classical metres such as Vosmaer<sup>6</sup> wished to impose on them.

By comparison with those devoted to Shelley, the critical and scholarly appreciations devoted to Keats are scanty. G. F. Duyl very briefly

<sup>1</sup> Even Lodewijk van Deyssel regarded Shelley's and Hegel's as the two seminal minds of the nineteenth century (Oliveira, E. d', *Mannen van '80 aan het Woord* (3rd ed., n.d.), p. 19), and went so far as to approve the dictum from *The Defence of Poetry* translated by Verwey as 'Het genot dat in smart is, is zoeter dan 't genot van genot zelf' (Voorrede to Boutens, P. C., *Verzen*, Den Haag (1898), p. xiv).

<sup>2</sup> *Nachtbruid* (1909), p. 356: the opinion of Muralto on this point may safely be identified with Van Eeden's.

<sup>3</sup> I, pp. 251 ff.

<sup>4</sup> x (n.d.), pp. 123 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Verwey, A., *Nieuwe Nederlandsche Dichtkunst* (4th ed., 1914), pp. 48 ff. Professor Verwey told me in private conversation that the technical aspect seemed to him and his compeers extremely important.

<sup>6</sup> Vosmaer, none the less, seems to have valued Keats—Shelley too—mainly for his prosodical richness; he studied their works in the late 'seventies (cf. Dekker, pp. 76 ff.). It is curious that Vosmaer perfected his hexameter in the mock-heroic *Londynias* (1873), the poem which describes the visit to London where the Elgin marbles did so much to strengthen his Hellenism.

commented on the sixtieth anniversary of his death in *De Portefeuille*,<sup>1</sup> and E. B. Koster contributed a short paper on 'Keats en Severn' to *De Nederlandsche Spectator*.<sup>2</sup> Translations were not much more numerous. After Van Lennep's there came an inferior version of *Hyperion* from the pen of C. van Kempe Valk in *Dichterlijke Verhalingen* (1888). W. W. van Lennep himself published in 1900 a version of *Lamia*, begun many years before, which Dr Dekker finds disappointing.

References made by the leading writers of the time to Keats are also definitely less frequent than allusions to or verbal echoes from Shelley. This is partly, of course, the consequence of there being no theoretical work of his comparable with *The Defence of Poetry* which the critic-poets of the age could adduce. But it is also due to the fact that the influence emanating from Keats was not one of detachable ideas and images, but a total effect. That the Dutch poetic language should be renovated as the English had been eighty years earlier, that poetry should before everything else, even to the exclusion of all else, be sonorous and plastic, that 'a thing of beauty' shall be 'a joy for ever', as well as the artist's sole concern, that in poetry sound and sense should be identical: all these things, however anomalous, became, thanks to the enthusiasm communicated by W. W. van Lennep, axioms that the rising generation evidently thought it unnecessary to father expressly on their originator.

Still, Verwey was inspired to a youthful *Endymion*;<sup>3</sup> and the thunder of *Hyperion* reverberates through the 'powerful iambs' of Emants, which, according to Verwey,<sup>4</sup> 'really created new possibilities', as in these opening lines of *Godenschemering* (1883):

Nog eenmaal dreunde in verre verte dof  
Toors mokerslag. Daarna was 't alom stil.—  
Ter aarde roerloos uitgestrekt, sloeg weer  
Tiassi langzaam de oogen op. Juist zag  
Hij eed'len Balder, gloeiende van toorn,  
Het vurig zonnespan de gouden poort  
Des hemels binnensturen, nam ook nog  
De strijdb're maagden waar, op donk're rossen,  
Aan 't zwijmend zwerk, in wilde vaart,  
Een heldenschar naar Odiens Walhal voerend,  
En staarde toen in stillen nacht,

and as it does in

De Goden zaten op hun troonen, de één  
Zóó ver van d' ander, in een halven kring...  
(Kloos, *Okeanos*<sup>5</sup>),

<sup>1</sup> 'John Keats' in *Portefeuille*, iv (1883), p. 419.

<sup>2</sup> *Ned. Spect.* (1894), pp. 228f.

<sup>3</sup> Included in *Persephone en andere Gedichten* (1885), p. 53 but not reprinted.

<sup>4</sup> *Beweging*, i (1905), i, p. 142.

<sup>5</sup> Noted by Dekker, p. 129.

and in

Diep tusschen steile wanden wond hun weg  
 Eng kronk'lend voort in telkens dieper nacht.  
 En immer groeide er een verward gedruisch,  
 Vanwaar zich waterval op waterval  
 Onzichtbaar tusschen rotsen niederwierp;  
 En berggevaarten neigden naar elkaar  
 Het stompe voorhoofd, als twee reuzenstieren,  
 Die duiz'len van den wederzijdschen stoot,  
 Doch, duiz'lend, vaardig staan tot nieuwen kamp.  
 (Verwey, 'Onderwereld'.<sup>1</sup>)

Further there is the remarkable parallel to

There is not one,  
 No, no, not one  
 But thee to comfort a poor lonely maid;  
 Thou art her mother,  
 And her brother,  
 Her playmate, and her wooer in the shade

of *Endymion* (iv, ll. 285 ff.), which leaps to the eye when the reader of Gorter's *Mei* finds in Balder's song

Er is niet één,  
 Neen neen, niet één  
 Die zooals ik haar woestenijen kent—  
 Zij is mijn kluis,  
 Mijn vaderhuis,  
 Mijn stad, mijn hemeltent.<sup>2</sup>

There is perhaps an even more curious parallel in the same poem, when it is realised that one of the daringly 'modern' images, that of the bicycle-racers,<sup>3</sup> is modelled on the pursuit of Arethusa by Alpheus in *Endymion* likewise.

(vi) *The British Poets: William Morris*

Never homogeneous, the 'Beweging van Tachtig', in so far as identified with the *Nieuwe Gids* programme, broke up pretty soon. The contributions of English ideas to the programmes that superseded one so extensively under the ægis of Keats and Shelley seem to have been fairly important.

Put briefly, the change was the replacement of an 'art for art's sake' literature by a conception of the arts in which the claims of society and of abstract thought prevailed.

An important agent in bringing about the change was the painter Jan Veth (1864-1925). Never on the editorial staff, Veth was yet a close friend of the quintette originally responsible for *De Nieuwe Gids*, and he contributed a number of articles connected with plastic art. In 1884

<sup>1</sup> *Persephone* (ut. cit. p. 12). This resemblance was pointed out, amid a host of poetic parallels, by Koster, E. B., *Over Navolging en Overeenkomst in de Literatuur* (1904), p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Second ed. (1893), p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. cit. p. 105.

we hear<sup>1</sup> of him, in the orthodox manner of the time, busy making an unrhymed translation of *Epipsychidion*. In 1887 and 1891, probably on other occasions too, he travelled in England and conceived a high admiration of certain English artists,<sup>2</sup> particularly of those who were on the staff of *Punch*, whose satirical gifts, that is to say, made them critics of society. Among them he valued Tenniel, Du Maurier<sup>3</sup>—deploring his excursions into literature as ‘inderdaad, “things one would rather had left unsaid”, voor wie vermocht wat hij kon’<sup>4</sup>—but above all the ‘onovertroffen meester in zwart en wit: Charles Keene’,<sup>5</sup> whom he even ranked above his venerated friend Menzel and whose biography he wrote (1895) in the series ‘Mannen en Vrouwen van Beteekenis’.

Another group<sup>6</sup> of Britons equally aroused his interest and enthusiasm, and them too he made familiar to an advanced public in the Netherlands, when the weekly *Kroniek* was set up by P. J. Tak in 1895: the more conscious and didactic champions of art’s claims to influence national life. Though not seeing eye to eye with him on everything,<sup>7</sup> he felt sufficient regard for Walter Crane’s<sup>8</sup> *Claims of Decorative Art* to collaborate with Dijsselhof in its translation into Dutch as *Kunst en Samenleving* (1894). A greater apostolate, however, was reserved for Crane’s mentor in socialism and the rights of applied art, William Morris, to whose school of politics he felt himself converted about 1892.<sup>9</sup>

Morris’s great reputation and influence in the Netherlands originated almost entirely with the artists. No one in Holland, not even Emants, appears to have been directed to Northern studies by his advocacy or his translations; De Beer’s<sup>10</sup> and Miss Irving’s<sup>11</sup> efforts on behalf of his original poetry produced no effect. But in the mid-nineties he suddenly became a topic of discussion, and the news of his death intensified an interest which, even without that event, would certainly have continued to increase. For this the credit is due to Veth, to his friend and fellow-artist

<sup>1</sup> Huizinga, J., *Leven en Werk van Jan Veth* (1927), p. 13; this is a valuable book for the cultural history of the time.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to those mentioned he admired Blake (Huizinga, p. 149).

<sup>3</sup> Characteristically, he thought of Du Maurier as the man who had made the pre-Raphaelites ridiculous, indeed had been the virtual creator of the ‘aesthetic’ (*Portretstudies en Silhouetten* (n.d.), pp. 241 f.).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>6</sup> There was yet a third, loosely connected with the other two, the *Yellow Book* group, among whom he much admired Mr Laurence Housman, as draftsman, writer and connoisseur, while he ‘detested’ Beardsley (*Portretstudies en Silhouetten* (n.d.), p. 243; *Kroniek*, III, p. 36, respectively).

<sup>7</sup> Huizinga, p. 51.

<sup>8</sup> It may be remarked that Couperus’s tale *Hooge Troeven* (1896) revolves round a fancy-dress ball, in which the participants wear costumes made from designs by Crane.

<sup>9</sup> Huizinga, pp. 54 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Erphonia*, I (1876), xxvi, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Second edition of the *Literary Reader* (see p. 297 above).

R. N. Roland Holst, who made the personal acquaintance of Morris shortly before his death,<sup>1</sup> and to their organ, *De Kroniek*.

Holst appears to have been first in the field, with an article on 'Vercieringskunst' in the third number of *De Kroniek*,<sup>2</sup> where, speaking of Morris, he remarks that 'deze figuur is het, die niets dan bewondering kan wekken' in artists and craftsmen. A little later *De Koningsles* (*A King's Lesson*) was printed as a feuilleton.<sup>3</sup> Then came the news of Morris's death: Veth wrote a short obituary note, which was printed together with the English text of *All for the Cause* in the number for November 11, 1896, and, a week later, an account of Morris's funeral.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, obituary notices had appeared in *De Nederlandsche Spectator* and (presumably from the hand of Frans Netscher) in *De Hollandsche Revue*.<sup>5</sup> The former followed up with a fullish, but not always well-informed paper on 'William Morris', 'een van de veelzijdigste menschen die ooit geleefd hebben', by E. B. Koster,<sup>6</sup> and three notes on various aspects of him by 'G' between 1897 and 1899.<sup>7</sup> The January number, 1897, of *De Gids* had a fairly long article on him by L. Simons, at that time one of the most assiduous in establishing the end-of-the-century orientation of English thought and literature, while the July number reviewed Lahor's *Morris et le mouvement nouveau de l'art décoratif*.<sup>8</sup> More important were two papers in the new socialistic review, *De Nieuwe Tijd*, by H. Polak and Mevrouw Roland Holst (born 1869) respectively.<sup>9</sup>

Polak is mainly concerned with Morris's ideas and with his specifically 'socialistic poetry', though some recognition is also given to his Norse studies and to the vast influence of his craftsmanship. There is an additional, biographical interest in the statement that, though converted to socialism by Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, Polak had subsequently abandoned all Utopistic notions until, accidentally, *News from Nowhere* had come to his notice. Mevrouw Roland Holst's essay, 'William Morris als letterkundige', seems designed as a complement to Polak's. It is a stimulating and fairly well-informed panorama of nineteenth-century English poetry and Morris's place in it, sketched from a strictly economic-materialist point of view. Nothing is said about *News from Nowhere*,

<sup>1</sup> Holst, H. R., *Herman Gorter* (1933), p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> I (1895), pp. 17f.

<sup>3</sup> II, pp. 47 and 55.

<sup>4</sup> II, pp. 327 and 334 respectively. This issue, of November 18, had a full-page drawing of Morris by A. Molkenboer, and another portrait was reproduced a few weeks later (II, p. 359).

<sup>5</sup> (1896), p. 328 and I (1896), pp. 607ff. respectively.

<sup>6</sup> (1896), pp. 345ff.

<sup>7</sup> (1897), pp. 29f. and 205f.; (1899), pp. 162f.

<sup>8</sup> I, pp. 126ff. and III, pp. 171ff. respectively.

<sup>9</sup> I (1896-7), pp. 287ff. and II (1897-8), p. 193 respectively.

but *John Ball* ('het schoonst wat hij geschreven heeft'<sup>1</sup>) and *Poems by the Way* ('de eenige gedichten waarin de beste eigenschappen der moderne lyriek... behouden zijn gebleven in de dramatizeering van maatschappelijk werkelijkheid'<sup>2</sup>) are singled out for especial praise.

Mevrouw Roland Holst's essay served also as an introduction to the translation made by herself and Herman Gorter<sup>3</sup> of *John Ball en andere Vertalingen* (1898). Between this and the first two translations, already recorded, there had appeared 'Het Doel der Kunst', translated by A. Boer (Feuilleton of *De Kroniek*, II (1896), pp. 334f., 350f., 358f.), and *Nieuws uit Nergensoord, of een tijd van rust*, Frank van der Goes's translation (1897) of *News from Nowhere*. After them followed *Hoe de Maatschappij is, hoe zij behoorde te zijn*, K.A.B.'s translation of *True and False Society* (1898) and *Onder een Olmboom*, a translation of *Under an Elm-tree* as feuilleton in *De Kroniek*, VI (1900), pp. 304f., 312. E. B. Koster translated into verse *Summer Dawn* ('Zomerdageraad') and a portion of *The Defence of Guinevere*.<sup>4</sup>

When it is borne in mind that Mevrouw Roland Holst, Herman Gorter, H. Polak, Frank van der Goes and P. J. Tak, apart from all their other activities, also took the intellectual lead in the Dutch socialistic movement, the strength of Morris's political appeal<sup>5</sup> can be surmised. Though not decisively, it supplemented the claims of the Anglo-Saxon variations of socialism which, as against the Marxist, Van Eeden, somewhat differently inspired, was pressing on his party at the same time.

But Morris's literary influence in Holland has, apparently, by comparison with that of Shelley and Keats, proved slight, and before 1901 imperceptible.<sup>6</sup> However, the simplicity of expression and easiness of prosody which characterise much of Mevrouw Roland Holst's 'socialistic poetry' and stand in obvious contrast to the condensed and sometimes turbid style which she had elaborated for herself in the 1890's may owe something to Morris's verse, and the atmosphere of serene joy in which she and Herman Gorter (in *Pan*) invest some of their poetic visions of the future has much in common with that of *News from Nowhere*, which may have engendered it.

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Holst, H. R., *Herman Gorter* (1933), p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Verzamelde Gedichten* (1903), p. 426.

<sup>4</sup> Crane's too. It is notable that Heyermans, a fiery convert to socialism, quotes extensively from the latter in his *Tooneel en Maatschappij* (1899?).

<sup>5</sup> This may in part be attributable to the gulf that separates his propagandist writing from almost all his imaginative writing and to the fact that his introduction to the Netherlands came through the artists and the socialists, not the men of letters.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 198.

(vii) *The British Poets: Etcetera*

Shakespeare, Shelley, Keats and Morris were, of course, not the only English poets known in Holland at this time. While enthusiasts brought forward new favourites, old cults continued to flourish. Apart from the Milton-Vondel controversy<sup>1</sup> Milton attracted new interest by reason of the translation of J. J. L. ten Kate, *Het Verloren Paradijs* (1874), which called forth the essay by Charles Boissevain in *De Gids* for January 1877,<sup>2</sup> 'De Poëzie der Puriteinen'; Huet wrote on him in *Nederland* for 1880;<sup>3</sup> *Ons Tijdschrift* for 1898<sup>4</sup> printed over the initials H.W. 'Op mijn blindheid (Sonnet van Milton)',<sup>5</sup> and Edward B. Koster contributed 'Miltons Natuurgevoel' to *De Nederlandsche Spectator* for 1895.<sup>6</sup> The handling by Verwey's 'reus van rhythmus'<sup>7</sup> of the verse paragraph and the sonnet, two technicalities in which the 'Tachtigers' took especial interest, could scarcely be without effect upon them.

Similarly Byron went on being admired and translated. Ten Kate issued his not wholly novel translations, *Gedichten van Lord Byron*, in 1870; there were two new versions<sup>8</sup> of *Manfred*, by W. Gosler (1882)<sup>9</sup> and G. C. van 't Hoog (1899), and an article devoted to the piece by J. E. Banck (*Ned. Spect.* 1889, pp. 100ff.); 'Het Gebed der Natuur (Vrij naar het Engelsch van Byron)' by 'Alfons' appeared in *Quatuor* for 1870.<sup>10</sup> In addition to numerous observations in *De Nederlandsche Spectator* during 1869 and 1870 evoked by Mrs Beecher Stowe's revelations and a note on the centenary of Byron's birth by Vosmaer in the same journal in 1888,<sup>11</sup> the following articles may be listed: a full and important essay by Huet in *Nederland* for 1881;<sup>12</sup> 'Byron' by Hroswitha in *De Nederlandsche Spectator* for 1874;<sup>13</sup> and R.A.S., 'Van Byron', in *Ons Tijdschrift* for 1896,<sup>14</sup> chiefly about *Cain*.<sup>15</sup>

Among later poets Tennyson enjoyed most popularity. He was, as at home, looked upon as a classic and probably the greatest of living

<sup>1</sup> See p. 341 below: there was a note on Milton's possible indebtedness for *Paradise Lost* to Paolo's *Adamo caduto* in *Ned. Spect.* (1900), pp. 169f. <sup>2</sup> *I*, pp. 132ff.

<sup>3</sup> *II*, pp. 188ff. and 258ff.; reprinted in *Litt. Fant. en Krit.* *xii* (n.d.), pp. 152ff.

<sup>4</sup> *III*, p. 81.

<sup>5</sup> 'Op zijn Blindheid' is also included in Verwey's collected verse translations *Poëzie in Europa* (1920).

<sup>6</sup> Pp. 112f.; reprinted in *Studien in Kunst en Kritiek* (n.d.), pp. 197ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Oude Strijd* (1905), p. 109.

<sup>8</sup> There had been translations from Byron and other poets mentioned in this section before 1867.

<sup>9</sup> Reviews: *Gids*, *II* (1882), pp. 372ff. (by Esser, I.) and *Ned. Spect.* (1882), pp. 233ff. (by F.S.K.).

<sup>10</sup> *I*, pp. 35f.

<sup>11</sup> P. 50f.

<sup>12</sup> *III*, pp. 245ff. and 377ff., reprinted in *Litt. Fant. en Krit.* *IV* (n.d.), pp. 99ff.

<sup>13</sup> Pp. 162ff. and 172ff.

<sup>14</sup> *II*, pp. 67ff., 127ff.

<sup>15</sup> For Kok's translation see p. 290 n. above; there are undated fragments also in Kate, J. J. L. ten, *Gedichten van Lord Byron* (1870).

poets. His *Works* went through four editions printed in English for Dutch publishing houses.<sup>1</sup> His most devoted verse translators were J. H. F. le Comte and I. Esser, jr. ('Soera Rana'). The former did *Ginevra* (1885), *Elaine* (1887), *Viviane* (1889), *Enid* (1891) and a fuller *Konings-idyllen* (1893). Esser presented not only an *Idyllen van den Koning* (eerste volledige Nederlandsche Uitgave, met Inleiding en Aanteekeningen van Soera Rana) (1896) and *Henoch Arden* (1897), but included the following additional items in his collected *Gedichten* (1905):<sup>2</sup> *Zij droegen him in, Lazarus en Maria, Letterkrakeel, Dora, Godiva, Simeon Styltes, De Beek, Alles Wel, De tranen, ijdele tranen, en waarom?, Horenlied, Oenone*. There had been earlier translations of *Enoch Arden* (by S. J. van den Bergh, with a Preface by J. J. L. ten Kate, 1869, and by J. L. Wertheim, 1882), of *Dora* (by 'Meina', in *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen*, 1869, i, pp. 61 ff.), of *Vier Idyllen van Koning Arthur* (anonymous and in prose, 1883), of *Enid* (by D. E. M. van Herwerden, 1887). C. Honigh was the author of the metrical *Zwerftocht van Maeldune* in *Gids* (February, 1886),<sup>3</sup> B. van Heyningen of the fragmentary *Vrouwe van Shalott* in *Portefeuille* for 1888-9,<sup>4</sup> E. B. Koster of *Bruisch, branding, bruisch* and *Morte d'Arthur*,<sup>5</sup> G. L. Toekamp Lammers of *Oudejaarsavond* in *De Banier* for 1880.<sup>6</sup> The latter or (more probably) its original made a considerable impression on Kloos and Verwey.

Naturally, the number of articles about Tennyson in Dutch periodicals was considerable, and it is only possible here to single out a few of them, viz.:

Allard Pierson, 'Tennyson' (being no. III of 'Engelsche Dichtkunst van den Dag') in *Gids* for March, 1876; J. N. van Hall, 'Locksley Hall' in *Gids* for February, 1887; C. Boissevain, 'Tennyson 1808-1892' in *Gids* for November, 1892; E. B. Koster, 'Over Tennyson' in *Ned. Spect.* for 1893; A. J. Hoogenbirk, 'Een Dichtersleven' (à propos of Alfred Lord Tennyson, a Memoir) in *Ons Tijdschrift* for 1897.<sup>7</sup>

The fact that all these more important notices appeared in established or orthodox journals and none in the more radical speaks for itself. Only Gorter, in *Nieuwe Tijd*<sup>8</sup> for 1899, proclaimed the come-down from Shelley and Keats to Tennyson (and Rossetti).

Wordsworth and Coleridge, though not such favourites as Byron and Tennyson with the general reading public or as Shelley and Keats with

<sup>1</sup> *Poetical Works* (Amsterdam, 1868), *Complete Works* (ed. Loffelt, A. C., Rotterdam, 1870, new ed. 1884), *Poetical and Dramatic Works* (Rotterdam, 1878).

<sup>2</sup> 'Enone' dates from 1903, all the rest were written 1867-1900.

<sup>3</sup> i, pp. 362 ff.

<sup>4</sup> x, ii, pp. 296 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Verzamelde Gedichten* (1903), pp. 420 ff.

<sup>6</sup> vi, ii, p. 357.

<sup>7</sup> i, pp. 539 ff.; i, pp. 377 ff.; iv, pp. 335 ff.; 342 ff.; ii, pp. 563 ff. respectively.

<sup>8</sup> iii, p. 170.

the new literary dictators, were not overlooked, at least by the latter. Their services in renovating the poetic language and rousing the literary imagination met with due acknowledgment, but the principles of the Preface to the second edition of *Lyrical Ballads* could not bear much fruit with a generation bent on luxury of sound and image,<sup>1</sup> the doctrines of *Biographia Litteraria* could be found better expressed elsewhere, and the practice of these poets seemed carried further in the only right direction by their immediate successors. Nevertheless, *The Ancient Mariner* was translated as *De Oude Zeeman* by G. B. Kuitert (1896), and Verwey ranked its author<sup>2</sup> with Goethe and Hamann among the 'profeten van het nieuwe leven'.<sup>3</sup> At one time or another Verwey also translated from Wordsworth: *Mijn hart springt op*—previously done by Beets, *De Glimworm*, *Zij was een Droombeeld*, *Tijdloozen*, *De Leeuwrik*, *O Nachtegal*, *Ode*—all published in *Poëzie in Europa* (1920).

A word may be said about three major and recent British poets who, though sufficiently well known by name, made little impression in the Netherlands. Robert Browning,<sup>4</sup> the difficulties of whose style no doubt scared off the average reader and translator, may well have given the earnest 'Tachtiger' the impression that he was one of the merely argumentative poets, marked out for destruction. In 1888, however, Van Eeden thought<sup>5</sup> him the greatest of living poets; and M. E. Schuurman ventured on a verse translation of *Fra Lippo Lippi* in *Nederland* for 1896.<sup>6</sup> Swinburne, though ably sponsored by an article which Gosse originally wrote for a Danish periodical<sup>7</sup> and by Pierson,<sup>8</sup> failed of effect presumably for the opposite reason. Early in his career, however, Kloos quoted<sup>9</sup>

Ah! forgive us our virtues; forgive us,  
Our Lady of Pain.

<sup>1</sup> Vooyo, C. G. N. de, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandsche Taal* (1931), p. 173, indicates, however, that Wordsworth's notions of poetic diction carried great weight with the 'Tachtigers'. Cf. also Verwey, A., *De Oude Strijd* (1905), p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bijvanck, W. G. C., 'Coleridge en de engelsche Romantiek' in *Ned. Spect.* (1886), pp. 358 ff., and Eysten, J., review of Brandl's *S. T. Coleridge und die englische Romantik* in *Portefeuille*, ix (1887-8), pp. 259 ff., a scholarly piece of work.

<sup>3</sup> *Stille Toernooien* (reprints of earlier papers, 1901), p. 119. Compared with Shelley, he deemed him and Wordsworth only 'talented' (*Letterkundige Kritiek* (1894), p. 8).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Loghem, M. G. L. van, 'Robert Browning' in *Nederland*, i (1890), pp. 100 ff.; Knüttel-Fabius, E., 'Robert Browning's laatste Bundel' in *Ned. Spect.* (1890), p. 39 ff.; Bijvanck, W. G. C., 'Robert Browning, 1812-1889' in *Gids*, i (January, 1890), pp. 174 ff.; Verburgh, E., 'Robert Browning's Tooneelwerken' in *Tweem. Tijdschr.* i (May, 1895), ii, pp. 176 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Studies*, i (1890), p. 89.

<sup>6</sup> I, pp. 417 ff.

<sup>7</sup> 'Een nieuw Meteor aan Engeland's letterkundige hemel' in *Banier*, iv (1878), i, pp. 469 ff. and ii, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Gids*, iv (October, 1878, May and July, 1879), pp. 79 ff., ii, pp. 193 ff. and iii, pp. 101 ff. respectively.

<sup>9</sup> *Veertien Jaar Literatuur-Geschiedenis* (3rd ed. 1904), p. 50.

The neglect of Rossetti, great sonneteer though he was and combining so many of the excellences admired by the 'Tachtigers', is less easy to explain. No doubt his symbolism, his untranslatability,<sup>1</sup> his sesquipedalianisms all told individually against him; but their cumulative effect seems out of all proportion. I have found no translations from him and only four magazine articles<sup>2</sup>—all quite slight, except Miss Irving's in *Portefeuille*<sup>3</sup>—before Mevrouw Roland Holst's monograph, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (1899), at the very end of the period. It is possible, however, that at one time his prose served as a model to Jan Veth's, and there may be some parallels traceable between Hélène Swarth's symbolical sonnets and *The House of Life*.<sup>4</sup>

Couperus contributed some passages translated from Spenser's *Faerie Queene* to *Nederlandsche Spectator* in 1885<sup>5</sup> (himself using the Spenserian stanza, as H. J. Boeken was to do for *De Historie van Floris en Blanchefloer*, 1897). A translation from Leigh Hunt, *Abou-Ben-Adhem* by 'Spurius', appeared in *Portefeuille* for 1889-90;<sup>6</sup> his *Ver-Vert* was rendered into Dutch by Van der Goes for one of the feulletons of *De Kroniek*;<sup>7</sup> we know that his *Imagination and Fancy*, with its particular selection from the English poets and the slogan 'Poetry is imaginative passion', made a deep impression on the 'Tachtigers'.<sup>8</sup>—Mrs Browning still enjoyed the favour with which she had met before 1867; *Aurora Leigh*, praised as 'Mrs Browning's Meesterwerk' by H. van der Laan in *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* for 1875,<sup>9</sup> was twice translated, by Hélène Mercier (1883) and by M. van Walcheren (1885).<sup>10</sup> Charles Boissevain gave an article to her in *De Gids* for July, 1867;<sup>11</sup> H. J. Boeken spoke in high terms of *Aurora Leigh*, *Wine of Cyprus* and *Vision of the Poets* in *Nieuwe Gids* for 1897.<sup>12</sup>—Otherwise, however, the earlier English poets were the concern, it would seem, mainly of the dilettante, who could refer to the following:

Heeckeren, J. A. F. L., 'Alexander Pope' (*Gids*, August and September, 1885, III, pp. 181 ff. and 430 ff., calling forth a retort from Van Eeden in *N. Gids*, 1885-6, I, I, p. 154); Laan, H. van der, 'William Cowper' (*Vad. Letteroef.* 1874, II, pp. 746 ff.);<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Professor Verwey told me he had tried to translate Rossetti, whom he much admired, but had never succeeded.

<sup>2</sup> *Ned. Spect.* (1882), p. 150; *Portefeuille* (1882-3), pp. 25 ff.; *ibid.* (1883-4), pp. 108 ff.; *Kroniek*, I (1895), p. 398.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 298 f. above, as also for her mention of Rossetti in her study of the sonnet.

<sup>4</sup> Rossetti was better known in Belgium.

<sup>5</sup> P. 91.

<sup>6</sup> XI, p. 71.

<sup>7</sup> V (1899), pp. 270 f. and 278 f.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Kloos, W., *Jacques Perk, Gedichten* (17th ed., n.d.), p. 10, Verwey, A., *Nieuwe Nederlandsche Dichtkunst* (4th ed. 1914), p. 52.

<sup>9</sup> II, pp. 731 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Reviewed in *Gids*, where it first appeared, II (April, 1886), pp. 200 ff., and *Ned. Spect.* (1886), pp. 144 f., by Vosmaer.

<sup>11</sup> III, pp. 66 ff.

<sup>12</sup> N.R. II, p. 83 n.

<sup>13</sup> Esser doing a version of *John Gilpin*, in *Gedichten*, I (1905), pp. 124 ff.

Sybrandi, K., 'De "Tales of the Hall" van George Crabbe' (*Vad. Letteroef.* 1870, I, pp. 273 ff., 327 ff.).

Apart from Swinburne and Morris, Tennyson and Browning, the last third of the century was no great era in English poetry, and that seems to have been the impression it made contemporaneously in the Netherlands. Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia* and *Light of the World* were translated by H. U. Meyboom (1889 and 1892 respectively),<sup>1</sup> and Van Eeden records<sup>2</sup> how he read *The Light of the World* in an Amsterdam restaurant with the tears rolling down his face: the part of his messiahdom attributable to this inspiration has yet to be assessed. But Matthew Arnold caused little interest as a poet<sup>3</sup> and Meredith virtually none.<sup>4</sup> The alertness of *De Kroniek* is shown by its printing a note on Hardy's *Wessex Poems* in 1899<sup>5</sup> and singling out, for full quotation in the original, 'We stood by a pond'. De Beer's attempt<sup>6</sup> to elevate O'Shaughnessy to the rank of a major foreign poet met with no response, and P. B. Marston provoked only one short article.<sup>7</sup> Allard Pierson devoted the second of his *Gids* articles on 'Engelsche Dichtkunst van den Dag' in 1876 to Arthur Gray Butler and R. H. Horne, the first<sup>8</sup> to Alfred Austin and George Eliot, whose *Legend of Tubal* was translated by C. van Kempe Valk.<sup>9</sup> Vosmaer included the translation of two poems by Edmund Gosse in his article on him in *Nederlandsche Spectator* for 1877.<sup>10</sup> There were anonymous reviews of R. W. Dixon's *Lyrical Poems* (*Portefeuille*, 1887-8, ix, p. 368) and of Lady Lindsay's *King's Last Vigil* (*Gids*, June 1895, II, pp. 557 ff.). The two notes on Christina Rossetti in *De Kroniek*<sup>11</sup> (presumably by Jan Veth) barely touch her poetry. In the same periodical L. Simons wrote a full review of Wilde's *Ballad of Reading Gaol*, and a very short article, taken from *The Daily Chronicle*, on 'Iersche Renaissance' just mentions the beginnings of W. B. Yeats.<sup>12</sup> E. B. Koster's *Studiën in Kunst en Kritiek* (n.d.) contain an essay, dated

<sup>1</sup> Before publication in book form, there were excerpts and comments of the translator in *Gids*, II (June, 1881), pp. 450 ff. and II (May, 1892), pp. 279 ff. respectively.

<sup>2</sup> *Brieven* (1907), p. 61; in April, 1895, he reports (*ibid.*, p. 120) that he has translated some of it.

<sup>3</sup> *Dover Beach, The Buried Life* and some other short poems by M. Arnold, Clough and Newman are translated in Peaux, A. J., 'Uit den Tijd der Oxfordsche Beweging' in *Nederland*, I (1890), pp. 381 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Simons, L., reviewed *Select Poems* in *Kroniek*, III (1897), p. 365, picking out *Love in the Valley* for special praise.

<sup>5</sup> v, p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> *Euphonia*, I (1876-7), xxvi, p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Siebenhaar, W., 'Philip Bourke Marston', *Ned. Spect.* (1887), pp. 80 f.

<sup>8</sup> I, pp. 346 ff. and I, pp. 161 ff. respectively.

<sup>9</sup> *Gids*, IV (1881), pp. 525 ff.—later included in *Dichterlijke Verhalen* (1888).

<sup>10</sup> Pp. 382 f.

<sup>11</sup> I (1895), p. 22 and VI (1900), p. 84 respectively.

<sup>12</sup> *Kroniek*, IV (1898), pp. 76 f. and I (1895), p. 318 respectively.

1894, on Roden Noel and a full critique, undated (but probably of 1899 or 1900), of James Thomson's *City of Dreadful Night*.<sup>1</sup>

*De Kroniek* again had a series of notes on the new poets making a stir in the 'nineties, such as Bridges, Henley, A. A. Jack, Stephen Phillips, Watson.<sup>2</sup> But the two belonging to this category who called forth most comment were Rudyard Kipling and Ernest Dowson. E. B. Koster criticised *Barrack Room Ballads* in *Nederlandsche Spectator* for 1893,<sup>3</sup> and at the height of anti-British sentiment in the early days of the second Boer war the same periodical published<sup>4</sup> in full the English of 'Het nieuwste Gedicht van Rudyard Kipling', namely *The Absent-Minded Beggar*. Ernest Dowson had the good fortune to interest both *De Kroniek* and Albert Verwey. The former, after a notice of him by L. Simons in 'Aanteekeningen omtrent Engelsche Literatuur' in 1895, printed *Het Dagboek van een voorspoedig Man, Een Gewetenszaak* and *De Wet van Bepierking* as feuilletons.<sup>5</sup> Verwey, charmed by his verses, made repeated but vain attempts to meet him during a visit to London.<sup>6</sup> When he died, Verwey dedicated one of his 'Tijdzangen' to his memory<sup>7</sup> and, later, translated a number of his poems.<sup>8</sup>

It seems doubtful whether, a few stray rhythms and fancies aside, Dutch poetry before 1900 owed anything to any English poet later than Tennyson.

#### (viii) *Frederik van Eeden and his formation*

Though by temperament more susceptible to German influences, Frederik van Eeden was more thoroughly steeped in English reading than any other major Dutch writer of his time. This process began in childhood when presumably he made his acquaintance with *The Rose and the Ring*<sup>9</sup> and also with Dodgson's *Alice in Wonderland*,<sup>10</sup> which seem to

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 117 ff. and 133 ff. respectively; most of Koster's articles mentioned elsewhere in this paper are likewise to be found here.

<sup>2</sup> iv (1898), p. 54; v (1899), p. 390; vi (1900), p. 101; v (1899), p. 406; vi (1900), p. 395 respectively.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 386 ff., 394 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ned. Spect.* (1899), p. 357.

<sup>5</sup> i (1895), pp. 348 ff.; v (1899), pp. 182 ff., 190 ff.; v (1899), pp. 358 ff., 366 ff.; vi (1900), pp. 55, 63 respectively. The originals, *Diary of a Successful Man, Case of Conscience* and *Stature of Limitations*, are collected in *Dilemmas* (1895).

<sup>6</sup> Van Deyssel, in 1894, was more successful (*Gedenkschriften* (1924), pp. 245 ff.).

<sup>7</sup> 'Ernest Dowson. In Memoriam', in *Tweem. Tijdschr.* vi (1900), p. 305.

<sup>8</sup> *Cease smiling, Dear!*, *Grey Nights*, *My Lady April*, *Nuns of the Perpetual Adoration*, *Benedictio Domini* and *To One in Bedlam* (*Stille Toernooien* (1901), pp. 197 ff.).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Lord Crimmetart in *De Kleine Johannes*, III (1906), pp. 76 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the rabbit's burrow in *De Kleine Johannes*, I (ed. of 1892, pp. 16 ff.), with the party in it very remotely resembling the mad hatter's, a disquisition on mushrooms (65), de kleine Johannes's faculty for changing his stature.

have left traces on the first part of *De Kleine Johannes* (1887),<sup>1</sup> and went on to the height of his maturity, when the hero of his *Nachtbruid* (1909) found a spiritual brother in Mr Bernard Shaw. From 1877 he travelled repeatedly in Great Britain and U.S.A.; the English scene is conspicuous in *Van de Koele Meren des Doods* (1900) and later works. He made speeches and wrote both prose and verse<sup>2</sup> in the English language. He had what might be called the obligatory knowledge of and admiration for Keats and, as has been seen, for Shelley. The Dutch collaborator in *The Athenaeum* for 1897<sup>3</sup> saw the unmistakable influence of Swinburne and Shakespeare on his *Lioba* (1897).

In two papers on 'Nieuw Engelsch Proza'<sup>4</sup> Van Eeden showed how thoroughly he was at home in the life and literature of the English-speaking countries. The studies have an especial interest as attempting, in 1891, to bring 'the English perspective' up to date. The Britain on which Dutch contemporaries gazed with admiration was the Britain of Tennyson (with its precious heritage, of course)—as is strikingly betrayed by *De Gids* when, after printing articles on English books on an average every other month for the last ten years, it published none for just on two years (November, 1892 to October, 1894) after the death of the poet laureate! Van Eeden now had a word to say about some later developments. The English genius, he argued, has realised it cannot for ever go on living upon the renown of its poets; now that the French have discovered the new 'beeldende, kleurrijke, rhythmisch proza', how does it react?

The first of Van Eeden's two papers deals with Kipling's *Light that Failed* and is substantially a defence of English fiction and English writers against the French;<sup>5</sup> for he found 'Engelsche schrijvers superieur aan de Fransche',<sup>6</sup> as concentrating on fiction's worthiest and most difficult task, the creation of character, and eschewing that mark of the immature, preoccupation with sexual irregularity. The second paper gives an account of a short-lived, 'bright' periodical, *The Whirlwind*, of Whistler's *Gentle Art of Making Enemies*, of R. L. Stevenson, of Mallock's *New Republic* and Pater's *Marius the Epicurean*.

Stevenson and Mallock were not unknown. The former's *Goud-eiland* (*Treasure Island*) appeared in 1885, but had not apparently met with

<sup>1</sup> There are parallels with Charles Kingsley's *Water-Babies*, but Van Eeden appears to have read it for the first time on December 28, 1897 (*Brieven van Frederik van Eeden*... 1907, p. 160).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the sonnet to Ruskin, quoted p. 318 below, the dedication of *Ellen* (1889), 'To Lady V' in *Enkele Verzen* (1898), p. 31, and, probably, *Happy Humanity* (1908).

<sup>3</sup> II, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> *N. Gids*, VI (1890-1), II, pp. 289 ff. and VII (1891-2), I, pp. 70 ff.; reprinted in *Studies, tweede reeks* (1894), pp. 127 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. ed. cit. pp. 159 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.

great success, as the next translation did not come out till 1892.<sup>1</sup> Van Eeden puts him into a different category from 'boeken-fabrieksvolk', like Rider Haggard, Walter Besant, Mrs Humphry Ward and Edna Lyall, and lays stress on his fine style, 'met een zeer origineel, koel timbre.'<sup>2</sup> He calls him 'een der beste schrijvers van een genre dat tegenwoordig niet heel hoog in aanzien is... Hij is de schrijver-tijdverdrijver'.<sup>3</sup> We all love Scott, and by the same right, we may all love Stevenson.—Though never translated, Mallock was known for his *New Republic*, discussed by W. H. de Beaufort in *De Gids* in 1879,<sup>4</sup> for *Is Life worth Living?*, dealt with by Allard Pierson in *De Amsterdammer* in 1879 (Van Vloten retorting upon him in *De Levensbode* for 1880),<sup>5</sup> and for his *Social Equality*, noticed in *De Gids* for January 1883.<sup>6</sup> Van Eeden now praised *The New Republic* for giving 'als 't ware de fine fleur der Engelsche intellecten',<sup>7</sup> whose eminence above the French he was bent on demonstrating.

Of Pater Van Eeden declared that he had never heard until, evidently quite recently, *Marius the Epicurean* had come into his hands. As a matter of fact W. G. C. Bijvanck had just written his 'Geestelijk Epicurisme' in *De Gids*<sup>8</sup> round the *Appreciations*.<sup>9</sup> Van Eeden warns potential readers that 'zijn boeken zijn duur en droog als kurk'.<sup>10</sup> But, that aside, he finds 'hem een van de voornaamste en nobelste figuren van onzen tijd',<sup>11</sup> his stylistic craftsmanship is astonishing and, as a historical novel, *Marius* makes Ebers, Dahn, Eckstein, 'Ouida', even *Salammô* and *Akedysseril* look puerile and garishly barbarous.<sup>12</sup> A few years later, in his Introduction to Van Oordt's historical novel *Irmenlo* (1896), he attributed<sup>13</sup> the regeneration of that effete species to Pater and Flaubert.—In his illustrations of late Victorian tendencies in English literature, Van Eeden showed creditable acumen, but he achieved nothing further of importance as an interpreter in the Netherlands of British *belles-lettres*. Nor will it probably be said that these writers and others like Matthew Arnold<sup>14</sup> on whom he lavished his enthusiasm affected him much as a writer or thinker.

For influence, two groups of 'Anglo-Saxon' publicists—Van Eeden never distinguished between British and colonial writing—come into

<sup>1</sup> *Bijna Weggemoffeld (Kidnapped)*.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. cit. p. 153.

<sup>4</sup> 'Engeland's Geleerden', III, pp. 193 ff.

<sup>6</sup> I, pp. 208 ff.

<sup>8</sup> III (August, 1890), pp. 193 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Simons, L., also dealt with *Miscellaneous Studies* in the third of his 'Aanteekeningen omtrent Engelsche Literatuur' in *Kroniek*, II (1896), p. 20.

<sup>10</sup> Ed. cit. pp. 158 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Ed. cit. p. 160.

<sup>14</sup> *Studies*, tweede reeks, p. 24, where he groups the following round him: Ruskin, Max Müller, Pater, Patmore, besides some Americans. See p. 321 below.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. cit. p. 152.

<sup>5</sup> XI and XI, pp. 427 ff. respectively.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. cit. p. 156.

<sup>11</sup> Ed. cit. p. 158.

<sup>13</sup> 2nd ed. (1912), p. x.

consideration. On the one hand there are the 'spiritualists', both of the type of Anna Kingsford, whose defence of vegetarianism he introduced to the Dutch public,<sup>1</sup> and of the circle of the London Society for Psychical Research; they made an especial appeal through their mixture of mysticism and scientific professions. On the other hand there are those economists whom Van Eeden found congenial for the same reason as the spiritualists: for with more purely scientific writers, whether of the schools of Adam Smith or Jevons or Karl Marx, Van Eeden would have nothing to do.

In this he was very like Ruskin, whom he resembled also in his dilettante philology, his insistence on the *filth* of industrialism, his ceaseless dogmatising and itch to take the public into his confidence. He always spoke of Ruskin in terms of high admiration as the prophet of true socialism<sup>2</sup> and, just before the latter's death, addressed him in this English sonnet:

O splendid well of holy bitterness  
brimful with thy dire sorrows and the shame  
of this vile age—thou quenchest rage's flame,  
thou sweetenest my own chalice of distress.  
Could thou but yet, ere mortal parting came,  
my thanks accept, my poor endeavours bless  
and hear my oath that I shall without blame  
thy heavy standard bear and knightly dress.  
Alas! for wrongs by blinded idlers spent  
on thee, their prophet and their truest chief!  
Thy great heart overcome, thy great mind bent  
by weight of old and unrelenting grief!  
Now dost thou die—and I who cannot mend!  
And my full force that cannot give relief!<sup>3</sup>

With a palpable allusion to the Gild of St George, Van Eeden considered himself as carrying on the mission of Ruskin; but, much as the ideals and practice of the colony which he started at 'Walden' near Bussum had in common with Ruskin's, he maintained that his own socialistic ideas had been worked out independently and that he therefore could not declare himself Ruskin's disciple.<sup>4</sup> But the future investigator of Van Eeden's thought will have to scrutinize this disclaimer as carefully as his reticence about William Morris<sup>5</sup> and the significance of Carlylean phraseology like:

Houd op van anti-chambreeren in 't paleis der Muze... Ga naar huis en tracht te doen wat ge voor Gods wil houdt, zonder u om konst of Muze te bekommeren.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *De ware Voeding* (1896); the introduction is reprinted in *Studies*, III (1897), pp. 177 ff.

<sup>2</sup> As against the Marxist variety; later he wrote the introduction to the translated selection from Ruskin's writings in the 'Wereldbibliotheek', *Mensch en Maatschappij* (n.d.).

<sup>3</sup> *N. Gids*, N.R.V. (September, 1899), p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Waarvoor Werkt Gij* (3rd ed. 1899), pp. 28 f. He notes that he disagrees with Ruskin about monarchy and anarchy.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Kalf, G., *Fredrik van Eeden* (1927), pp. 164 f., 250.

<sup>6</sup> 'Over Woordkunst' in *XX<sup>e</sup> Eeuw*, VIII (September, 1902), pp. 302 f.

(ix) *British Prophets, Thinkers and Critics*

The influence of Ruskin could hardly be very extensive in Holland. As an art critic he had publicly declared<sup>1</sup> that 'the best patronage that any monarch could possibly bestow upon the arts' would be to collect all the pictures of the Dutch school into one great gallery and 'burn it to the ground'. From his general censure he exempted Rembrandt, whose aim, however, was 'to paint the foulest things he could see—by rush-light...material and spiritual',<sup>2</sup> and whose colouring he adduced<sup>3</sup> as an example of 'vulgarity, dullness or impiety'.

His technical utterances, of course, received some attention from Vosmaer<sup>4</sup> and others, but his lay-prophet's 'message' did not penetrate very far into a society which, encouraging Cuyper's medievalism and persuaded of the necessity of basing art and national life on a religious basis, would presumably have absorbed it eagerly but for the antagonism aroused by his prejudices. In the late 'eighties and in the 'nineties his significance was, however, appreciated. Miss Irving led off with a longish general article in *De Gids* for December, 1889, which the sociologist H. P. Quack followed up in March, 1892 with a study of 'Het St George's gild van John Ruskin'.<sup>5</sup> Later came Meijuffrouw G. H. Marius's papers, reprinted as *John Ruskin, een Inleiding tot zijn Werken* (1899);<sup>6</sup> and before that a 'Karakterschets' in the *Hollandsche Revue* (presumably by Netscher) had been devoted to him.<sup>7</sup>

Translations now began: *De Koning van de Goudrivier* (1899) and E. van den Gheyn's *Banen der Kunst, Gothiek en Renaissance*<sup>8</sup> (1900). His death, of course, evoked a few obituary notices.<sup>9</sup> That in *De Kroniek*<sup>10</sup> was by Professor Roland Holst, and it may be inferred that those about him who acclaimed Morris also knew about Ruskin, though the relationship between the two seems not always to have been recognised.<sup>11</sup> Some knowledge of what he stood for seems also to have penetrated to literary men indifferent to the morality of art and the place of craftsmanship

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Painters in Works of John Ruskin*, III (ed. Cook, E. T. and Wedderburn, A.) (1903), p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> *Cestus of Aglana in Works*, ed. cit., XIX (1905), p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> *Modern Painters ut cit.* V (1904), p. 328.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., in 'Vlugmaren', *Ned. Spect.* (1876), pp. 177 f.

<sup>5</sup> IV (December, 1889), pp. 485 ff. and I (March, 1892), pp. 405 ff. respectively.

<sup>6</sup> Den Haag; it appeared as 'Idealsten, John Ruskin', in *Gids*, XI (May, August, 1898), pp. 342 ff., III, pp. 274 ff. and I (March, 1899), pp. 412 ff.

<sup>7</sup> III (February, 1898), pp. 106 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Fragments from *Stones of Venice*, *Crown of Wild Olive* and *On the Old Road*.

<sup>9</sup> E.g., *Ned. Spect.* (1900, p. 26, by 'G'), followed up by another note, p. 420.

<sup>10</sup> *Kroniek* (1900), p. 26.

<sup>11</sup> E.g., by E. B. Koster in *Ned. Spect.* (1896), pp. 345 ff.

in the national life. Thus Van Deyssel is found<sup>1</sup> classing him with Beyle and Taine among the critics who are 'kunstenaarsgeesten', not pedantic museum curators or cataloguers.

Carlyle, too, whose notions of Hero-worship were to convey something to the next generation,<sup>2</sup> seems to have suffered comparative neglect. *De Fransche Omwenteling* was reprinted (3rd ed. 1878), and *Sartor Resartus* appeared in Dutch for the first time (translation by J. W. C. A. Zürcher, 1880). Writing about him was confined to biography, except J. A. Sillem's 'Klaagliederen van T. Carlyle' in *De Gids* for 1871<sup>3</sup> and Huet's 'Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881)' in *Nederland* for 1881,<sup>4</sup> before F. van Gheel Gildemeester's general study, *Thomas Carlyle* (1900). Taco de Beer was struck by this unpopularity, which (with Ruskin's) he put down<sup>5</sup> to a reputation for eccentricity. Perhaps the close proximity of the Dutch to the 'magnanimous and fortunate Herr von Bismarck' had something to do with it.

The promising young schoolmaster-novelist A. P. van Groeningen just mentions Carlyle in *Martha de Bruin* (1889),<sup>6</sup> the hero of which settles down to a work in the style of Buckle,<sup>7</sup> 'zooals zijn vader lange jaren bezig geweest was een cultuur-geschiedenis te schrijven, waarin het typische der volkeren verklaart wordt uit hun milieu'.<sup>8</sup>

As a historian Macaulay continued to command respect, and Van Deyssel, the apostle of 'woordkunst', concedes<sup>9</sup> to him a very high place too on the strength of his command of language.—The specific influence of John Stuart Mill perhaps falls outside the scope of this essay.<sup>10</sup> Suffice it to say that, of course, all utilitarian speculation<sup>11</sup> and feminist propaganda, of which there was a fair amount in the Netherlands, drew heavily upon him. Nor can the huge amount of comment evoked by Darwin and his followers be considered. Samuel Butler had his *Erewhon* translated in 1873 (by P. G. van Schermbeek) and was saluted by Lindo,<sup>12</sup> but then dropped out of notice; even Van Eeden ignored so valuable an ally.

<sup>1</sup> *Lyrisch en verhalend proza* (2nd ed., n.d.), p. 175; I have not been able to discover the date of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., to Dirk Coster and his following.

<sup>3</sup> III (August, 1871), pp. 193 ff., a general article; Sillem also dealt with Carlyle's *Reminiscences* as 'Thomas Carlyle's Leerjaren' in *Gids*, III (September, 1881), pp. 385 ff.

<sup>4</sup> I, pp. 440 ff., reprinted in *Litt. Fant. en Krit.* XXI (n.d.), pp. 109 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Portefeuille*, II (1880-1), p. 325.

<sup>6</sup> 2nd ed. (1896), p. 199.

<sup>7</sup> Who is mentioned by name (ed. cit. p. 232). There was a study 'Henry Thomas Buckle' by P. Brujin in *Vaderl. Letteroef.* for 1868 (Bibl. pp. 289 ff.) and the book by M. Henriques Pimentel, *Overzicht van Buckle's Geschiedenis der Beschaving* (1869).

<sup>8</sup> Ed. cit. p. 194.

<sup>9</sup> *Kritieken* (3rd ed., n.d.), p. 185.

<sup>10</sup> Of the other British philosophers Bain was known and Spencer enjoyed a considerable reputation.

<sup>11</sup> Cf., for instance, Cannegieter, J., *De Nuttigheidsleer van John Stuart Mill en Professor van der Wijck* (1876); it was in Groningen that Mill had the greatest following.

<sup>12</sup> 'Een voortreffelijk boek', in *Ned. Spect.* (1873), p. 133. E. A. Abbott's *Flatland* was translated as *Platland* (1886).

Nothing of Matthew Arnold's prose appears to have been translated at this time, and the writing about him is scanty. Apart from an article taken over in *Euphonia* for 1878<sup>1</sup> from the *New York Nation* and a short obituary notice in *Nederlandsche Spectator*,<sup>2</sup> there appeared almost simultaneously general essays on him by W. G. C. Bijvanck and Miss E. J. Irving, in *De Gids* and *Nederland* respectively.<sup>3</sup> But knowledge about him seems to have come in outside the obvious channels, Van Eeden expressly declaring<sup>4</sup> that at the outset of the new Dutch movement he exerted influence upon it, which unhappily did not last or go deep enough.<sup>5</sup> For Van Eeden he remained the model critic, thanks to whom there prevailed in Anglo-Saxon countries a greater sureness in literary taste and culture than elsewhere.<sup>6</sup>

(x) *British Novelists: Minor*

The ordinary fare provided by the circulating libraries of the Netherlands was very largely, probably preponderantly, of British origin. The heroine in Van Groeningen's realistic novel of Rotterdam life reads *Adam Bede* and learns about life from it, later reads Dickens and compares the life she sees from behind a confectioner's counter with his descriptions.<sup>7</sup> English letters must have exerted a considerable influence on native production of the same quality, too, for a couple of reasons: the nature of the readers' general demand must have been largely determined by it; and, since some of the Dutch translators also indulged in 'original' literature,<sup>8</sup> they would naturally pick up hints for it from the foreign material they had handled. British hegemony in this realm seems to have been most indisputable in the late 'sixties and 'seventies; after this native production, it appears,<sup>9</sup> increased proportionately, when compared with translation, and German *Unterhaltungsliteratur* became a more threatening competitor.

<sup>1</sup> III, xxxviii, pp. 2f.

<sup>2</sup> 1888, p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> 'Matthew Arnold 1822-1888' in *Gids*, II (June and July, 1888), pp. 385ff. and III, pp. 116ff.; 'Matthew Arnold' in *Nederland*, II (1888), pp. 264ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Studies*, II, p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> What Verwey considered (*Nieuwe Nederlandsche Dichtkunst* (4th ed. 1914), p. 13) a distinguishing mark of his generation, that it displaced dogmatic religion by the 'algemeene wezen van de poezie', accords perfectly with Arnold's theories.

<sup>6</sup> *Studies*, II, *ut. cit.* p. 24. No other British critic seems *quid* critic to have roused any attention, except Archer, to whom *Het Tooneel* gave some routine notices, and J. A. Symonds, whose Renaissance studies Bijvanck praised in *Ned. Spect.* (1886), pp. 254ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Martha de Bruin* (2nd ed. 1896), pp. 86ff. and 134.

<sup>8</sup> E.g., *Mevrouw van Westrheene* and H. T. Chappuis.

<sup>9</sup> The evidence of the reviews, e.g., *Ned. Spect.*, may be misleading, since the impression remains that in later years only the better fiction was noticed; a good deal of inferior reading-matter, duly reviewed in the 'seventies, is passed over in the 'nineties.

Translations of novels by the following were made into Dutch between 1867 and 1900:

'F. Anstey', Mrs Argles, F. Armstrong, Miss Braddon, F. Breton, C. W. Shirley Brooks, R. W. Buchanan, H. D. Burton, T. H. Hall Caine, R. N. Carey, F. Cartney [?],<sup>1</sup> Mrs W. K. Clifford, H. Crackanthorpe, Mrs Craik, Mrs Deland, M. A. Dickens, E. Hepworth Dixon, L. Dougall, Mrs Edwardes, 'George Egerton', Mrs Ellis, T. C. Elmslie, B. L. Farjeon, M. A. Fleming, C. Fothergill, T. Gallon, Mrs Gaskell,<sup>2</sup> 'M. Gray', George Griffith, A. C. Gunter, Mrs Duffus Hardy, Beatrice Harraden, G. A. Henty, H. F. Hetherington, 'John Oliver Hobbes', J. Hocking, S. K. Hocking, A. E. Holdsworth, Ascott R. Hope, F. Hume, J. E. Jenkins, J. K. Jerome, J. Kavanagh, Henry Kingsley, D. Ker, E. King, 'John Law', E. Lawless, 'Vernon Lee', Charles Lever, Jacob de Liefde, A. Locker, E. Lyall, Mrs Lynn Linton, George Macdonald, Lady Majendie, 'Lucas Malet', F. Marryat, E. S. March, Emma Marshall, J. McCarthy, G. du Maurier, H. S. Merriman, Florence Montgomery, F. F. Moore, J. E. Muddock, Miss Mulock, D. C. Murray, Mrs M. W. Newman, Mrs Oliphant,<sup>3</sup> 'George Paston', J. Payn, F. M. Peard, M. Pemberton, F. C. Philips, E. Prentiss, Compton Reade, Mrs Riddell ('F. G. Trafford'), F. W. Robinson, C. H. Ross, D. Russell, W. C. Russell, R. H. Savage, E. M. Sewell, G. R. Sims, J. G. Smith, Hamelyn Smith [?], Mrs J. K. Spender, F. A. Steel, L. Alma Tadema,<sup>4</sup> Miss Thackeray, Ethel S. Turner, 'Sarah Tytler', L. B. Walford, W. T. Watts-Dunton, S. J. Weyman, G. J. Whyte-Melville, Sarah Willis ('Fanny Fern'), Mrs H. Wood, E. J. Worboise, E. H. Yates, C. M. Yonge, I. Zangwill.<sup>5</sup>

From this list, long as it is, a number have been excluded who for some reason call for comment in some slight detail.—Apart from Dickens, the British novelists with the widest circulation appear to have been Ainsworth, Collins, Trollope, 'Ouida' and Besant. The first three reached the acme of their popularity in Holland in the first years of the period under review, and Wilkie Collins<sup>6</sup> kept his until the end of his career: I have noticed 18 'titles' between 1869 and 1890, as well as a collected 'Collins-Editie' (1874-7) and his collaboration with Dickens, *Geen Uitweg* (*No Thoroughfare*, 1867); one may perhaps name separately *De Maansteen* (1869) and, by reason of its vogue in stage adaptations, *De boetvaardige Magdalena* (1873).

As at home, Harrison Ainsworth and Trollope lost their appeal in the Netherlands before they had finished writing. A translation from Ainsworth appeared in every year but one between 1867 and 1874, with two (including *Tower Hill*) in 1871 and two in 1874. After them came *De Vrouw van den Goudsmid* (1876) and nothing more. The great favour

<sup>1</sup> A query denotes that the original author has not been identified.

<sup>2</sup> *Vrouwen en Dochters* (trans. by Mevrouw van Westrheene, 1868), reviewed in *Vaderl. Letteroef.* (1869), Bibl. pp. 500 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Couperus gratefully accepts Mrs Oliphant's comparison (in *Makers of Florence*, p. 119) between the campanile and cathedral of Florence and the lily and virgin Mary (*Reis-Impressies*, n.d. p. 169). In the same book (p. 36) he refers also to Frances Elliot's *Diary of an Idle Woman*.

<sup>4</sup> Laurence Alma Tadema was the Frisian painter's daughter.

<sup>5</sup> An examination of newspaper feuilletons would probably furnish further names. Books by those listed were all available in book form.

<sup>6</sup> Peaux, J., 'Iets over Engelsche Sensatie-Romans', in *Nederland*, III (1891), pp. 241 ff., deals chiefly with him and Miss Braddon.

which Trollope enjoyed also lasted until 1876, evidenced by 13 titles in ten years, among them *De Claverings* (1867), *Phineas Finn* (1870), *Wie heeft gelijk?* (1870), *De Predikant van Bullhampton* (1872), *De Diamanten der Familie Eustace* (1873) and Lindo's translation *Het Huis Belton* (1867). There followed *De School van Dr Wortle* (1881) and between 1883 and 1885 three minor works, called forth no doubt by the news of the author's death. Helen Zimmern and C. Alberdingk Thijm had an article on him in *Nederlandsche Spectator* for 1884.<sup>1</sup>

Walter Besant's renown reached Holland tardily, his and James Rice's *Abdij van Thelema* (1880) apparently meeting with no great response. In 1889 appeared *Herr Paulus* and *Voor Geloof en Vrijheid*, with thirteen more to follow before the end of the century; *All Sorts and Conditions of Men* was translated as *Een rijke Erfgename* (1891).

To judge from the number of books translated into Dutch, 'Ouida' (Marie Louise de la Ramée) was by far the most popular British novelist at this time. *Tricotrin en zijn Pleegkind* (1874) effected her introduction, there were altogether eight versions up to and including 1881 (among them, *Motten* and *Twee souverainen gediend*, both 1880), no less than 20 more in the following ten years and about 10<sup>2</sup> in the last decade of the century when her output and her vogue were declining. Two collected editions of her writings made their appearance (*Ouida-serie*, 1881-; *Meesterwerken van Ouida*, 1891-, reprinted 1900-), and Hilda Swarth compiled (1881) a *Ouida-Album. Chose [sic] of thoughts for every day of the year, collected out of Ouida's complete Works*. 'Ouida' charmed not only the vast general reading public, to whom Collins and Besant appealed, but also scholars like A. C. Loffelt, who published a short article about her<sup>3</sup> in *Nederlandsche Spectator* as early as 1876,<sup>4</sup> and 'the upper ten' who otherwise fed for preference off French fare. No less a writer than Couperus confesses<sup>5</sup> how her *Ariadne*,<sup>6</sup> of which there is much talk also in Vosmaer's *Amazone* (1880), ravished him at the age of fifteen. It is not improbable that she inspired the rather heavy luxury in the *décor* of *Eline Vere*<sup>7</sup> and *Noodlot*.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 235ff.

<sup>2</sup> Various collections of short stories make the calculation uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> Nijhoff, D. C., who had inaugurated (1875) the series with Charles Kingsley, treated her (1876) as No. 4 of 'Beroemde Schrijvers'. Kingsley was still read, principally as a moralist, it would seem, though a piece of *Hereward the Wake* was translated in *Vaderl. Letteroef.* 1 (1867), pp. 324ff., as 'Hoe Willem van Normandie voor Ely het hoofd stiet'.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 176f.

<sup>5</sup> *Reis-Impressies* (n.d.), p. 35.

<sup>6</sup> In his *Langs Lijnen van Geleidelijkheid* (*Gids*, II (May, 1900), p. 212) Cornélie reads *Ariadne* in Rome, not hking it so much as previously. Brox, in this novel, is perhaps a Ouida-esque figure.

<sup>7</sup> The heroine of which reads her (9th ed., n.d., pp. 19, 22).

Of the other novelists who were considered 'shocking', Grant Allen,<sup>1</sup> William Black, Miss Broughton and 'Sarah Grand' were all translated. Rhoda Broughton proved the most popular of them with 12 titles (1871-94).<sup>2</sup> Wilham Black had *Een Dochter Hetts* published in 1873, *Macleod van Dare* in 1879 and six others (1873-99). Helen Zimmern and C. Alberdingk Thijm wrote a fairly full paper on him in *Nederlandsche Spectator* for 1883,<sup>3</sup> as they did, in the following year,<sup>4</sup> on R. D. Blackmore, whose *Erema* alone found a Dutch translator, *Lorna Doone* passing unregarded.<sup>5</sup>

The new sensational school which came to the front in Great Britain during the 'eighties did, however, gain notice. Stevenson was none too popular, in spite of Van Eeden's<sup>6</sup> and C. M. van Deventer's<sup>7</sup> advocacy: *The Master of Ballantrae*, *Prince Otto*, *The Black Arrow* were not given a Dutch dress.<sup>8</sup> Anthony Hope's *Prisoner of Zenda*<sup>9</sup> (*Koning tegen Wil en Dank*, 1897) found no successor. On the other hand, Haggard had 12 books translated (1886-99) (*De Diamantmijnen van Koning Salomo*, 1886; *Zij*, 1891), Doyle had eight (1891-1900), apart from the many and often overlapping translations of the Sherlock Holmes series (*Avonturen van Sherlock Holmes*, 1893). It would seem as if refinement of style and imagination in this sphere evoked no response, the better class of readers disliking sensationalism.

What with all their differences may be called 'the religious novelists' met with mixed fortune. J. H. Shorthouse had *John Inglesant* done into Dutch (1884) and nothing more, though W. G. C. Bijvanck drew attention to *Sir Percival* in *Nederlandsche Spectator* for 1886.<sup>10</sup> Hale White's work passed entirely unnoticed, which seems rather remarkable: one imagines that a zealous advocate could have gathered a following for Mark Rutherford among the numerous quietists and the admirers of

<sup>1</sup> In condemning Wagenvoort's novel *Felicia Beveridge* in *Athenaeum*, II (1896), p. 19, H. S. M. van W. Crommelin describes its heroine as a 'woman who did'.

<sup>2</sup> *Comeh up as a Flower* was published as *De Bloem in Knop* (1875).

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 332 ff. and 340 ff.

<sup>4</sup> (1884), pp. 379 ff. and 388 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Reade's *Closter and the Hearth*, translated by Van Noorda, appeared as *De Jongman van Gouda* (1870), and there were five translations of his later work between that year and 1887.

<sup>6</sup> See above.

<sup>7</sup> *Gids*, I (March, 1896), pp. 476 ff. Deventer praises him for his optimism, his lively invention and the fact that he has a philosophy. 'Inderdaad is Robert Louis Stevenson de eenige mij goed bekende schoone Engelsche novellist, na den dood van Eliot verschenen' (I, p. 480), his personages and descriptions being in the great English tradition that stretches back to Defoe (I, pp. 503 ff.). M.B. wrote an obituary notice of Stevenson in *Ned. Spect.* (1895), pp. 2 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Catrina* appeared as a feuilleton in *Algemeen Handelsblad* during 1893 and 1894, but, in spite of the Dutch scene, was not reissued in book form.

<sup>9</sup> The dates forbid the imputation of indebtedness on the part of Couperus to *The Prisoner of Zenda* (1894) for his *Majesteit* (1893): both may owe some of their inspiration to Stevenson's *Prince Otto* and the like.

<sup>10</sup> Pp. 442 f.

George Eliot. These latter, however, thought that the mantle of her high moral seriousness, adult comment and truthful character portrayal had fallen on Mrs Humphry Ward, the translation (1889) of whose *Robert Elsmere* caused the customary sensation and speedily went through three editions (a high number in the Netherlands). The liberal clergyman P. G. Hugenholtz, jun., supplied an Introduction, but it was publicly attacked by A. H. Raabe and M. J. S. Boeijs.<sup>1</sup> *Miss Bretherton* (1891), *David Grieve* (1892), *Marcella* (1894), *Sir George Tressady* (1896), *Helbeck van Bannisdale* (1898) and others followed and were criticised in *Gids*, *Nieuwe Gids*, *Hollandsche Revue* and *Portefeuille*.<sup>2</sup> Native novels on the subject of religious doubts and fallings-off appeared also, and some of them seem to have owed a fair amount to Mrs Ward's example, e.g., Anna de Savornin Lohman's *Vragensmoede* (1896) and R. A. Kollewijn's ('C. P. Brandt van Doorne') *Twijfel* (1896).

The revived regional literature of Scotland, so generally revolving round Calvinistic kirks, made comparatively slight appeal; this may seem strange in a country that for some time past had cherished an extensive peasant literature of its own, marked by the same mixture of pawkiness, sentiment, humour and dialectal peculiarity as that which fascinated the readers of the 'kailyard' novelists.<sup>3</sup> The explanation probably lies in the circumstances that what the Dutch public mainly valued foreign literature for was the pictures it afforded of the 'great world', its cosmopolitan or at least metropolitan viewpoint. An introduction by Gerard Keller launched Barrie's *De kleine Dominee*,<sup>4</sup> in 1894; of S. R. Crockett's there appeared *De Tooneelspeelster en andere Verhalen* in 1898 and *Kit Kennedy* in 1900. Far better known were the writings of Dr Watson, 'Ian Maclaren', partly no doubt for the theological eminence<sup>5</sup> of the

<sup>1</sup> In the periodical *Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede* (March and May, 1890, pp. 241 ff. and 479 ff., with a retort from Haan, J. D. B. de, in April, pp. 362 ff.) and in the pamphlet *Beschouwingen over 'Robert Elsmere' en de Antikritiek van den heer Bierens de Haan* (1890) respectively.

<sup>2</sup> III (August, 1890), pp. 257 ff. (by Martinet); VI (1891), II, pp. 132 f. (by Van Deyssel); II (1897), pp. 272 ff.; XIII (1891-2), pp. 1004 ff. respectively.

<sup>3</sup> The new Anglo-Irish movement had even less interest for the Dutch. As its feuilleton *Kroniek* printed 'Costello de Trotsche, Oona Macdermott, en de scherpe Tong' (V (1899), pp. 126 f. and 134 f.), by W. B. Yeats and 'Meer dan Vrouwenliefde' (V (1899), p. 95) by N. Hopper. It also had a note on 'Iersche Renaissance' (I (1895), p. 318), taken from *The Daily Chronicle*. Neither in his own person nor as 'Fiona Macleod' did William Sharp, though he travelled in the Netherlands, attract notice; 'Venus en de Spaansche monnik' in *Portefeuille*, XII (1890-1), pp. 363 ff. has reference to a tale of his.

<sup>4</sup> *The Little Minister*.

<sup>5</sup> There was a good deal of writing about him in the new Calvinist magazine *Ons Tijdschrift* (1896-8), to which he contributed 'Een edele Vrouw' (II (1897), pp. 591 ff.); the charge of heresy brought against Dr Watson called forth a short note by Dr Kennedy Moore (II, p. 233 f.), and Anna de Savornin Lohman wrote an article on him (I (1896), p. 662), which pointed out the resemblances between the genius of the Dutch language and Lowland Scots and between the manners of the districts where these languages are spoken.

author, mainly because of determined championship by W. van Nes, who turned *Beside the Bonnie Briar Bush* into *Harten van Goud* (1896) and followed it up with four further translations in the next four years.<sup>1</sup>

(xi) *British Novelists: Major*

The rusticity sometimes laid to Hardy's charge at home may then account for his comparative neglect in the Netherlands. He began there under good auspices; for it was Mevrouw van Westrheene, to whom most of the best authors at that time were entrusted, who prepared *Ver van het Stadsgewoel*<sup>2</sup> (1876). This was unfortunately succeeded by one of Hardy's weakest productions; and *De Hand van Adelberta* (translated by H. T. Chappuis, 1878<sup>3</sup>) evidently killed interest in him for close on a decade. In 1887 *Portefeuille* drew attention<sup>4</sup> to *The Woodlanders* as a 'hoogst merkwaardig boek', but it was only the domestic controversies over *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* and *Jude the Obscure* that put him back into the book-market (*Tess van de d'Urbervilles*, 1894;<sup>5</sup> *Oproerige Harten*, translated by A. te H., 1896). L. Simons had given a pretty full and enthusiastic account of *Jude*, 'een machtig boek', in *De Kroniek* for 1895 and did the same for *The Well-Beloved* in 1897.<sup>6</sup> But the latter remained untranslated, and, barring the one early review in *De Gids*, none of the major periodicals had anything to say about the author.

The neglect of Meredith was even more striking. It was no doubt due to the causes which militated against Carlyle and Browning. Nothing seems to have transpired about him in Dutch until he had been publishing

<sup>1</sup> A special note should be devoted to Jozua Marius Willem van der Poorten Schwartz (1858-1914), who, the son of a German-Jewish father and a Dutch mother, born at Amsterdam and domiciled in the Netherlands, followed the calling of letters and wrote all but one of his imaginative works in English, and all after the first five under the pseudonym of 'Maarten Maartens', viz. the poems *Morning of Love* (1885) and *Sheaf of Sonnets* (1888), the plays *Julian* (1886), *Nivalis* (1886), and a number of novels (and short stories), of which the following appeared before 1901: *Black Box Murder* (anonymously published 1889), *Sin of Joost Avelingh* (1889), *Old Man's Love* (1891), *Question of Taste* (1892), *God's Fool* (1892), *Greater Glory* (1894), *My Lady Nobody* (1895), *Her Memory* (1898). The fiction enjoyed a considerable vogue in Britain and America, and, though it did not give much information about the Dutch life portrayed, it no doubt stimulated some interest in it. In Dutch Schwartz wrote some legal papers and, under the pseudonym of 'Joan van den Heuvel', *Gedachten* (1914) and into Dutch were translated *Sin of Joost Avelingh* (*Joost Avelingh's Zonde*, 1895), *Old Man's Love* (*Liefde van een oude Jongevrouwe*, 1895), *God's Fool* (*Gods Gunsteling*, 1896) and *Greater Glory* (*Hoogste Roem*, 1895). Cf. Maanen, W. van, *Maarten Maartens, Poet and Novelist* (1928) and *Letters of Maarten Maartens, edited by his Daughter* (1930), with portraits, a bibliography, a preface by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and a memoir by N. J. O'Connor.—Augusta de Wit, whose later works are all in Dutch, began her literary career with *Facts and Fancies about Java* (1898).

<sup>2</sup> *Far from the Madding Crowd*; reviewed in *Gids*, III (September, 1876), pp. 570 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *The Hand of Ethelberta*; reviewed in *Euphonia*, III (1879), v, pp. 5 f.

<sup>4</sup> *ix*, pp. 70 f.

<sup>5</sup> Reviewed in *Ned. Spect.* (1894), pp. 268 f.

<sup>6</sup> *i*, pp. 381 f. and *iii*, p. 372 respectively.

for more than 40 years. In November, 1894, R. A. H. printed 'George Meredith', mostly concerned with *The Egoist*, in *Nederland*;<sup>1</sup> in August and September, 1896, *De Gids*,<sup>2</sup> desperately seeking new landmarks in a waste of literature from which Tennyson had disappeared and in which Mrs Ward was failing to reach the eminence of George Eliot, tried a remarkable experiment with a free and abridged version of *The Amazing Marriage*—'Het geruchtmakende Huwelijk, naar Meredith'; and Bijvanck, one of the editors, followed it up with a full-dress essay, 'George Meredith', in November.<sup>3</sup> Simon's interesting 'Aanteekeningen omtrent Engelsche Literatuur' had noticed *The Amazing Marriage* a few months before.<sup>4</sup>—Gissing made no mark at all.

Two younger fiction writers of eminence were more fortunate.—Van Eeden's discussion of Kipling's *Light that Failed* has been mentioned. It was translated as *Het Licht dat Verdween* (in 1892, 2nd ed. 1894), and the same year saw G. Willeumier's translation of *Plain Tales from the Hills* (*Uit de Bergen*); in 1893 came *Drie Soldaten* (*Soldiers Three*), *Vele Vonden* (*Many Inventions*), in 1894 *Een Verhaal van West en Oost* (*The Naulahka*, in collaboration with W. Balestier), and in 1895 *Van Dieren en Kinderen* (*Jungle Book*). On this a lull ensued until 1900 with its *Flinke Zeelui* (*Captains Courageous*), *Stalky en Co.*, and collected *Verhalen uit Voor-Indië*.<sup>5</sup> Critical comment did not, however, amount to much.<sup>6</sup>

With George Moore, on the other hand, critical comment was more important than text. In the summer of 1885, while discussing in *Nederland*<sup>7</sup> 'Wat wil het Naturalisme', Frans Netscher, at that time in his own conceit the chief interpreter of the new schools of fiction, mentioned him and in January 1886 published in *De Gids* the first instalment<sup>8</sup> of a long article on 'Het Naturalisme in Engeland', which, apart from a few words about Frances Mabel Robinson's *Mr Butler's Ward*<sup>9</sup> and the books of May Laffan, drew its illustrations and arguments entirely from

<sup>1</sup> III, pp. 307 ff.

<sup>2</sup> III, pp. 283 ff. and 465 ff.

<sup>3</sup> IV, pp. 332 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Kroniek*, II (1896), p. 77. For Kipling's, Hardy's and Meredith's poetry see pp. 314 f. above. Van Deyssel judged the latter's *Essay on Comedy* superficial, 'zonder eenige diepere geestelijkheid' (*Lyrisch en verhalend Proza* (2nd ed., n.d.), p. 129).

<sup>5</sup> *Het Licht dat Verdween*, *Stalky en Co.* and *Verhalen* appeared without translator's name; *Flinke Zeelui* was the work of A. J. C. M. Tervoren; the rest of Mevrouw Willeumier.

<sup>6</sup> Troelstra, R., 'Rudyard Kipling' in *Ned. Spect.* (1892), pp. 312 ff.; 'Iets over Kipling' in *Kroniek*, III (1897), p. 269; for Van Eeden's criticism see p. 316 above.

<sup>7</sup> II, pp. 433 ff. and III, pp. 63 ff. This was the proximate cause of Van Deyssel's famous onslaught 'Over literatuur (de heer F. Netscher)' in *Dietsche Warande*, N.R. v (1886), pp. 327 ff. Among other things Van Deyssel accused Netscher, wrongfully I think, of misrepresenting Moore's style in the passages he translated for illustration.

<sup>8</sup> I, pp. 71 ff.; the second and last instalment, I (February, 1886), pp. 286 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Netscher corresponded at this time with Moore, and it was he who drew his attention to *Mr Butler's Ward* (Netscher, F., *Olve Schreiner en Peter Halket van Mashonaland* (1897), pp. 5 f.).

*A Modern Lover* and *A Mummer's Wife*.<sup>1</sup> It analyses these at great length, from the point of view of 'le roman expérimental', the former as a study of love in English society, the latter of alcoholism, comparable with *L'Assommoir*, Moore being the equal of Zola.<sup>2</sup> Netscher declares that the British press has unanimously recognised Moore's good faith in dealing with dubious situations and that the fastidious public of the circulating libraries has made no complaints. Naturalism, then, if independently adapted to their uses by honest writers, need not be exceptionable: 'Wanneer zoo iets in het kuische en kieskeurige Engeland gebeuren kan, dan behoeft het vrijzinniger Holland geen gevoels- of gemoedsbezwaren te doen gelden'.<sup>3</sup>

Striking while the iron was hot, Netscher almost simultaneously had an article on Moore's complaint against 'A new censorship of Literature' inserted in *Portefeuille*,<sup>4</sup> and in 1886 too *A Mummer's Wife* appeared in Dutch as *De Vrouw van den Comediant*. In the following year H. A. Lesturgeon reviewed *A Mere Accident* unfavourably in *Portefeuille* and in 1888 the Dutch version of *A Drama in Muslin* was published as *Een Drama in Neteldoek*. That, however, proved virtually the end of the Moore-vogue, though seven years later Mevrouw Couperus was to publish her translation of *Vain Fortune* (*Ijdel Geld*, 1895), with an introduction by her husband, and Van Deyssel to accuse<sup>5</sup> Bijvanck of having cribbed from *Confessions of a Young Man* for his *Parijs 1891*.

The major 'Edwardian' novelists were rising above the horizon before the end of the nineteenth century. But none of them was noticed—not even Conrad for *Almayer's Folly*—except Mr H. G. Wells. *De Strijd der Werelden* (*The War of the Worlds*, translated by B. Canter) and *Als de Slaaper ontwaakt* (*When the Sleeper wakes*) appeared in 1899 and 1900 respectively; likewise 'De vreemde Orchidee' and 'De Ster', as feuilletons in *De Kroniek*,<sup>6</sup> where Simons dealt with *The Invisible Man* in 1897.<sup>7</sup>

And of course the great British novelists of bygone generations,<sup>8</sup> such as Scott and Thackeray,<sup>9</sup> continued to be read, admired and written

<sup>1</sup> Netscher knew something about *A Drama in Muslin*, of which the heroine is 'eene atheïste, eene zeer deugdzaame vrouw' (I, p. 76).

<sup>2</sup> I, p. 301.

<sup>3</sup> VII (1885-6), pp. 610 ff.

<sup>4</sup> I, p. 293.

<sup>5</sup> *Prozastukken* (1895), p. 321.

<sup>6</sup> II (1896), pp. 283, 291 and VI (1900), pp. 363 f., 371 f., 379 f. respectively. Other young writers represented in these feuilletons were 'Baron Corvo', Mr Laurence Housman, Fionn MacChumail, M. Rust and A. M. Thompson, besides those mentioned.

<sup>7</sup> III (1897), p. 373.

<sup>8</sup> Deventer, C. M. van, wrote on Fielding in *Nederland*, III (1896), pp. 147 ff. and 467 ff.; II (1897), pp. 165 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. lengthy studies on him by Tiele, C. P. in *Vaderl. Letteroef.* I (1868), pp. 1 ff., and Simons, A. in *Gids*, II (May and June, 1870), pp. 295 ff. and 463 ff., and the short 'Thackeray in het Nederlandsch' in *Ned. Spect.* (1869), pp. 52 f., evoked by the new complete edition (ed. Lindo, M. P., 1869-72).

about, on occasions perhaps imitated.<sup>1</sup> By far the best known of them was Dickens, whose *Station Mugby* (*Mugby Junction*) and *Het Geheim van Edwin Drood*<sup>2</sup> (both translated by Mevrouw van Westrheene) were yet to appear in 1867 and 1870 respectively. A complete edition of the *Werken*, of which there were to be several more,<sup>3</sup> was published at Schiedam between 1867 and 1875, the translations used being those of Mevrouw van Westrheene, M. P. Lindo<sup>4</sup> and C. M. Mensing, and there were new translations of *Schetsen en Verhalen* (anon. 1869), of *Pickwick*, *David Copperfield* and *Dombey and Son*, by Dutric, in 1896, 1896 and 1899 respectively.<sup>5</sup> Forster's *Leven van Charles Dickens* was ready for publication in 1873, to be followed by *De Brieven van Charles Dickens* (1883) and *Charles Dickens beschreven door zijn oudste Dochter* (1886).

Dickens's death called forth singularly little in the way of criticism and Forster's *Life* only one article, by Huet.<sup>6</sup> 'Alleh' had an appreciative little obituary notice in *Quatuor*,<sup>7</sup> and Jan ten Brink published a bibliographical article on 'De letterkundige Nalatenschap van Charles Dickens' in *Nederlandsche Spectator*.<sup>8</sup> Simultaneously there appeared from his pen in *Nederland*<sup>9</sup> what look like the first instalments of a huge biographical and critical study, never completed.

It would no doubt have been the counterpart to Ten Brink's *E. G. Bulwer Lytton* (1873).<sup>10</sup> Lytton's last books were duly translated,<sup>11</sup> as well as two of his plays. Boissevain dedicated to his memory the article 'Een groot Talent' in *De Gids* for March, 1873;<sup>12</sup> but Van Vloten, reviewing 'Bulwer's laatste Roman', i.e., *Kenelm Chillingly*, in *Levensbode* the same year,<sup>13</sup> declared him an inferior writer, because he lacked *matter*, and worthy of all the parody of Thackeray and of Busken Huet,<sup>14</sup> who is cited

<sup>1</sup> E.g., by the long line of orthodox Dutch historical novelists, like Mevrouw Bosboom and Schimmel, which goes back to Scott and continues into the twentieth century in the work of 'A. S. C. Wallis'; the comic portions of Huet's *Lidewyde* (1868) suggest Thackeray, whom the chronicler in *The Athenaeum* for 1896 (II, p. 19) scented also in A. de Savornin Lohman's *Miserere* (1896); Tielrooy, J., *C. B. Huet et la littérature française* (1923), pp. 188 f., detects in Huet's *Jozefine* (1878) the note of Dickens.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Blyth, H., 'Het Origineel van Sara de Opium-Eetster' in *Portefeuille*, x (1888-9), ii, pp. 347 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Including *Dickens Werken voor het jonge Nederland* (bewerkt door S. J. Andriessen, 1875-7).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Downs, B. W., 'M. P. Lindo' in *Cambridge Review* (1934-5), pp. 365 ff.

<sup>5</sup> There were English editions for Dutch use of *Chimes* (1883), *Crickets on the Hearth* (1889) and *Christmas Carol* (1891), all prepared by K. ten Bruggencate, and of passages from *A Child's History of England* (by Busé, F. F. A., 1869).

<sup>6</sup> *Litt. Fant. en Krit.* IV (n.d.), pp. 52 ff.

<sup>7</sup> I (1870), p. 35.

<sup>8</sup> (1870), pp. 314 ff.

<sup>9</sup> III (1871), pp. 3 ff., 142 ff. and 273 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Reviewed in *Gids*, II (May, 1874), pp. 372 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *Kenelm Chillingly* (1873), *De Mensch der Toekomst* (1873), *De Parijzenaars* (1874), *De Famille Beaufort* (1874), *Pausanias* (1876). For the plays see p. 331 below.

<sup>12</sup> I, pp. 482 ff.

<sup>13</sup> VI (1873), pp. 576 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Huet's *Litt. Fant. en Krit.* IX (n.d.), pp. 30 ff.

at length. Couperus read *Rienzi* in Rome during the winter 1893-4, for information's sake.<sup>1</sup> Disraeli's last two books were promptly turned into Dutch, *Lothair* (by H. A. Verster) in 1870,<sup>2</sup> *Endymion* (by J. Sepp) in 1881,<sup>3</sup> and his death called forth memoirs on his literary work from G. Valette in *Nederlandsche Spectator*<sup>4</sup> and, more fully, from Huet in *Nederland* and Miss Irving in *Portefeuille*.<sup>5</sup>

Critical writing about George Eliot was more considerable than about any other English novelist during this period. On her death Allard Pierson gave her a full-length obituary in *De Gids*<sup>6</sup> and H. L. Berckenhoff wrote about her in *Nederlandsche Spectator*.<sup>7</sup> Later, J. H. Hooijer delivered 'De Vierschaar over George Eliot' in *De Gids*.<sup>8</sup> Most of the new books called forth careful criticisms as they came out: *Felix Holt, de radikaal* (1867),<sup>9</sup> *Middlemarch* (1873), *Daniel Deronda* (1876)<sup>10</sup>—these three translated by Mevrouw van Westrheene—*De opgeheven Sluier, Broeder Jacob* (i.e., 'The Lifted Veil' and 'Brother Jacob', translated by Mevrouw Zwaardemaker, 1878) and *Indrukken van Theophrastus Dinges* (*The Impressions of Theophrastus Such*, 1879);<sup>11</sup> while J. J. Schot used her novels and Dickens's to illustrate 'Nog iets over Homer, Engelsche Romans en Shakespeare' in *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* for 1875.<sup>12</sup> In 1887 appeared at Rotterdam a *Choice of Thoughts collected out of George Eliot's Works and Letters* (by M. E. Pijnappel).

(xii) *British Dramatists*<sup>13</sup>

In view of the parallels between the disabilities under which the theatres of the two countries laboured and between the audiences from which ultimately the support for reform must come, Great Britain contributed little to the dramatic and theatrical revival in the Netherlands which began during the 'seventies. There was certainly not overmuch to give. Yet the public to which Schimmel's *Juffrouw Bos* appealed would, one imagines, have applauded Gilbert's *Charity*, Robertson's comedies in several ways anticipated those of Van Maurik and Mulder, while Tom

<sup>1</sup> *Reis-Impressies* (n.d.), p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Reviewed by Kiehl, E. J., *Ned. Spect.* (1870), pp. 274 ff., and by Vissering, *Gids*, III (October, 1870), pp. 152 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Also *David Alroy* (1868), *Henriëtte Temple* (1869) and *Sybil* (1889).

<sup>4</sup> (1881), pp. 142 ff.

<sup>5</sup> II (1881), pp. 285 ff. and III (1881-2), pp. 149 ff., 157 ff. respectively.

<sup>6</sup> I (February, 1881), pp. 261 ff.

<sup>7</sup> (1881), pp. 72 ff.

<sup>8</sup> IV (December, 1885), pp. 412 ff.

<sup>9</sup> E.g., Bruijn, P., in *Vaderl. Letteroef. Bibl.* (1867), pp. 662 ff.

<sup>10</sup> E.g., Mees, M. J., in *Nederland*, II (1882), pp. 148 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Reviewed by Huet, C. B., in *Nederland*, II (1879), pp. 407 ff.

<sup>12</sup> II, pp. 792 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Except where otherwise stated, the place of production is Amsterdam and the date of the first Dutch production is taken from the (Amsterdam) *Algemeen Handelsblad* of the same day.

Taylor and Reade might well have delighted the more old-fashioned playgoers. Not that personal intermediacy was lacking. Robertson, presumably, made no literary or theatrical friends during his short stay at Utrecht. But the Englishman M. P. Lindo, the translator of *She Stoops to Conquer*, sat on the managing committee of the Hague theatre for a little while just before his death in 1877; Schimmel and Van Hall, who did so much towards the establishment (1870) of Het Nederlandsch Tooneelverbond, the starting-point of the revival, had some knowledge of what was going on in Britain; and the Tooneelverbond's organ, *Het Nederlandsch Tooneel* (1872-81, *Het Tooneel* thereafter), was repeatedly under the editorship of men with special leanings towards English literature.<sup>1</sup> One of them remarked<sup>2</sup> in 1881 that, apart from H. J. Byron's *Our Boys*,<sup>3</sup> nothing from England had reached the Dutch stage,

en toch zoude menig stuk van Robertson<sup>4</sup> met geringe wijziging hier goed ontvangen worden. Ook van Lord Lytton, Boucicault,<sup>5</sup> Oxenford e.c. zouden sommige stukken zeer goed voor ons tooneel passen, hetzij vertaald of omgewerkt.

The dramatic fare imported from across the North Sea at this time was mostly old-fashioned or insignificant, like *De Zeekapitein* (Van Lennep's translation of Lytton's *Sea Captain*),<sup>6</sup> *Te Zijn of Niet te Zijn of de Nalaten-schap van Doctor Faust*, *De Verborgene Hand* (Bury's *Hidden Hand*),<sup>7</sup> *Martijn de Loods van Plymouth Hoe* (Slous's *True to the Core*),<sup>8</sup> *Twintig Minutes onder een Paraplu*, 'uit het Engelsch door Mr C. van Berkel van Hoek'<sup>9</sup> (Dubourg's *Twenty Minutes' Conversation under an Umbrella*, 1873), *Simson en Co.* 'naar het Engelsch door Dirk van der Linden'<sup>10</sup> (Poole's *Simpson and Company*, 1823) or J. H. Geraet's translation from M. Morton, *Box en Cox*, published at Amsterdam in 1874.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Conspicuously Beer, T. H. de (1882-6) and Simons, L. (1886-90). The rubric 'Uit het Buitenland' in vols. xx ff. paid due attention to the British stage.

<sup>2</sup> ix, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Onze Jongens* was produced at the Salon des Variétés on January 31, 1878, nine days after a German production of the piece. In 1885 Byron's *Married in Haste* was likewise acted in Amsterdam in German.—*De Misdaad bij Nacht* (Schouwburg van Lier, December 25, 1889) was J. Roosingh's adaptation of Byron's *Lancashire Lass*.

<sup>4</sup> Two years later *Het Tooneel* declared (xi, p. 14) that Robertson's plays, even *School, Ours, Caste, Play, M.P.*, were derived from French originals.

<sup>5</sup> Halbers, J. H., had adapted Boucicault's *Speaking Wire* as *Het Telegram* (Schouwburg-loge, May 5, 1873). See also p. 334 below.

<sup>6</sup> Stadsschouwburg, September 11, 1869, often revived.

<sup>7</sup> Théâtre des Variétés, October 11, 1872 (by Flemish actors). I have not found an English playwright Bury, nor do I think that the play is Taylor's *Hidden Hand*. The original of *Te Zijn of Niet te Zijn* has also eluded me.

<sup>8</sup> Stadsschouwburg, March 8, 1875.

<sup>9</sup> Autumn, 1877 (*Ned. Toon.* vii, p. 75).

<sup>10</sup> Done at Rotterdam in the summer of 1879 (*Ned. Toon.* ix, p. 10).

<sup>11</sup> I have not come across the record of any performance of this, nor of the following published translations of English plays: Lytton's *Lady of Lyons* (*Pauline, een Koopmansdochter*, by Ankersmit, J. H., 1869) and *Richelieu* (*Richelieu*, also by Ankersmit, J. H., 1870), Allingham, J. Till, *Fortune's Frolic* (*De Gunst der Fortuin*, 1871), Halliday, A., *Checkmate* (*Schaakmat*, 1871), Gordon, W. R., *Hoop-La!* (*Hoep-La!* 1877).

These plays did not make much of an impression upon the public. But adaptation of English novels continued popular. An old favourite like *Nelly* (Roobol's translation of Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer's version of *The Old Curiosity Shop*) was revived almost annually down to and including 1900. There were no less than three stage-versions of Wilkie Collins's *New Magdalen*.<sup>1</sup> Following on the success of Gunter's novel *Mr Barnes of New York*, on March 12, 1889, there were produced simultaneously in Amsterdam a translation (by W. Schüssler at the Grand Théâtre) of J. Coleman's dramatisation of it<sup>2</sup> and a Dutch version done straight from the novel (by Marie Kreukniet, at the Salon des Variétés).<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile<sup>4</sup> the drama had been developing, in some respects more tardily, in others more energetically, in Britain, and in 1891 *Het Tooneel* announced:

De Engelsche tooneellitteratuur behoort tegenwoordig mede onder die, welke het repertoire van onze tooneel-gezelschappen verrijken—misschien zeiden wij beter uitbreiden.<sup>5</sup>

This may not have been an unmixed benefit. If drama, to be vital, was to develop in the direction of greater realism, Heyermans was right in complaining<sup>6</sup> that the necessarily exotic scene of every foreign importation stood in its way.

For the introduction of reputable English plays the premier dramatic organisation of the kingdom, De Koninklijke Vereeniging het Nederlandsch Tooneel (K.V.H.N.T.), was mainly responsible. Of Pinero's plays they had done *The Magistrate* as *De Blauwe Grot* at the Schouwburg van Lier on June 16, 1888, and *The Profligate* as *De Losbol* at the Stads-schouwburg on November 30, 1889. Greater success was to attend

<sup>1</sup> Valois's *Boetvaardige* (Den Haag, autumn of 1873, *Ned. Toon.* III, p. 211): Boudier's *Nieuwe Magdalene* (Zomertheater Frascati, June 19, 1879); Mevrouw van Lier-Cuyppers's *De Zondares* (Grand Théâtre, October 26, 1895).

<sup>2</sup> *Marina* (Gaiety Theatre, London, August 4, 1888).

<sup>3</sup> Other dramatisations to be mentioned are: W. N. Peijpers's *Drama te Stillwater* (from a short story of T. B. Aldrich's, Stadsschouwburg March 5, 1882), *Het Geheem van een Huurrijtuig* (Hume's *Mystery of a Hansom Cab*, Grand Théâtre, May 25, 1889), *De Kleine Lord* (Hodgson Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, Grand Théâtre, September 2, 1890), *East Lynne* (Mrs Henry Wood's novel, Schouwburg van Lier, December 25, 1891), *Motten* ('Ouida's' *Moths*, Schouwburg van Lier, July 1, 1893), *Trilby* (Du Maurier's *Trilby*, Stadsschouwburg April 18, 1896). The last-named version was made from Potter's dramatisation by the actor Royaards, who acted the part of Svengali on a subsequent tour in Germany. There was apparently a parody running simultaneously, *De Lotgevallen van Juffrouw Trilbie*.

<sup>4</sup> The following productions from the 'eighties may be listed: *Handelaren en Aristocraten* (Stadsschouwburg March 13, 1886), translated by 'Cora' from Tom Taylor and Dubourg's *New Men and Old Acres*; *De Flesch* (Grand Théâtre July 9, 1887), adapted from T. P. Taylor's *Bottle*; I have not been able to identify the English original of *Vader!*, done at the Stadsschouwburg on April 2, 1888: perhaps F. A. Soudamore's *Dad*.

<sup>5</sup> *xxi*, p. 21.

<sup>6</sup> *Voorwoord to Zevende Gebod* (1900), p. vi.

*De Tweede Mevrouw Tanqueray* (Stadsschouwburg, September 1, 1895) and *Lord Quex* (Stadsschouwburg, May 4, 1900). They also presented *De Waaijer* (*Lady Windermere's Fan*) by Wilde<sup>1</sup> on December 10, 1892.

The only English writer of serious plays who at this time seems to have made any lasting impression on the Dutch repertory was Henry Arthur Jones. The K.V.H.N.T. presented the 'volksstuk' *De Zilverkoning* (*The Silver King*, in collaboration with H. Herman) at the Stadsschouwburg to catch the *kermis* public on September 4, 1886, and acted it 15 times that season. J. T. Grein's translation of *The Middleman*, *De Fabrieksbaas*, with Louis Bouwmeester as Cyrus Blencarne, was done under the same auspices and in the same place on January 25, 1890, and became one of the chief stand-bys of the permanent repertory. It was followed by *Judah Levellijn* (*Judah*) on January 31, 1891, *De Danseres* (*The Dancing Girl*) on July 11, 1891, *De Poppenwinkel* (*The Bauble Shop*) on June 9, 1894, and *Schurkenspel* (*The Rogue's Comedy*) on September 2, 1899, all presented by the K.V.H.N.T.,<sup>2</sup> while A. Ising wrote 'Een Woord over Jones' "Judah" in *Het Tooneel* for 1890.<sup>3</sup> The vigour and extent of the English dramatic revival were not appreciated, however. During the season of 1899-1900, at a time when Jones, Pinero, Shaw,<sup>4</sup> Granville Barker, 'R. C. Carton', Phillips were producing some of their finest work and Wilde was still alive, *Het Tooneel* could print a lament on 'Het Engelsche Tooneel in Verval'!<sup>5</sup>

For the provision of 'popular successes', however, the British were (with the more successful Germans) beginning to trench on what had been virtually a French monopoly in the middle of the century.

<sup>1</sup> *Salomé* appeared in a Dutch translation in 1893 and was discussed by W. G. van Nouhuys in *Ned. Spect.* (1893), pp. 350 ff. *Fantasiën* by Wilde, with an introduction of P. H. Ritter's, was published in 1889 and *Het Portret van Dorian Gray* in 1893. The translation of the latter was the work of Mevrouw Couperus. Louis Couperus himself gives some account of the slight relations between himself and Wilde, who had been charmed by *Noodlot*, in *Van en Over Mijzelf en Anderen*, II (n.d.), i, pp. 14 ff. Jan Veth had a high admiration for Wilde's writing and presumably propagated his fame (private information from Professor Huizinga).

<sup>2</sup> The example of the K.V.H.N.T. spread. J. K. Jerome's *New Lamps for Old* appeared as *Londen Nieuw en Oud* at the Salon des Variétés (January 27, 1891), Mrs Musgrave's *Our Flat as Op Afbetaling* (do. February 5, 1891), an unidentified play and *My Uncle* by Mrs John Douglas as *Stiefvinderijes* and *Oom Benjamin* at Grand Théâtre (August 16, 1892) and Schouwburg van Lier (September 7, 1892) respectively, Brandon Thomas's *Charley's Aunt* as *Charley's Tante* at the Salon des Variétés (May 5, 1893), A. C. Gunter's *My Official Wife* as *Mijn Officiële Vrouw* at the Paleis voor Volksvlijt (October 19, 1894). A. Law's *New Boy* as *De Nieuwe Jongen* (Rotterdam, December, 1894). I have been unable to trace the original by Ralph Gobbins of *Hoe Ouder hoe Gekker*, done at the Grand Théâtre (March 15, 1896).

<sup>3</sup> xx, p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> Polak, H., translated *Het Onmogelijke van het Anarchisme* (1894), Wibaut, F. M. *Fabian Essays* (with an introduction by the translator, 1895); there are repeated references in *Kroniek* to 'G.B.S.' of *The Saturday Review*, but Shaw's plays were ignored.

<sup>5</sup> xxix, p. 74 f.

There was a fair number of English melodramas, like *Meester en Knecht* (Pettitt and Sims's *Master and Man*, Schouwburg van Lier, December 6, 1890), *De Schelmen van Londen* (Boucicault's *After Dark*, Grand Théâtre, March 1, 1890), *Het Geheim van het Kasteel Marjal* (*ibid.*, April 16, 1892), *Paul de l'agubond* (*ibid.*, June 21, 1890)—to pick out at random a few produced about the same time. And there was English light opera, of which the most popular were *The Mikado* by W. S. Gilbert (music by A. Sullivan), first presented by an English company<sup>1</sup> (Grand Théâtre, November 1, 1887) and then by two Dutch companies (C. P. T. Bigot's version at the same house, March 10, 1888, performed 40 times consecutively, and a rival version at Schouwburg Frascati, March 24, 1888, repeated even oftener).<sup>2</sup> Bellamy and Paulton's *Ermione* (music by Jakobowski, Schouwburg Frascati, September 6, 1889) and Hall and Greenbank's *Geisha* (music by S. Jones, Schouwburg Frascati, September 17, 1898, repeated no less than 115 times without a break).

At the other end of the scale, the 'classics' of the British theatre were pretty well represented on the Dutch stage. M. P. Lindo's translation of Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer*, *Wie niet sterk is moet slim zijn* (1871), was acted at the Hague on April 11, 1871, revived in 1874 and subsequently; *Medeminaars*, his translation of Sheridan's *Rivals*, published in the same year, also saw the footlights. Sheridan's *School for Scandal*, translated by R. Heeren as *Lastertongen* (1872)<sup>3</sup> figured in the programme of the Nederlandsch Tooneel's first season at Amsterdam (Stadsschouwburg, October 12, 1876). It did not prove a success then, but was often revived and took an undisputed place in the classical repertory. This cannot be said of *Venetië gered* (1882), Esser's poetic version of Otway's *Venice Preserved*,<sup>4</sup> of C. W. Opzoomer's *Johan van Oldenbarnevelt* (1885), from the anonymous play of 1619,<sup>5</sup> or of the two translations of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, R. S. T. Modderman's (1887) and Albert Verwey's,<sup>6</sup> none of which were, I think, acted before 1900.<sup>7</sup>

At first almost exclusively, and always with fair frequency, Shakespeare's plays found their way on to the Dutch stage as pretexts for histrionic display in all languages. Thus Rossi acted Othello, Macbeth and Hamlet at Amsterdam and Rotterdam in March, 1876 and January, 1877, Sarah Bernhardt presented *Macbeth* in Richepin's French version

<sup>1</sup> It seems to have been the occasion for introducing electric lighting into the house. The same company came to repeat it, together with the same librettist's and composer's *Patience*, in the following February. English companies likewise presented *Faust up to Date* (1892), *Carmen up to Date* (1892), *Morocco Bound* (1895) and *My Sweetheart* (1898).

<sup>2</sup> *Mikado* affected Dutch fashions in dress and other matters; a restaurant was called after it and *Ned. Spect.* for February 25, 1888, had a topical political cartoon and lyric adapted from 'I've got a little list'. It was often revived. Cf. Rombaut, J., 'De Mikado te Amsterdam' in *Portefeuille*, x (1888), 1, p. 151. *Hr. Ms. Pinafore* (Gilbert and Sullivan) was produced, in Dutch, at Schouwburg Frascati on December 6, 1890.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Ned. Toon.* i (1872), pp. 111 ff. (Loffelt, A. C.) and vi (1877), p. 206 (Jacobson, A. W.).

<sup>4</sup> *Venice Preserved* and *School for Scandal* had been previously translated.

<sup>5</sup> There was a reprint of Bullen's original edition (1883) at The Hague, 1884, with an introduction by the historian Fruin. Cf. Bruggen, C. J. A. van, 'Sir John van Olden Barnevelt en [Verwey's] Johan van Oldenbarnevelt', in *Nederland*, i (1896), pp. 153 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *N. Gids*, iii (October, 1887), 1, pp. 12 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Houghton, E. A., contributed 'De Maria Stuart van John Banks' to *Ned. Spect.* (1877), pp. 282 ff.

in the Parkschouwburg, Amsterdam, in the autumn of 1884,<sup>1</sup> Barnay and Possart<sup>2</sup> paid repeated visits in Shakespearean roles and considerable success attended the visit of Johnston Forbes-Robertson and Mrs Patrick Campbell to the Stadsschouwburg in March and April, 1898, with *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*.<sup>3</sup>

The star actors' way of looking at dramatic literature accounts in part for the relative popularity of the various Shakespeare plays: *Othello*, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth* ranking first, with the comedies following far behind and the chronicle plays, except for *Richard III*, virtually nowhere;<sup>4</sup> though this was to some extent offset by the (German) performances of the Meiningen players, who opened at Amsterdam on May 4, 1880 with *Julius Caesar* and later presented *A Winter's Tale* and *Twelfth Night*.<sup>5</sup>

It was, however, one of the aims of the K.V.H.N.T. to acclimatise Shakespeare's plays on the Dutch stage as dramatic literature. In this ambition of theirs they were aided by the publication of Burgersdijk's verse-translations and the cut stage versions he prepared from them,<sup>6</sup> and the inclusion of a Shakespeare play, generally with Louis Bouwmeester in the chief part, became one of the features of almost every dramatic season in Amsterdam. They had not, however, the advantage of the new translation for their first venture, *Othello*, done at the Stadsschouwburg in the early autumn of 1877, with the Hungarian-American Neville as Othello and Mevrouw Kleine-Gartman, the *doyenne* of Dutch tragic actresses, as Desdemona. Kok's prose, utilised by the Rotterdam players in their production of 1879,<sup>7</sup> was available, but they probably used Van Lennep's version,<sup>8</sup> as it still held the stage of the Stadsschouwburg as late as February 1888. Zubli and Gambon's translation of Ducis's *Hamlet* was acted until 1878.<sup>9</sup>

The new era began on October 22, 1879, when, reinforced by Josephine de Groot, Het Nederlandsch Tooneel, temporarily exiled in Van Lier's Grand Théâtre, produced *Romeo en Julia*, with Louis Bouwmeester as Romeo, in a stage version prepared from his own full translation by

<sup>1</sup> In the season of 1899-1900 she also acted *Hamlet* (*Tooneel*, xxx, p. 14).

<sup>2</sup> Who gave a recitation of Byron's *Manfred* (presumably in German) on his visit in 1887 (*Portefeuille*, ix, p. 409).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Forbes-Robertson, J., *A Player under three Reigns* (1925), p. 182. *Hamlet*, March 25, and April 2; *Macbeth*, March 31; *The Second Mrs Tanqueray* was also in the repertory, March 30.

<sup>4</sup> Possart did *Richard II* in the early spring of 1882 (*Tooneel*, xi, p. 165).

<sup>5</sup> *Portefeuille*, ii, p. 58; *Ned. Toon.* x, p. 106.

<sup>6</sup> Some of these were, apparently, not published. But *Hamlet*, *Prins van Denemarken* (1882) and *Macbeth* (1882) were available 'voor het tooneel als manuscript gedrukt'.

<sup>7</sup> *Ned. Toon.* viii, pp. 203 ff.

<sup>8</sup> See p. 290 above.

<sup>9</sup> *Ned. Toon.* vi, p. 193.

Burgersdijk in collaboration with H. J. Schimmel<sup>1</sup> and gave it no less than 24 times that season.<sup>2</sup> They began their next season on September 4, 1880, in the same house with *De Koopman van Venetië*, Bouwmeester playing Shylock. On January 21, 1883 (in the Stadsschouwburg) came *Hamlet*, with Bouwmeester in the title-part and Mevrouw Kleine-Gartman as Geertruida. Then followed *Macbeth*,<sup>3</sup> *Richard III* (October 27, 1884), *Winteravondsprookje* (*Winter's Tale*, January 15, 1887), *Getemde Feeke* (*Taming of the Shrew*, September 30, 1896), *Veel Leven om Niets* (*Much Ado about Nothing*, October 30, 1897) and *Coriolanus* (April 6, 1899). The ambition of the K.V.H.N.T. was realised and Shakespeare a genuine classic of the Dutch stage. *Veel Leven om Niets*<sup>4</sup> was used to inaugurate the Tivoli-schouwburg at Rotterdam on October 4, 1890; *Twelfth Night* (March 15, 1895) and *Measure for Measure* (September 22, 1899) were presented by the enterprising Nederlandsch Tooneelvereniging on March 15, 1895 and September 22, 1899 respectively: at the end of the century the rising actor Royaards made a name for himself with readings from *Hamlet*, *Julius Caesar*, *Richard II* and *Richard III*.<sup>5</sup>

#### (xiii) *Some Translators*

It will not have escaped notice that some of the foremost Dutch writers of the time did not disdain the art of translation, and it will be convenient to deal with certain isolated aspects of English literature, as it became known in the Netherlands, by reference to them.

In addition to what has been mentioned above, J. J. L. ten Kate, the most distinguished verse translator of his day, translated Milton's 'Allegro' and verses from Mallet, Cowper, Burns, Rogers, Scott, Moore, Dickens,<sup>6</sup> Mrs Keith Cockburn, Mrs Hemans and Adelaide Procter;<sup>7</sup> Beets, whose visits to Scotland<sup>8</sup> inspired 'De Bass-Rock' and 'Walter Scott',<sup>9</sup> made poems from Wordsworth, Adelaide Procter,<sup>10</sup> Burns, Byron,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Burgersdijk's dedication to his *Hamlet*, *Prins van Denemarken* (1882).

<sup>2</sup> *Ned. Toon.* x, p. 128; cf. *ibid.*, ix, pp. 53 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Macbeth* was originally (April 24, 1882) done in Rotterdam, by the short-lived Rotterdam section of the K.V.H.N.T., with D. Haspels as Macbeth, Catharina Beersmans as Lady Macbeth and A. J. le Gras as Duncan. The others in this series were produced at the Amsterdam Stadsschouwburg.

<sup>4</sup> With Bernagie's *Studentenleven*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hamel, A. G. van, 'Hamlet te Rotterdam' (*Tooneel*, xxi, pp. 113 f.).

<sup>6</sup> 'Bede der stervende Arbeiders voor hunne Kinderen', in *Gedichten*, viii (1891), pp. 68 f.

<sup>7</sup> In vols. II and VII of *Gedichten* (1890-1); the items are mostly undated, but presumably anterior to 1867.

<sup>8</sup> He replied, with Turgenev, to the toast of the foreign visitors at the Scott centenary in 1871, of which he gave an account prefixed to *Ivanhoe* in M. P. Lindo's collected Dutch edition of Scott's novels (1872-4); he also received the degree of D.D. at Edinburgh in 1884.

<sup>9</sup> *Noq eens Najaarsbladen* (n.d.), pp. 30 f. and 119 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Dichtwerken 1830-1873*, III (1876).

Patmore, W. C. Smith, Scott, Thackeray,<sup>1</sup> Moore,<sup>2</sup> W. C. Bennett, F. R. Havergal,<sup>3</sup> Newman Smyth,<sup>4</sup> I. Esser ('Soera Rana') from Cowper ('De vermakelijke Historie van John Gilpin'), Scott, James Allen, Charles Kingsley and G. R. Sims, while 'De Karavane' was inspired by Carlyle's phrase 'In this dark Pilgrimage through the waste of Time' and 'Heugenis van Wight' by memories of English holidays;<sup>5</sup> N. D. Doedes ('Garman') made an abridged Dutch version of 'O Nannie, wilt thou gang with me' from Percy's *Reliques*;<sup>6</sup> E. B. Koster's verse translations include 'Doodenklacht' from T. L. Beddoes and a curiosity, 'Dives', from the English poem of the Dutchman J. M. W. Schwartz.<sup>7</sup>

Esser must also, by virtue of *Gelukkige Invallen* (1871), from F. C. Burnand's *Happy Thoughts*, be mentioned among the distinguished Dutch writers who translated English prose too. In the same category as himself stands Albert Verwey,<sup>8</sup> with his renderings of *Gulliver's Travels* (1883)<sup>9</sup> and De Quincey's *English Mail-Coach* ('De Quincey's Postwagen', with an Inleiding).<sup>10</sup> Besides these, there are Vosmaer's translation (*Jozua Davids*, 1873) of Mrs Lynn Linton's *Joshua Davidson*, which caused a considerable stir, Johannes van Vloten's translation (*Margretha More's Dagboek 1522-1535*, 1873) of *The Household of Sir Thomas More*, hailed by him in *De Nederlandsche Spectator* as 'Een juweel van een boekje',<sup>11</sup> and the translations from William Morris already mentioned.<sup>12</sup>

## B. THE FORTUNES OF DUTCH LITERATURE IN THE BRITISH ISLES<sup>13</sup>

### (i) *The 'Athenaeum'*

What was known in Great Britain at the end of the nineteenth century about Dutch literature is not comparable either in extent or influence with what was known in the Netherlands about English literature, but is not entirely negligible. Dutchmen were eminent in various depart-

<sup>1</sup> Viz. 'Het Lijden van den jongen Werther' in *Nog eens Najaarsbladen* (n.d.), p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Winterloof* (n.d.). <sup>3</sup> *Najaarsbladen* (1881). <sup>4</sup> *Demmenaalden* (n.d.).

<sup>5</sup> *Gedichten* (2 vols. 1905); pretty well all date from the period 1867-1900.

<sup>6</sup> *Gedichten*, I (1874), p. 45.

<sup>7</sup> 'Vertalingen' in *Verzamelde Gedichten* (1903), pp. 361 ff. For Schwartz see p. 326 n. above.

<sup>8</sup> Verwey's many verse translations from the English seem almost all to date from the twentieth century. See p. 315 above.

<sup>9</sup> Of course there were earlier translations.

<sup>10</sup> First in *Tweem. Tijd.* III (1896-7), II, pp. 1 ff. and 205 ff.; Koster, E. B., translated (1900) 'Levana en Onze-Lieve-Vrouwen der Smart' (*Studen in Kunst en Kritek*, n.d., pp. 93 ff.). For De Quincey cf. also *Ned. Spect.* (1886), pp. 362 f. and 369 f.

<sup>11</sup> (1873), pp. 110 f.

<sup>12</sup> Though a similar thing happened often enough for Oriental literature, I have come across only one instance of English acting as an intermediary between Dutch and another European literature, when Jonas Lie's *Lodsen og hans hustru* was translated as *De Loods en zijn Vrouw* (1877) from Tottenham's English version.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Vries, T. de, *Holland's Influence on English Language and Literature* (1916).

ments of British life: painters like Alma Tadema and Matthijs Maris; Taine's friend and translator Van Laun; Kuenen, the professor of physics at Dundee; the publisher Van Voorst; the journalist Jacob de Liefde; Dr A. V. W. Bickers; J. H. Hessels, the bibliographer at Cambridge; Donald James Mackay, Lord Reay; J. T. Grein, the dramatic critic and founder of the Independent Theatre; Alexander Teixeira de Mattos, who translated into English not only works from the Dutch, but Fabre, Maeterlinck and others as well. The personal relations they established and the visits paid by Dutch writers and their friends could hardly fail to rouse some interest in cultural conditions across the North Sea and the literature produced in them. This interest was communicated to the general public in various ways, through translations, through introductions to some of these, through criticisms and more general surveys in periodicals and elsewhere.

Among the latter, by far the most important were the summaries of Dutch literature during the past twelve months which *The Athenaeum* started under the general rubric of 'Continental Literature' at the end of 1870<sup>1</sup> and continued right through the period.<sup>2</sup> To compile them, *The Athenaeum* secured the services of the following: an anonymous writer in 1870, F. von Hellwald 1871-4, A. C. Loffelt 1875-6, E. van Campen 1877-91, T. H. de Beer 1892-5, H. S. M. van Wickevoort Crommelin 1896-9, C. K. Elout in 1900. Notices of works on past literary history naturally abound, but the review of current literature virtually begins with Potgieter's *Leven van Bakhuijsen van den Brink* and ends with Heyermans's *Zevende Gebod*.

Ferdinand von Hellwald, a travelled Austrian of wide interests,<sup>3</sup> gave an alert and reasonably kind account of a somewhat barren period, properly pointing out the comparatively good harvest of 1873, with A. R. Donker's *Vier Tonnen Gouds!*, Jan ten Brink's *Nederlandsche Dames en Heeren*, Gerard Keller's *Gederailleerd*, Cremer's *Hanna de Freule*, E. van Calcar-Schiötling's *Kinderen der Eeuw*, Multatuli's *Vorstenschool* and Vosmaer's *Londinas*.—Loffelt,<sup>4</sup> with his love of the theatre, pays due attention to the beginnings of the dramatic renaissance, mentions

<sup>1</sup> II, p. 878f.

<sup>2</sup> These surveys appeared at the end of the year up to and including 1884; 'Continental Literature in 1885' appeared in the first issue of 1886; but from 1887, which had two summaries (the latter only covering six months) the date was shifted to early July. There were a few reports previously by H. Tiedeman: II (1868), p. 335; I (1869), pp. 278f. and 539f.

<sup>3</sup> Author of *Geschiede des holländischen Theaters* (1874, reviewed in *Athenaeum*, II (1874), pp. 32f.) and, with Schneider, Pauline, of *Geschiede der niederländischen Litteratur* (1887).

<sup>4</sup> For Loffelt and De Beer see pp. 293 and 296f. above. Loffelt contributed also to *Athenaeum* papers on Boëner's 1646 translations of Bacon (I (1871), p. 720f.) and Huygens's translations of Donne (II (1871), pp. 305ff.).

Emants as a representative of the coming generation, gives fullish accounts of Huet and Cremer,<sup>1</sup> and highly praises Dekker, the 'Woutertje Pieterse' instalments of *Ideën* especially.—Mejuffrouw van Campen did not shrink from adverse judgments upon established reputations—in her opinion the chapter on seventeenth-century literature in Huet's *Land van Rembrand* 'scarcely comes up to the mark'<sup>2</sup>—and she appreciated much of the work of newer writers (Emants, Couperus, Perk, Van Eeden, Van Looy), but gave no adequate notion of the literary revolution taking place during the period she essayed to cover: she even found Gorter's *Mei* 'hard to take seriously'.<sup>3</sup>

De Beer again pays some attention to the drama: he expects much from Emants and Van Eeden, praising the former's *Artiest* and, more reservedly, the latter's *Gebroeders*, but not much else except Heyermans's *Ahasverus*; on later works of Heyermans he reports tartly that they are 'written in a rough-and-ready style, gentlemen talking like cabmen and paviors'.<sup>4</sup> The new school as such evidently appealed to him but little, Lodewijk van Deyssel being 'the author of two novels [*Een Liefde* and *De Kleine Republiek*], the most obscene that ever appeared in Holland',<sup>5</sup> while Kloos's collected *Verzen* are 'an over-complete reprint of what the most boisterous of our young writers has printed or intended to print'.<sup>6</sup> Mevrouw La Chapelle-Roobol, Fokko Bos and Couperus meet with his approval and he has a special *faible* evidently for writers of short stories and sketches, like Werumeus Buning, whom he would like to see done into English, C. J. Leendertz and the regionalistic writers from Limburg, Émile Seipgens and Lamberts Hurrelbrinck.

H. S. M. van Wickevoort Crommelin, though a candid friend, seems however to side with *les jeunes*, giving a well-balanced and luminous account of the 'turn of the tide' in the mid-nineties, the end of '*l'art pour l'art*', the temporary eclipse of Verwey, the coming of the new poets (H. J. Boeken and Henriette van der Schalk noticed in 1896, P. C. Boutens in 1898), and the new romantic prose writers (Borel, inimically, in 1896, Van Oordt and Van Schendel in 1897),<sup>7</sup> the general levelling down of differences between the groups and generations at the end of the century. Elout, in 1900,<sup>8</sup> is mainly pessimistic: the true-blue 'Tachtigers' and their legitimate heirs are bankrupt, Verwey and Hélène Swarth declining, Borel 'creates a revolting impression of affectation and mannerism'

<sup>1</sup> *Athenaeum*, II (1874), pp. 867 ff. and II (1876), pp. 872 ff. respectively.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* II (1884), p. 842.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* II (1889), p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* II (1894), p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* II (1892), p. 19.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* II (1895), p. 17.

<sup>7</sup> There is praise, too, in 1898 (*ibid.* II, p. 21) of Ary Prins's new manner (as revealed in *Een Koning*), in spite of a 'singular poverty of language'.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* II, pp. 16 f.

There are, however, the unique style of Couperus (which De Beer had found 'more and more bewildering'<sup>1</sup>) and the popular success of Heyermans's play *Het Zevende Gebod* to derive a somewhat doubtful comfort from.

(ii) *British Critics and Literary Historians*

The chroniclers of *The Athenaeum* were all foreigners. Nevertheless, there existed native critics who took an interest in Dutch literature and wrote about it. At the head of them stands Edmund Gosse, related by marriage to Alma Tadema.<sup>2</sup> Gosse's activity in connexion with Dutch literature begins in 1877<sup>3</sup> when he contributed 'A Dutch Milton' to *The Cornhill Magazine*<sup>4</sup> and an account of Starter's *Timbre de Cardone* to *The Athenaeum*;<sup>5</sup> a little later followed the paper on Tesselschade Roemers Visscher in *Studies in the Literature of Northern Europe* (1879).<sup>6</sup> In 1884 he wrote a note on Bredero in connexion with the tercentenary, announcing<sup>7</sup> that he had been elected to the celebration committee. Two years later came his collaboration in Waddington's *Sonnets of Europe*, noticed further on. If the remark there, that the 'sonnet has been almost, if not entirely, unattempted in recent Dutch literature',<sup>8</sup> be by Gosse, as seems likely, it shows how little he was in touch with the newest developments in poetry.

The new prose, which emerged a little later, interested him more, apparently, and his remarks on '*het sensitivisme*', to which he attached an undue importance, brought him into conflict with its principal exponent Van Deyssel and thereby contributed to a satisfactory elucidation of the term. In an introduction, 'The Dutch Sensitivists', to Mrs Clara Bell's translation (*Footsteps of Fate*, 1891) of Couperus's novel *Noodlot*, Gosse touches lightly on the whole recent development in Dutch literature. He has evidently read *De Nieuwe Gids*; for he speaks of his 'real pain' at reading in the December 1890 issue 'the violent attack on Vosmaer and his influence which has been published by that very clever young poet, Mr Willem Kloos'. He notes that 'these young Dutchmen'

<sup>1</sup> *Athenaeum*, II (1892), p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> The personal link with Dutch literature seems to have been provided by Vosmaer, who visited Alma Tadema in 1873.

<sup>3</sup> For the contemporaneous notice taken of Gosse as poet and critic in the Dutch press, see pp. 312 and 314 above.

<sup>4</sup> xxxv (1877), pp. 596 ff.; see p. 341 below.

<sup>5</sup> 'Shakespeare and the Dutch dramatists' (II (1877), pp. 597 f.), evidently in ignorance of Moltzer's work (see p. 289 n. above).

<sup>6</sup> Pp. 230 ff. The *Cornhill* article followed (pp. 278 ff.). The *Athenaeum* review (I, 1879, pp. 369 ff.) spoke slightly of Dutch literature in general ('Vondel's sonorous hexameters are as little poetic as they are dramatic'), excepting from its condemnations Cats and Bredero, because of their humour.

<sup>7</sup> *Athenaeum*, II (1884), p. 570.

<sup>8</sup> P. 275.

(he gives the names of Perk, Van Eeden, Van Deyssel, Kloos, Van Looy, Prins, Verwey, Gorter, Netscher and Couperus) revealed the extent of their foreign reading in their early work—he mentions Keats and Rossetti among the English, but not Shelley—‘but these exotic influences are passing’. While rightly naming Van Deyssel as the inventor of the term ‘sensitivism’, he evidently looks on it as a term applicable to all ‘these young Dutchmen’:

It is a development of impressionism,<sup>1</sup> grafted upon naturalism, as a frail and exotic bud may be set in the rough basis of a thorn. It preserves the delicacy of sensation of the one and strengthens it by the exactitude and conscientiousness of the other, yet without giving way to the vagaries of impressionism and to the brutality of mere realism. It selects and refines, it re-embraces fancy.

Van Deyssel replied<sup>2</sup> that Sensitivisme was by no means the vague artistic sensitiveness which Gosse evidently had in mind but a peculiar psychological phenomenon and its literary expression.

In his *Cornhill Magazine* article Gosse, after an adequate account of *Lucifer* (the article touches on little else of Vondel's) and many passages translated into verse by himself, came to the conclusion that Milton had borrowed, for *Paradise Lost*, ‘to a great extent from Vondel’.<sup>3</sup> The argument was taken up and elaborated by G. Edmundson who, in *Milton and Vondel, a Curiosity of Literature* (1885), delivered the same verdict as Gosse, which, after some correspondence in *The Academy* for 1890<sup>4</sup> and A. Müller's *Milton's Abhängigkeit von Vondel* (1891), was reversed by J. J. Moolhuizen in *Vondels Lucifer en Miltons Verloren Paradijs* (1895).<sup>5</sup>

Edmundson was mainly a historian, but in 1889 he contributed ‘Holland and her Literature in the Seventeenth Century’, a slender study, mainly of Hooft and Bredero, to *Macmillan's Magazine*,<sup>6</sup> which, thirteen years before, had printed a somewhat longer paper by A. Schwarz on ‘The Literature of Holland during the Nineteenth Century’<sup>7</sup>—apart from brief mentions of ‘Hildebrand’ and Mevrouw Bosboom, a dissertation

<sup>1</sup> The Translator's Note to *Ecstasy* (see p. 345 below), laying great stress on sensitivism in modern Dutch literature (pp. ix f.), virtually identifies it with impressionism (p. xii) and instances Wagenvoort's *Passie* as a good example.

<sup>2</sup> *Kritieken* (3rd ed., n.d.), pp. 339 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The resemblance appears to have been first mentioned by T. L. Beddoes (Moolhuizen, J. J., *Vondels Lucifer en Miltons Verloren Paradijs* (1895), p. 1) and, according to Gosse, ‘frequently pointed out in a cursory manner’ before his own essay. Gunn, C. H., alluded to it in a note on ‘The Vondel Feast’ in *Athenaeum*, II (1867), p. 434, which is referred to in *Ned. Spect.* (1867), p. 335 and pilloried by Löffelt, A. C., in *Dietsche Warande*, VIII (1867), pp. 229 ff. Masson, D., in his *Poetical Works of John Milton*, I (1874), pp. 37 f. had mentioned hints of influence from Vondel, Cats and Grotius, which he presumably included in a general condemnation of ‘laborious nonsense’ (*ibid.*, p. 39), echoed in the *Life of Milton*, VI (1880), p. 557 n.

<sup>4</sup> XXXVIII, pp. 613 f.

<sup>5</sup> To the 11th ed. of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1910–11) Gosse contributed initialled articles on Dekker, Dutch Literature, Huet (*s.v.* Busken-Huet), Constantijn Huygens and Vosmaer. Of these the articles on Dutch Literature and Huygens had appeared in the 9th ed. (1881) and those on Dekker and Vosmaer in the 10th (1902–3).

<sup>6</sup> LX (1889), pp. 124 ff.

<sup>7</sup> XXXIII (1875–6), pp. 155 ff. and 267 ff.

mainly on *Bilderdijk* and the poets before 1850. Five years afterwards Edmundson again had an article on Hooft, as poet and historian, with verse translations by himself of 'Aan mijn lieve Leonor' and a few other lines, printed in *The English Historical Review*.<sup>1</sup>

There is not much more to record in the domain of literary history. Before the end of the century five items of the series edited by G. Saintsbury, 'Periods of European History', had come out. Dr Elton's *Augustan Ages* (1899) devoted six pages<sup>2</sup> to the not very brilliant epoch of Antonides van der Goes, Luyken, Poot, N. Heinsius's *Vermakelijken Avonturier*, Asselijn's *Jan Klaaszen*, Langendijk's *Spiegel der vaderlandsche Kooplieden* and Justus van Effen. In the others the space conceded to the Netherlands seems disproportionately small;<sup>3</sup> in one of them it is *nil*—in David Hannay's *Later Renaissance* (1898), no doubt because the editor had wisely arranged for a continuous account of the Dutch Golden Age in *The Seventeenth Century*.<sup>4</sup>

Other series 'brought in' the Netherlands too. This is not the place to speak of Thorold Rogers's admirable *Holland* (1888) among 'The Stories of the Nations'. But one can mention three items in S. Waddington's *Sonnets of Europe, a volume of translations* (1886).<sup>5</sup> Three sketches by Busken Huet<sup>6</sup> ('not the greatest Dutch novelist', the reader is informed) and some extracts from Mevrouw Bosboom's *Majoor Frans* are included, in *Half-Hours with Foreign Novelists*, by Helen and Alice Zimmern (1880).<sup>7</sup> The translated pieces are preceded by short notices of the 'lives and writings' of the selected authors and, though the Misses Zimmern enjoyed the collaboration of E. A. Houghton, the sentences on Dutch literature are ignorant and flippantly condescending; there is, for instance, not a word about the *Camera Obscura*, proper names are misspelt and 'Busken-Huet, although he is past fifty, cannot be better characterised than by calling him a boy... He cannot leave off doing literary mischief'.<sup>8</sup> It is pleasant to turn from this to the intelligent, well-informed introduction to *The Humour of Holland* (1894) by Miss Alice Werner,<sup>9</sup> who

<sup>1</sup> ix (1894), pp. 77 ff. Cf. Kok, A. S., *Van Dichters en Schrijvers*, I (n.d.), p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 374 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Snell, F. J., *The Fourteenth Century* (1899), pp. 83 f.; Smith, G. G., *The Transition Period* (1900), pp. 401 ff.; Omond, T. S., *The Romantic Triumph* (1900), pp. 372 ff., the most of the two pages being given up to Jacob van Lennep.

<sup>4</sup> Which Professor Grierson was to supply so admirably, in 1906.

<sup>5</sup> Bowring's translation 'Beyond the Rhine' from Broekhuizen, and Gosse's translations 'To Hugo Grotius' and 'Friendship' from P. C. Hooft (pp. 239 ff.); for Kok's criticism of the latter, see p. 294 above.

<sup>6</sup> 'Gitje', 'Saturday at the Hague', 'Along the Churchyard'.

<sup>7</sup> (2nd ed. 1882), I, pp. 77 ff. and II, pp. 309 ff.

<sup>8</sup> I, p. 81.

<sup>9</sup> Miss Werner acknowledges help from Frans van Cuyck, 'of the Public Library, Antwerp'.

gives a reliable short sketch of the progress of Dutch (and Flemish) literature from the humorists' angle and tries to find a general formula: 'The humour of the Netherlands has, in common with that of Scotland, a certain canniness and practical shrewdness, characteristic of men and nations who have bought their experience at first hand and a heavy price.' The translations are mostly snippets, but include a good deal of 'Multatuli', and extracts, among others, from Jacob van Lennep, Cremer, Conrad van der Linde, C. K. Elout and Van Eeden's *Don Torribio*.

(iii) *Further Translations into English*

It is doubtful whether the critical pronouncements just reviewed had any effect in determining the specimens of Dutch literature put before the British public, even when, occasionally, a critic would recommend a work for Englishing.—The Dutch classics seem to have had more attraction for the English-reading public in America than in Britain.<sup>1</sup> But, in the period under discussion, Tollens's *Overwintering der Hollanders op Nova Zembla* was translated by William Young<sup>2</sup> into rhyming fourteeners as *Nova Zembla: a tale of the Arctic Regions* (1874), while fragments of Beets's *Camera Obscura* appeared in 1877 and 1892.<sup>3</sup>

Of the work of older living writers there were translations from the devotional semi-fiction of the elder (Jan) de Liefde;<sup>4</sup> from P. Hasting (2065, by A. V. W. Bickers as *Anno Domini 2071*, 1871); from Jacob van Lennep (*The Count of Talavera*, by A. Salomons, 1880); H. J. Schimmel (*Mary Hollis*, by A. V. W. Bickers, 1872, and *The Lifeguardsman* (anon. 1896));<sup>5</sup> J. J. Cremer (*An Everyday Heroine*, adapted by A. D. Vandam from *Anna Rooze*, 1877); Carel Vosmaer<sup>6</sup> (*The Amazon*, translated by E. J. Irving,<sup>7</sup> 1884); P. A. S. van Limburg Brouwer (*Akbar, an Eastern Romance*, by 'M.M.', with an introduction by Clements Markham, 1879); Mevrouw Bosboom (*Major Frank*, by James Akeroyd,<sup>8</sup> 1885); C. B. Huet

<sup>1</sup> E.g., translations of *Lucifer*, Ten Kate's *Schepping* and Tollens's *Overwintering* (cf. following note).

<sup>2</sup> It had been done by 'Anglo-Saxon' into pithy blank verse as *The Wintering of the Hollanders on Nova Zembla* (1860) and was again done, into more prolix blank verse, by the American, D. van Pelt, as *The Hollanders in Nova Zembla* (New York, 1884), with an introduction by S. R. van Campen, who says he tried to persuade Longfellow to undertake the task of translation. All three English versions seem to be independent.

<sup>3</sup> In *The Country* and *The Modern Church* respectively auct. P. D. C. de la Saussaye, *Leven van N. Beets* (1904), p. 338.

<sup>4</sup> Jacob B. de Liefde, though of Dutch birth and parentage, wrote in English and was translated into Dutch. Cf. obituary notice in *Athenaeum*, I (1878), p. 221.

<sup>5</sup> The originals, *Mary Hollis* (1860) and *De Kaptein van de Lijfgarde* (1888), attracted by their British 'setting'.

<sup>6</sup> Grein, J. T. wrote an obituary notice of Vosmaer in *Athenaeum*, I (1888), p. 795.

<sup>7</sup> For Miss Irving see pp. 297 ff. above.

<sup>8</sup> Who helped De Beer with the proofs of his one-volume edition of *The Literary Reader* (1887): see pp. 296 f. above.

(*The Land of Rubens*, by A. D. Vandam, 1888).—Baron Alphonse Nahuys's translation of Dekker's *Max Havelaar* (1868) caused a fair stir; there were the customary reviews<sup>1</sup> and a special article of some scope, 'A Dutch Political Novel', in the *North British Review*;<sup>2</sup> in 1871, 'H' (= Hellwald?) discussed it in *The Athenaeum*,<sup>3</sup> together with other 'Dutch Colonial Novels', W. R. van Hoëvell's *Uit het Indisch Leven*, Jan ten Brink's *Oostindische Dames en Heeren*, W. A. van Rees's *Vermeulen Kruiger* and *Herinneringen van een Indisch Officier*, as well as J. Babut's (French) *Félix Bartel*.

Three poems of Beets's had English verse translations: lines to Mary Victoria, princess of Teck, rendered by M. D. Young and published in *The King's Own* for 1892;<sup>4</sup> 'Wanneer de Kindren groot zijn', by B. L. Tollemache as 'When Little Folks grow Bigger' in *Engelberg and other Verses* (1890);<sup>5</sup> and 'Blondlokkige, die op de Ijsberg troont'<sup>6</sup> as 'Oh, fair-haired one!' by 'M.M.' in the translation of *Koolemans Beynen* about to be mentioned, which also has fragments from Potgieter's verse and from the beginning of his *Rijksmuseum*. It is reported<sup>7</sup> that James Thomson translated Ten Kate's 'Heelal zonder God' into English, but the translation has not been discovered.

While the seniors still active were not unfairly represented, the selection made by the translators from the younger Dutch authors gave a less balanced idea. Emants, Van Deyssel, Kloos, Verwey, Aletrino, Van Groeningen, Van Schendel remained untouched, for instance. However, Charles Boissevain had his biography *Leven en Streven van L. R. Koolemans Beynen* translated (by 'M.M.', 1885); M. T. H. Perelaer his ethnographical novel *Borneo van Zuid naar Noord*, by M. Blok, as *Ran Away from the Dutch* (1887) and *Baboe Dalima, Opium Roman*, by E. J. Venning, as *Baboe Dalima: or, the Opium Fiend* (1888); 'Melati van Java' (Maria Sloom) her *Familie van den Resident*, by Teixeira de Mattos, as *The Resident's Daughter* (1893). Mrs C. Bell turned Van Eeden's *Kleine Johannes* (Part I) into *Little Johannes* (1895) and got Andrew Lang to write an introductory essay, in which he abstained from all criticism of Van Eeden's tale beyond an indication that he thought him capable of better things.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E.g., *Athenaeum*, II (1868), pp. 171 ff.

<sup>2</sup> XLVI (1867), pp. 319 ff.

<sup>3</sup> I (1871), p. 435. Cf. I (1887), p. 416 for an obituary notice of Dekker.

<sup>4</sup> III, p. 455; the original has not been found.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 118 ff. The original is in *Dichtwerken 1830-1873*, III (1876), pp. 263 ff.

<sup>6</sup> P. 147; the pieces from Potgieter occur on pp. 42 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Portefeuille*, II, p. 357.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Robinson, M., 'A Dutch Fairy Tale' in *Nineteenth Century*, XLVII (1900), pp. 632 ff., which deals mainly with the moral significance of *Kleine Johannes*. *The Athenaeum* had remarked (II (1895), p. 116): 'we fear none but a Dutchman could adequately grasp what the author is driving at.'

The only two Dutch writers to attain to popularity in Britain were 'A. S. C. Wallis' (A. S. C. Opzoomer) and Louis Couperus. The former's *In Dagen van Strijd* was published in Miss Irving's translation as *In Troubled Times* (1883) and went through four editions up to and including 1902, the third (of 1885) 'new and judiciously abridged'; *Vorstengunst*, translated by the same hand, appeared as *Royal Favour* in 1885. *The Athenaeum* declared that 'if such stories as "Royal Favour" and "Major Frank" may be taken as fair samples of the quality of modern Dutch fiction...it would be decidedly worth while to work this rich vein for some time longer'.<sup>1</sup>—The first of Couperus's works to appear in English was *Footsteps of Fate* (Mrs Bell's version of *Noodlot*, 1891), of which something has been said; it was followed almost at once by J. T. Grein's translation of *Eline Vere* (1892) and *Ecstasy* (1892), done by Teixeira de Mattos and John Gray from *Extase* (1892). At the time the latter was published, *Illusion and other Stories* was announced as in the press, but apparently never issued from it. *Majesteit*, however, appeared as *Majesty* (1894) in the translation of Teixeira de Mattos and Ernest Dowson; hereafter Couperus's excursions into a boring 'Ruritania' and into worlds of fanciful myth suspended British enthusiasm for him for more than ten years.

It may be observed that Couperus's *Eline Vere* (with the last chapters of *Noodlot* and a few passages in *De Familie van den Resident*) is the only one of these translated books to deal with present-day life in Holland.

In conclusion, mention may be made of the Dutch plays that came before the British public.—From June 7 to 23, 1880, the Rotterdam players under the management of Le Gras, Van Zuylen and Haspels gave a season at the Imperial and Drury Lane theatres in London, presenting Faassen's *Anne-Mie*, *Militaire Willemsorde*, *Ledige Wieg* and *Manus de Snorder* and Maurik's *Janus Tulp*, as well as some non-Dutch plays. The season proved financially a failure;<sup>2</sup> but the team-work of the players won general approbation and perhaps strengthened the general demand, gradually to be supplied, for better *ensemble*-playing on the British stage. *Anne-Mie*, with Catharina Beersmans in the title-part, made such a hit, largely through the pretty Zeeland setting, that Clement Scott prepared an English version<sup>3</sup> for Geneviève Ward, which ran for 35 performances at the Prince of Wales Theatre, London, in the autumn of the same year.—When Mr J. T. Grein set up his 'Independent Theatre' in London he naturally used it sometimes for presenting the playwrights

<sup>1</sup> 1 (1885), p. 373. *Royal Favour* is reviewed *ibid.* p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> *Ned. Tooneel*, x (1881), p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Scott, C., *Drama of Yesterday and To-day*, II (1899), p. 484.

of his own country, and he put on (Opéra Comique, July 8, 1892) *The Goldfish*, Teixeira de Mattos's translation of W. G. van Nouhuys's *Goudvischje*—by which *The Times* thought that the Independent Theatre justified its existence 'far more effectively than it did by its questionable experiments with Ibsen and Zola'—and a revival (Opéra Comique, March 15, 1895) of *A Man's Love*, the translation by J. T. Grein and C. W. Jarvis of Jan C. Vos's *Suzanne*, which had previously been given at the Prince of Wales Theatre, London, on June 25, 1889. It cannot be said that these left much impression. And, when an attempt was made in 1899<sup>1</sup> to reproduce the Amsterdam triumph of Heyermans's *Ghetto* actual antagonism was aroused, perhaps by reason of the changes which (against his will, it seems) the American adapter C. B. Fernald made to please his prospective audiences.

BRIAN W. DOWNS.

CAMBRIDGE.

<sup>1</sup> *Ghetto*, produced at Comedy Theatre, London, September 9, 1899; it ran a fortnight. Fernald's play was published (London 1899) as *The Ghetto, a drama in four acts, freely adapted from the Dutch of Herman Heijermans, Jr.*, with a short introduction by the adapter.

## THE DUNCIAD OF 1729

THE bibliography of the *Dunciad* has presented a number of difficulties since the May morning in 1728 on which it was first published; and for this we have to thank Pope himself, who fully intended that it should do so. Some of those difficulties are likely to remain unsolved, but with the help of a suit in Chancery brought by Lawton Gilliver in 1729 it is possible to clear up a few of the problems surrounding the publication of the so-called 'authorized' editions of that year, and to throw some light on the famous 'A. Dob' piracy which has almost unanimously been attributed to Edmund Curll. To clear the ground for the discussion that follows, it will be necessary to restate briefly the early history of the poem, so far as it is at present known.

The first edition of the *Dunciad* was published in London on May 18, 1728, and carried on the title-page the imprint: 'DUBLIN, Printed, LONDON Reprinted for A.DODD. 1728.' Several other editions with the Dodd imprint, and one from Dublin, followed in the same year, and all of these Pope afterwards referred to as 'imperfect'. No one now believes that the poem originally appeared in Dublin before it was published in London; the mention of Dublin on the title-page was only a device to give the impression that the Dodd editions were unauthorized. Nor does anyone believe that they were unauthorized; it is generally held that Pope was responsible for the publication of the first (1728) edition of the *Dunciad* and for several of those that followed in that year, though what precise part was played by Mrs A. Dodd has remained a matter of conjecture.<sup>1</sup> Further complications are introduced by the fact that on May 30, 1728, James Bettenham duly entered a claim to the copyright of the *Dunciad* in the Stationers' Register. Bettenham was apparently the printer of the poem; but no one, I believe, has ever suggested that he was really the owner of the copyright. In view of what afterwards happened, it seems clear that Pope himself held the copyright of his poem until the close of 1728, and that Bettenham's entry in the Register was no more than a bluff—suggested, no doubt, by Pope himself—to guard against the risk of piracy. Not wishing as yet to have his name associated with the poem, Pope would instruct Bettenham to make the entry in his own name, and not that of the author. It is worth noting here that when Bettenham deposited his nine copies of the poem at Stationers' Hall, as

<sup>1</sup> The best discussion of Mrs Dodd's connexion with the poem is to be found in Professor R. H. Griffith's article, 'The *Dunciad* of 1728', in *Modern Philology*, xiii, pp. 17-18.

the Act of 8 Anne demanded, what he took with him was nine copies of the octavo edition of 1728.<sup>1</sup> This fact has some bearing on the vexed question of whether the duodecimo or the octavo is the first edition; but unfortunately Bettenham's entry was not made until the poem had been published for almost two weeks. The earliest advertisement of an octavo edition appears to be that in the *Whitehall Evening Post*, June 6-8, 1728. It is significant that this advertisement should appear for the first time only a few days after the Stationers' Company had received Bettenham's nine copies of the octavo. Until a better argument is offered, there seems good reason for accepting that of Dr W. K. Chandler (*Modern Philology*, xxix, pp. 59-72) in favour of the duodecimo.

On March 12, 1729, the *Dunciad* was published in a new form. It was published in the sense that a copy of it with Notes Variorum and the Prolegomena of Scriblerus was presented to George II by Sir Robert Walpole. It was not actually on sale until several weeks later. The delay seems to have been occasioned by Pope's nervousness, and indeed there was some excuse for his fears. In the 1728 editions the names of the various dunces whom he was satirizing had for the most part been left blank, or else indicated by a mere initial which could hardly be said to commit him to anything very definite. In this new edition many of the names were supplied in the text, and Pope and his friends had added a prose commentary that was frequently more insulting than the satire of the poem itself. There was, in fact, a considerable risk that some of the bolder dunces might retaliate on the author or publisher or both, either by the good old English method of going to law, or by the even older one of physical chastisement. In those circumstances Pope still refused to acknowledge his authorship, and took the further precaution of assigning the poem to three noble lords, the Earls of Burlington and of Oxford, and Lord Bathurst. By them it was at first distributed privately, at Pope's own request, but before long it reached the hands of the booksellers. On April 8—the date is of some importance—Pope was writing to his friend Caryll to say that the booksellers were now obtaining copies of the *Dunciad*, 'by consent of Lord Bathurst'.<sup>2</sup> What the booksellers were

<sup>1</sup> The statement that Bettenham deposited copies of the octavo with the Stationers' Company is based on my examination of the 1728 copies of the poem in the possession of the Universities of St Andrews and Edinburgh. Both universities possess only one edition of 1728, the octavo; and it is therefore permissible to assume that this edition was the one received from the Stationers' Company in accordance with the Act of 8 Anne. I take this opportunity of thanking the librarians of St Andrews and Edinburgh Universities for allowing me to collate the two copies of the *Dunciad* in question. I am also indebted to the Clerk of the Stationers' Company for permitting me to verify the *Dunciad* entries in the Stationers' Register.

<sup>2</sup> *The Works of Alexander Pope*, Elwin and Courthope, Letters, vol. i, p. 305.

buying from Lord Bathurst was a fine quarto volume of 'The Dunciad, Variorum. With the Prolegomena of Scriblerus. London, Printed for A. Dod, 1729'. Mrs A. Dodd, then, was still the ostensible publisher of the poem, though by this time she had dropped one of the *d*'s in her surname. But on April 10, 1729, an advertisement was inserted in the *Daily Post* at the request of Lawton Gilliver: 'This Day is publish'd, in a Beautiful Letter in Quarto, A Compleat and correct Edition of the DUNCIAD...Printed for Lawton Gilliver against St. Dunstan's Church, in Fleetstreet, and A. Dodd without Temple Bar. Price 6s. 6d.' What was going on? Who was the real publisher of the *Dunciad* of 1729?

The truth—or much of it—is contained in the suit which Gilliver brought in Chancery on May 6, 1729, against James Watson, printer, and Thomas Astley, John Clarke, and John Stagg, booksellers.<sup>1</sup> Gilliver claims that on or about March 31, 1729, he legally purchased or acquired the copy of the *Dunciad*, and that some time in April he caused it to be printed, and duly secured his title to the book in the Stationers' Register. So far as the registration is concerned Gilliver was telling the truth; an entry in the Register for April 12, 1729, bears out his statement. Gilliver complains, however, that in spite of his clear title to the copyright of the *Dunciad* the four defendants have published an unauthorized edition in octavo which purports to be printed for A. Dob. A. Dob, says Gilliver, is a mere fiction, and in any case the edition was printed without his consent.

Gilliver therefore asked for an injunction to stay publication of this Dob edition, and on May 19 he got it, *nisi causa*.<sup>2</sup> The defendants did not enter their reply<sup>3</sup> until June 3, but when they did they cast grave doubts on Gilliver's claim to be the owner of the copyright. They have no information, they say, about his having purchased the copyright of the poem. What they can say is that several times after the date of the supposed purchase he had admitted privately that he had no real right to the copy. To support this assertion they produce the affidavit,<sup>4</sup> dated June 2, of Thomas Wooton of London, bookseller, who makes oath that

being in company of Gilliver on or about 26 April and hearing that he had made some noise about the publication of two octavo editions of a book entitled the *Dunciad Variorum* with the prolegomena of Scriblerus and particularly for an edition said to be printed for A. Dob this de<sup>pt</sup>. asked the said Lawton Gilliver why he made such a rout about y<sup>e</sup> publishing of y<sup>e</sup> said Octavo Editions as he had no right to y<sup>e</sup> Copy upon which the said Gilliver then answered that he had then no assignment of y<sup>e</sup> said Copy but should have it in a little time.

Gilliver, in fact, seems to have been the victim of Pope's—and possibly of his own—timidity. On April 18 Pope had written to the Earl of

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O. C 11/2581/36.

<sup>3</sup> Annexed to the Bill.

<sup>2</sup> C 33/351 f. 284.

<sup>4</sup> C 41/43 No. 566.

Oxford asking him to own the *Dunciad* openly so as to screen the printer from insults.<sup>1</sup> It may be, of course, that Gilliver had lost his nerve and was asking for protection, but it seems more probable that Pope was thinking about himself when he made the request. At all events, the 1729 *Dunciad* had been assigned to the three noble lords from motives of prudence, and so far they had made no reassignment to Gilliver. By April 12 he seems to have been the owner of the copy, in the sense that he had paid or promised to pay to Pope a certain sum of money for it; but legally the copyright of the poem was still vested in the three lords, and under those circumstances Gilliver's entry in the Register was no protection against piracy. Indeed, it seems probable that Gilliver realized all along the risk he was running, and that his entry in the Register was only a despairing piece of bluff. If that is so, then the bluff had failed: no doubt the true state of affairs was already common knowledge in the trade.

Gilliver, in fact, had to wait another seven months before he could set out a complete claim to the copyright. On November 21 he again entered his title to the poem, but this time he made it clear that the copyright had been reassigned to him by Oxford, Burlington and Bathurst. Why did he have to wait so long for the reassignment when delay would only expose him to the danger of further piracies? The answer must surely be that the reasons which first prompted Pope to hand the poem over to the three lords still held good six months after publication. There might yet be trouble in store for the author, and Pope was not going to make Gilliver's title secure until he was satisfied that the danger of reprisals was reasonably remote. No doubt the three noble persons were naturally dilatory in dealing with such trifles, but it is equally likely that Pope had advised them to postpone the reassignment to Gilliver until the storm raised by the *Dunciad* had died down.

In his bill Gilliver had<sup>2</sup> stated that he 'caused the poem to be printed'. This the four defendants took leave to doubt. They pointed out that in the first (i.e., the quarto) edition of 1729 his name was not mentioned on the title-page. They suggested, in fact, that at this stage Gilliver was in no more favourable a position than any other London bookseller: if he wanted to sell copies of the *Dunciad* he must first of all buy them. Here the defendants produced another affidavit.<sup>2</sup> John Stagg made oath that the *Dunciad* in quarto was published on or before April 5, and on either April 7 or 8 he bought a number of copies at five shillings apiece. So far

<sup>1</sup> *The Works of Alexander Pope*, Elwin and Courthope, Letters, vol. III, p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> C.41/43 No. 567.

from Gilliver pretending at this time that he had any right or title to the copy, he actually came to Stagg and said that he too had bought some at the same price, and begged Stagg not to sell any copies to the booksellers at less than six shillings each. And Stagg, who seems to have gone into the matter almost with the zeal of a bibliographer, added that since then he had seen the nine copies deposited by Gilliver with the Stationers' Company, and they were printed 'on a worse paper', i.e., they were not, presumably, copies of the original edition which he and Gilliver had both bought, and were both reselling.<sup>1</sup> When did Gilliver start negotiating with Pope for the copyright of the *Dunciad*? From the evidence just cited it would appear that he had no direct connexion with the poem until after the 1729 quarto had been printed and put on the market. With this evidence I would willingly rest content; but unfortunately it seems to be contradicted by several statements in another Chancery suit—this time one brought by Pope against Henry Lintot in 1743.<sup>2</sup> There it is stated that some time in 1728 Gilliver 'did print or publish an Edition or Impression of the said Book or Poem', i.e., the *Dunciad*. The statement cannot have been made at random because the whole of Pope's case turns on the fact that Gilliver's right in the poem was for fourteen years only, and according to Pope's bill of complaint that right had expired in December, 1742. If this is so, then Gilliver must have been negotiating with Pope, and may have been the virtual owner of the poem, by the end of 1728. How the evidence of these two suits is to be reconciled I do not know.

The quarto of 1729 was said to be printed for 'A.Dod'. The four defendants throw a welcome beam of light on her connexion with the *Dunciad*. By 'A.Dod', they say,

these Def<sup>ts</sup> do apprehend to be meant Anne Dodd a publisher who lives without Temple Bar And these Def<sup>ts</sup> are well informed and do believe that the s<sup>d</sup> Ann Dodd neither then had nor now hath any right or Title to the said Copy nor any Share whatsoever in the property thereof and that her name was put to the said Quarto Edition of the said Book without her Privy Knowledge or Consent and that she never Sold or Disposed of the said Books.

The matter is placed beyond all doubt by an affidavit sworn to by Mrs Dodd herself on June 3, in words which echo those of the defendants' answer.<sup>3</sup> Mrs Dodd's connexion with the 1729 quarto is thus perfectly clear: her name was put on the title-page without her knowledge or consent.

<sup>1</sup> Then what were they? In his *Alexander Pope: A Bibliography* (I, pp. 165-7) Professor Griffith notes two variants of the 1729 quarto, and it is presumably one of these that Stagg saw. A comparison of the paper on which different issues are printed might confirm Stagg's powers of observation.

<sup>2</sup> C 11/549/39.

<sup>3</sup> C 41/43 No. 570.

Can we assume that it was similarly used for the edition of 1728? It is, of course, quite possible, and there are several excellent reasons for supposing that permission to use her name was never obtained or even asked. For one thing she was selling an offensive *Key to the Dunciad* at the same time as she was selling the poem itself; if her consent was obtained, it was probably for a small payment in cash that involved her in no further obligations. There is, however, one slight reason for supposing that though her name was used without authority for the quarto of 1729 it may not have been so used for the editions of 1728. In those the name is spelt correctly; in the quarto it is spelt with only one *d* (A. Dod).<sup>1</sup> If only Mrs Dodd in her affidavit had not been held so firmly to the point at issue by some ruthless attorney—if, in fact, she had been allowed to speak her mind about Alexander Pope and his *Dunciad*—she might have settled once and for all a problem that is now never likely to reach a solution.

One further point made by the defendants which was of considerable importance to their case requires only a passing reference. They pointed out that though Gilliver's entry in the Stationers' Register was dated April 12 the book itself was published at least two days earlier, and they cited the advertisement which he had inserted in the *Daily Post* of April 10. It should be noted that though Gilliver was advertising the quarto as 'Printed for Lawton Gilliver...and A. Dod without Temple Bar', no copy of a *Dunciad* quarto with the names of both Dodd and Gilliver on the title-page is known to exist. The defendants pointed out that the first edition of the poem to carry Gilliver's name on the title-page was the octavo of 1729, which was published about a week after he had made his entry in the Register. And even the octavo, they say, originally carried the 'A. Dod' imprint: Gilliver merely cancelled the title-page and substituted a new one with his own name in place of Mrs Dodd's. Copies of the octavo with the Dod and with the Gilliver title-pages are both in existence. We now know why. Presumably the Dod octavo was one of the two octavo editions that Gilliver was making such a 'rout' about in the presence of Thomas Wooton. It would appear as if the octavo had been reaching the hands of London booksellers in the same way as the quarto, and that Gilliver had to look on while other men were making profit from a book which he considered his property.

The subsequent history of Gilliver's lawsuit is contained in Charles Viner's *General Abridgement of Law and Equity*, where the case is cited as

<sup>1</sup> It should be added that Professor Griffith has already considered this point (*Modern Philology*, XIII, p. 18), and is inclined for good reasons to disregard it.

'Gilliver v. Snaggs'.<sup>1</sup> The injunction granted to Gilliver was dissolved, because, although he claimed that he had purchased or legally acquired the copy of the *Dunciad* he had not said *of the author*, nor had he stated *who was the author*.<sup>2</sup> By the statute of 8 Anne, cap. 19, only the author or the assignee of the author is entitled to the sole right of printing a book, and it is not sufficient for a publisher to say that he purchased or legally acquired the copy, without also saying that he purchased it of the author. It is clear, therefore, that Gilliver's injunction was dissolved partly because Pope refused to admit his authorship, and partly because of the unfortunate complication which he had introduced by assigning the poem to the three noble lords. Until they reassigned it Gilliver's title was imperfect. On October 16 Pope was writing to the Earl of Oxford: 'Our affair with Gilliver is at last finished by Mr Taylor, who directed me to trouble you with signing it speedily'.<sup>3</sup> On November 21 Gilliver's fears were finally set at rest, for on that date he entered his claim to the *Dunciad* all over again in the Stationers' Register, and this time with a full statement of its reassignment to him. There was no further piracy of the three-book *Dunciad* subsequent to this entry. But by this time the public demand for the poem was more than satisfied. It was several years before another edition was issued, and several years before Gilliver gave up advertising the quarto of 1729 in his list of books for sale.

As for the 'A. Dob' piracy, it looks as if for once Curll was perfectly innocent. It is true that the four defendants refused to answer Gilliver's question as to whether they had printed and published the Dob octavo, but their refusal was on legal grounds. They nowhere deny that it is their edition; they only seek to prove that it is none of Gilliver's business whose edition it is. Curll may have been hand in glove with those four men, but that is only speculation. On the evidence that we possess he leaves the court without a stain on his character.

JAMES R. SUTHERLAND.

LONDON.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 278-9. I am indebted to Professor Sherburn for this reference. A long search through Decrees and Orders had failed to reveal the Court's decision. Viner's 'Snaggs' is apparently John Stagg.

<sup>2</sup> Acting, presumably, on Pope's instructions. In a letter to Swift (June 9, 1729) Arbuthnot makes it clear that Pope had refused to own the *Dunciad*, and so the injunction had been dissolved—*Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, F. E. Ball, iv, p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> *The Works of Alexander Pope*, Elwin and Courthope, Letters, vol. III, p. 262.

## NOTES ON THE SOURCES OF 'SIR ORFEO'

So far the presence of any definitely 'Breton' element in this *lai* has been largely a matter of surmise: the general opinion has been that the tale, as its title suggests, is a mediæval retelling of the classical legend of Orpheus with a Celtic colouring of fairy. Foulet<sup>1</sup> frankly regards this latter as due to imitation of Marie de France, but Kittredge,<sup>2</sup> seeking a less general source, cited the *Wooving of Etain and Midir* from the Cuchulain saga, at the same time inclining to the view that the story on which the original *lai Breton* was based emanated originally from Ireland, and was circulated throughout Brittany and elsewhere by Irish harpers. The resemblances between this story of Etain and *Sir Orfeo* are pervasive rather than particular, and can be paralleled in several other Irish and Welsh legends;<sup>3</sup> we might infer from them that *Sir Orfeo* is in the Celtic tradition, but that they cannot be its immediate source is apparent. If, as seems so probable from some of Marie's *lais*,<sup>4</sup> the *lais Bretons* sang of local tradition, the immediate source of *Sir Orfeo*—if it is to be proved a *lai Breton* at all—must be sought for in some version of the Orpheus legend that was peculiar to Brittany, and attached to some family or place. A local Orpheus tale of exactly this type is told by Walter Map in the *De Nugis Curialium*, i.e., the legend of the *Filii Mortue*, or *Sons of the Dead (Mother)*. He makes mention of it twice, in Dist. II, cap. 13, and Dist. IV, cap. 8, but both versions appear to have been written about the same time.<sup>5</sup> In Dist. II, cap. 13, he only refers to it apropos of his definition of *fantasma*;

at quid de his fantasticis dicendum casibus qui manent et bona se successione perpetuant, ut hic Alnodi et ille Britonum de quo superius,<sup>5</sup> in quo dicitur miles quidam uxorem suam sepelisse reuera mortuam, et a chorea redibuisse raptam, et postmodum ex ea filios et nepotes suscepisse, et perdurare sobolem in diem istum, et eos qui traxerunt inde originem in multitudinem factos, qui omnes ideo 'filii mortue' dicuntur?

<sup>1</sup> *Z. für rom. Phil.*, xxx, p. 704 and *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxi, pp. 46 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Amer. J. Philol.*, vii, pp. 176 f.

<sup>3</sup> For the rape of a bride by faery, cf. story of Cuchulain's mother, *Dechtire*, and of Finn's wife, *Saba*. For Heurodis' magic sleep, cf. tale of *Cuchulain*, in which he rests against a rock and is visited by two fairy women who beat him with switches. For the trick by which Orfeo gains his wife, cf. Welsh *Gwydion and Pryderi*, *Math mab Mathonwy (Mabinogion)*, etc.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., *Guigemar*, *Les Deus Amanz*, and *Le Fresne*. See Warnke, *Lais*, Introd.; Rickert, *Marie de France, Seven Lais*, Introd. and Notes; De la Borderie, *Hist. de Bretagne*, III, p. 223; Foulet (ed.), *Galeran de Bretagne*, pp. 259-60.

<sup>5</sup> I.e., 1182-3. See *Anecdota Ozoniensia*, xiv; *De Nugis*, ed. M. R. James, Preface, pp. xxiv-xxvii.

In Dist. iv, cap. 8, he gives the story in somewhat more detail.

Quia de mortibus quarum iudicia dubia sunt incidit oracio, miles quidam Britannie minoris uxorem suam amissam diuque ploratam a morte sua in magno feminarum cetu de nocte reperit in conuallie solitudinis amplissime. Miratur et metuit, et cum rediuiam uideat quam sepelierat, non credit oculis, dubius quid a fati agatur. Certo proponit animo rapere, ut de rapta uere gaudeat, si uere uidet, uel a fantasmate fallatur, ne possit a desistendo timiditatis argui. Rapit eam igitur, et gauisus est eius per multos annos coniugio, tam iocunde, tam celebriter, ut prioribus, et ex ipsa suscepit liberos, quorum hodie progenies magna est et 'filii mortue' dicuntur. Incredibilis quidem et prodigialis iniuria nature, si non extarent certa uestigia ueritatis.

Map does not profess to give the story fully,<sup>1</sup> but what he does give is remarkably like the general outline of *Sir Orfeo*; differences such as the hero being a king instead of a knight, and the wife being seen in a fairy hunt instead of in a dance are minor or adventitious, and can be explained by reference to contemporary events;<sup>2</sup> both tales agree in those features that render them essentially unlike the Classical Orpheus story, that is, the finding of the wife in a company of fairy women in a wilderness, and her happy return to life with her husband. It would not therefore be unreasonable to assume that some form of the legend of the *Filii Mortue* combined with the classical version may have been the basic and immediate source first of the original *lai Breton d'Orpheus*, a few references to which are still extant,<sup>3</sup> and then of a French *lai narratif* from which the English *Sir Orfeo* seems to have been derived.

That the story owes something to the Latin versions is evident from the titles, *d'Orpheus* and *Sir Orfeo*,<sup>4</sup> but it is difficult to point to any details with certainty, as in nearly every case in which either Map's story or *Sir Orfeo* coincides with Ovid and Vergil, parallels can be cited from Marie's *lais* or other contemporary tales and legends, e.g., Orfeo's visit to the Underworld and his skill as a harper.<sup>5</sup> The two versions of the Orpheus legend, originally belonging to two different races, have been so cleverly merged that one feels, but cannot with surety distinguish, the separate elements.

There are other details in the English *lai*, however, that cannot be

<sup>1</sup> See Dist. ii, cap. 32: 'Siluam uobis et materiam, non dico fabularum, sed faminum appono: cultui etenim sermonum non intendo, nec si studeam consequar; singuli lectores appositam ruditatem exculpan, ut eorum industria bona facie prodeat in publicum. Uenator uester sum, feras uobis affero, fercula faciatis.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Map's story of Herla (Dist. i, cap. 11); Odericus Vitalis, *Eccles. Hist.*, viii, ch. 17, Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imp.*, Secunda Decisio XII, Matt. Paris and Roger of Wendover (sub ann. 1236) for contemporary references to fairy hunts 'seen' at the time.

<sup>3</sup> *Lai de L'Espine*, ll. 176-81; *Floire et Blancheflor*, ll. 70-1; *Lancelot en Prose* (Schofield, *Eng. Lit. from Conquest to Chaucer*, p. 186).

<sup>4</sup> The Auchinleck MS. has no title as the folio on which the poem begins appears to have been cut out: but the Ashmole MS. bears the title *Kyng Orfew*, and according to Ritson the Harleian MS. also had one, *Sir Orpheus*, although I cannot see any trace of it in the MS. now.

<sup>5</sup> E.g., more especially *Yonec*, ll. 350 f. Cf. also stories of *Sir Tristrem*, *King Horn*, *Nera* (Cuchulain saga), etc.

accounted for by comparison with either the *Fili Mortue* legend or the classical tales: chief among these are Heurodis' abduction and Orfeo's disguises as a minstrel and pilgrim. Both might be explained by general reference to beliefs and customs prevailing at the time, for stories of abduction by devils and fairies were common enough, and the assumption of minstrel and pilgrim disguises as much a real practice as a favourite literary device,<sup>1</sup> but it is just possible that they may have been drawn from a more explicit and intimate source. Dugdale, in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vi, Part 1, quotes from the history of the foundation of Lacock Priory for Nuns the following story of the abduction of Ela, the young heiress of William Fitzpatrick, Earl of Salisbury. This William died in 1196, leaving Ela, his only daughter, an orphan, as her mother had died two years previously. Being heiress to great wealth and property it appears that her Norman relations<sup>2</sup> carried her off to Normandy

et ibidem sub tuta et arcta custodia nutrita. Eodem tempore in Anglia fuit quidam miles, nomine Gulhelmus Talbot, qui induit se habitum peregrini, in Normanniam transfretavit, et ibi moratus per duos annos; huc atque illuc vagans ad explorandum dominam Elam Sarum, et illa inventa, exiit habitum peregrini et induit se quasi cytharisator, et curiam ubi morabatur intravit; et ut erat homo jocosus, in gestis antiquorum valde peritus, ibidem gratanter fuit acceptus, quasi familiaris. Et quando tempus aptum invenit, in Angliam reparavit, habens secum istam venerabilem dominam Elam, et haeredem comitatus Sarum, et eam regi Ricardo praesentavit. At ille lectissime eam suscepit et fratri suo Gulielmo Lungespe maritavit, per quem liberos subscriptos habuit....

Besides offering interesting resemblances to the above-mentioned features in *Sir Orfeo* this little story has particular point in relation to Marie de France. The identities of Marie, the 'noble king' to whom she dedicated her collected *lais narratifs*, and the 'Count William' at whose request she translated her *Ysopet*, are very uncertain, but of the several theories brought forward concerning them the most convincing and most generally accepted are in favour of the King being Henry II, the Count William, his natural son, William Longespee, and Marie herself, Mary, Abbess of Shaftesbury, natural daughter of Geoffrey of Anjou, Henry II's father.<sup>3</sup> If this were really the case all three would be related, and Ela,

<sup>1</sup> Cf., for instance, Map, *De Nugis* (Dist. II, cap. 29; Dist. V, cap. 6). *Hist. of Charles the Great*, trans. T. Rodd, 1821, ch. 7.

<sup>2</sup> 'cognatos et notos.' Ela's ancestor was Walter de Ewrus, Earl of Rosmar, who came over with William I. He had a son in Normandy, Gerald le Gros, afterwards Earl of Rosmar, and another in England, Edward of Salisbury, Ela's great-great-grandfather. Gerald had a son William who had a son William who died without issue; and William Longespee on his marriage to Ela was given the Earldom of Rosmar as part of her inheritance.

<sup>3</sup> See A. Duval, *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xix, p. 793, n. 1; Emil Winkler, 'Marie de France', *S.B. Akad. Wiss. Wien*, CLXXXVIII (1918), Abhand. 3, pp. i ff.; Giulio Bertoni, *Nuova Antologia*, pp. 18 ff., Sept. 1, 1920; Charles J. Fox, *English Hist. Rev.*, xxv (1910), pp. 303 ff., and xxvi, pp. 317 f.; Warnke, *op. cit.*, p. viii; Elise Richter, *Z. für rom. Phil.*, xl, pp. 728 ff.; T. A. Jenkins, *L'Espurgatoire saint Patriz*, pp. 21 ff., etc.; and the older critics, notably Fauchet, Pasquier, Massieu, Le Grand Aussy, de la Rue, de Roquefort, Gaston Paris and Suchier.

by her marriage with William Longespee, would become Marie's niece.<sup>1</sup> Marie therefore would not only know the story of her abduction but take a particular family interest in it; she would also be almost certain to know not only the legend of the *Filii Mortue* but the members of the family then living;<sup>2</sup> and finally, being a literary woman and well-versed in the classics,<sup>3</sup> she would know Ovid's and Vergil's tale of Orpheus. One wonders whether there might not be some significance in this, for under the circumstances it would not have been difficult for her to have woven these three stories into a courtly and elegant *lai narratif* that would not only appeal to the literary taste of her friends, but contain topical allusions calculated to win their particular attention. That she might have done so is at least plausible, for similar coincidences between fact and fiction occur in her *Guigemar* and *Le Purgatoire de Saint-Patrice*;<sup>4</sup> and since the question of the date of her *lais* is still an open one,<sup>5</sup> it is possible that she may have composed a *lai narratif* of *Orpheus* some short time after Ela's marriage in 1198. One other point is worth mentioning: with the exception of *Sir Degarre*,<sup>6</sup> the only other *lais* extant in English are free translations of Marie's *Fresne* and *Lanval*, *Le Frayn* and *Landavall*. *Landavall* exists in nothing earlier than fifteenth-century versions, but *Le Frayn* dates from about the mid-fourteenth, is in the same MS. as *Sir Orfeo*, and has the same Prologue.<sup>7</sup> Naturally, one hesitates to make any statement, for the facts are not conclusive, but such as they are, they are at any rate suggestive and offer some ground for thinking that Marie herself might have been the author of a French *lai narratif* of *Orpheus* that has been preserved for us in its English versions only. Perhaps more will come to light later.

CONSTANCE DAVIES.

BANGOR.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., allowing for the illegitimacy.

<sup>2</sup> Being Norman-French, interested in Breton legends, and well known in society. As a member of the royal family, she would certainly have known Map (see *De Nugis*, Dist. v, cap. 6).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. what she says in her prologue to the *Lais*, ll. 29-32: 'Pur ceo comencai a penser / d'alkune bone estoire faire / je de Latin en Romanz traire; / mais ne me fust guaires de pris: / itant s'en sunt altre entremis.'

<sup>4</sup> The story of the magic hind in *Guigemar*; cf. Giraldus Cambrensis, *It. Kamb.*, Lib. i, cap. 1 (1188); Marie's mention of bishop Malachias in the *Purgatory*, cf. Giraldus Camb., *Topographia Hibernica* (1187). See Warnke, *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

<sup>5</sup> See Mall, *Z. fur rom. Phil.*, ix, pp. 161 ff.; Jenkins, *op. cit.*; Cohn, *Lit. fur germ. rom. Phil.* (1905), pp. 280 ff.; G. Paris, *Romania*, xiv, pp. 290 ff.; Suchier, *Geschichte der franz. Lit.* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 132 f.; Levi, 'Sulla Cronologia delle Opere di Maria di Francia,' *Nuovi Studi Medievali*, i (1922), and Warnke, *op. cit.*, p. xx.

<sup>6</sup> Which only purports to be 'a tale of Brittany', and has not yet been proved a *lai*.

<sup>7</sup> The Prologue to *Sir Orfeo* has been preserved in MSS. Harl. and Ashm. only, but there is no reason for supposing that it was not included in the Auchinleck version also, i.e., on the verso of the missing folio 299.

## CARTESIANISM AND CLASSICISM

IT is almost a commonplace of criticism to say that the literature of the seventeenth century in France derives many of its peculiar characteristics from the influence of the Cartesian philosophy, or that (French) classicism embodies the Cartesian æsthetic. Krantz's *Essai sur l'esthétique de Descartes* seems to have been the fountain-head of this doctrine. It contains an exhaustive summary of the 'Cartesian' features to be discovered in the Classical theories of Art, and states the case for a relation of direct dependence (of the literature upon the philosophy) as well as it can be stated. The whole question has never received the attention it deserves, at least in England, since those whom it might concern are divided roughly into two camps: the one refusing to admit the possibility of any dependence of Art upon Philosophy, the other accepting the conclusions of Krantz and his disciples without examination.

As the *Essai* is out of print, it may be worth while to begin with an account of it. According to Krantz, then:

The principal originality of Descartes lay in the *method* whereby he approached the problems of philosophy. This method is characterized by the following tendencies: an abnormal fondness for *analysis* (division of difficulties), a desire for *clear simplicity* in the conclusions, and a preference for *homogeneity* in the subject-matter of philosophical thought.

The defects of the Cartesian method appear in the Psychology of the school, and particularly in the *Treatise upon the Passions of the Soul*: man is analysed into two simple homogeneous component parts, but the union of the two is explained in the most unsatisfactory manner. Bossuet (representing the 'Classical' psychologists) is no better than Descartes, and for the same reason: his 'anima sensitiva' is as much a jack-in-the-box as Descartes' 'animal spirits'. Both are happier in analysis than in synthesis: neither can do himself justice with an essentially heterogeneous subject-matter. The Cartesian synthesis is too systematic, too 'pure', to be a satisfactory account of being; and in the same way the *Histoire Universelle*, the *Art Poétique*, and the tragedies of Racine, sacrifice accuracy or fullness to simplicity and tidiness. There could not be, for Descartes, a History of Philosophy, since the phenomenal and mutable character of History could not unite with the unchanging, transcendental atmosphere in which Philosophy lives. Similarly, for the 'Classics', there was no History of Art; the fortuitous, disconnected succession of masterpieces could have no intelligible meaning.

That philosophy 'influences' art is certain: art is 'a reflection or resultant of a man's whole experience', conditioned by his normal habits of thought; philosophy (and religion, which in the seventeenth century made one with philosophy) profoundly modifies both the content of a man's experience, and the manner of his expressions. There is no doubt that the men of the seventeenth century were, for the most part, Cartesians in philosophy; therefore, *a priori*, the literature of the seventeenth century ought to have been 'Cartesian'.

A general similarity between Classical æsthetics and Cartesian philosophy may be found in their treatment of Tradition. For Descartes, there were two factors in a philosophical system: first, a series of eternal, immutable truths; second, a method of thought which would be personal or individual. For the successors of Descartes, the

master's method was an authoritative tradition, since, in their opinion, it was the best. In the same way, for the Classical writers, there were two factors in a work of art: first, a participation in eternal, immutable Beauty; second, a sensibility and a style which varied from artist to artist. And finally, for the Classicists of the seventeenth century, the sensibility and style (the 'method') of the 'Ancients' became an authoritative model, to be deliberately imitated, since it could not be surpassed.

A significant detail is to be found in three letters of Descartes, to or about Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac. The three qualities which Descartes selects for particular praise in the work of Balzac, are Purity of Diction, Oratorical Sublimity, and Sincerity. The first he explains as a consistency of style and subject-matter, together with a constant uniformity of tone. Descartes, further, declares that he delights in the workings of his own Imagination—but by this he seems only to understand Dreams, which indicates a strange under-estimate of the value of Imagination. Finally Descartes is unable to understand Balzac's voluntary dwelling in the country, and urges him to remove to the town, where he must necessarily find more edification and amusement; from which we may conclude that Descartes found nothing to equal Man in interest, as an object of human contemplation.

Passing from Descartes' own literary ideals to the ideals of Classicism, Krantz turns to the *Art Poétique*, which, for him, represents the purest expression of Classical æsthetics. The scope and general characteristics of the *Art Poétique* are Cartesian. Almost in the first line, Boileau gives his 'Cogito':

...consultez longtemps votre esprit et vos forces.

Poetry, then, is not to be the inevitable effusion of an overburdened sensibility, but, like the Cartesian philosophy, the fruit of prolonged meditation, ordered and planned upon methodical principles. Again,

...souvent un esprit...  
Méconnaît son génie...

that is to say, the poet is limited by the character of his 'génie' or aptitude, to particular categories ('genres') of poetry, which correspond (by natural analogy) to the several kinds of 'génie'. While Boileau deals exhaustively with the *means* which the poet shall use, he never questions or examines the validity of the preordained, immutable *ends*, that is, the 'genres'. In the same way, Descartes scarcely questions (except in the theoretical 'Universal Doubt') the *ultimate truths* of philosophy, but spends his energy upon finding the perfect *method* by which to attain knowledge of them.

So much for the conception of the *Art Poétique*. Krantz' discussion of its content is divided into three parts: Boileau's theory of the Nature of Beauty is shown to correspond with Cartesian metaphysics; his Criterion of Beauty, with the principles of Cartesian criteriology; his prescriptions for the Expression of Beauty, with Cartesian methodology.

There are four possible views concerning the nature of Beauty: some hold that beauty resides in the universal, some that it is a quality of

particulars, some that it flows from a union of particular and universal, and others that there is no such thing. The second view is Realism, and corresponds to Sensualism in philosophy; it is plain (*sic*) that Boileau is far from holding either this position, or the fourth (Scepticism). The third view is that of the Romantics, and corresponds to nineteenth-century Eclecticism. Boileau belongs to the first-mentioned group of critics; he loves, in art, all that is general, universal, 'common', and eschews the particular or the individual. For this reason, he continually thinks of Reason as the artistic faculty, since Reason alone moves among the universals. (At this point, Krantz enumerates the occasions upon which the words 'raison' or 'bon sens' occur in the *Art Poétique*.) Imagination has no place in Boileau's theory of art.

Rien n'est beau que le vrai...

Descartes, who saw no use for the imagination in a waking subject, built up his metaphysics as Boileau, later, his æsthetics. Truth, for him, was Universal, and Self-Evident to all: it resided not in contingent things, but in the eternal absolute. In this way, Boileau's 'beauty' is a product, and object, of the impersonal ('objective') Reason—not of the 'subjective' Reason, which Descartes admitted to be fallible, in a sense. So, for Boileau, the perfection of art is an impersonal, supra-temporal thing; and stylistic differentia are imperfections in works of art. A work of art flows, essentially, from the 'person' (hypostasis) as understood in metaphysics, and not from the 'personality' (character) recognized in psychology.

If beauty is a quality perceived by reason, the Criterion of Beauty must be rational. For Boileau, it is Clarity. Descartes recognized the same criterion of truth, and rested from his metaphysical inquiries when he had found an 'idée claire'. Boileau excludes 'le merveilleux chrétien' from poetry, not from a religious motive, but because the introduction of such an element would give the work a suprarational character, and destroy its perfect intelligibility. His insistence upon clarity is such as to leave no room for sensibility. Boileau (representing Classicism) and Descartes simply ignore everything which they cannot understand or explain: neither loves to contemplate the ultimate mystery of things, or to explore the furthest heights of speculation, as did the Romantics upon the one hand, and the Hegelians on the other. Pascal alone in the seventeenth century found the cramping bands of Classicism too narrow ('le silence éternel... m'effraie'—if Descartes could not have heard anything, he would have given up listening). Corneille and Saint-Evremond

gave evidence of mistrusting clarity as the sole criterion of beauty; the one had formed his mind before the publication of the *Discours de la Méthode*, the other lived in England, and missed 'le souffle Cartésien'. Molière, too, was something of a rebel in this respect, and he was a Gassendist. The delight in elegant periphrasis, which Boileau shared with most of his contemporaries, corresponds to the Cartesian habit of using the definition rather than the name in argument, for the sake of clarity. The dialogue of classical (Racinian) tragedy is pure analytical reasoning, aiming at clarity, and not at the representation of action.

Krantz reduces Boileau's doctrine of the Expression of Beauty to ten rules, corresponding more or less closely to the Cartesian rules for the government of the mind. The first rule is Clarity. Boileau proscribes symbolism and mysticism, in favour of pure allegory—that is, he prefers, for poetic purposes, Paganism (as he understood it) to Christianity. So Descartes had no use for the occult, or for what P. Rousselot<sup>1</sup> has called 'système et symbole', and deliberately left Christianity out of his philosophy. The second rule is Unity, by which Krantz appears to understand the 'three unities' of tragedy. This convention Boileau stated as an absolute law, because his Cartesian love of unity made him desire some such 'organic' principle: the historical origin of the 'unities' could have no interest for him. Molière, the Gassendist, had no use for such rules. The third rule is Identity—that is, that characters must be self-consistent throughout a play. Descartes prized self-consistency even above actually being right, both in thought and in the *morale provisoire*: Boileau simply applied this idea to the depicting of character in fiction. He was also opposed, in the drama, to the 'development' of character over a long period, as Descartes ignored history in the formation of his precise, timeless judgments. The fourth rule is Simplicity. Boileau did not allow superfluous detail, approved a minimum of subject-matter in an Epic poem, and gave, as a quality of the perfect tragedy, that it should be 'facile à retenir'. We know how highly Descartes esteemed simplicity. The fifth rule is that of Absolute Perfection. Descartes never perceived the infinity of gradations which measure the hierarchy of being, and tended always to divide entities into the excellent and the base—e.g. soul and body. So for Boileau,

Il n'est point de degré du médiocre au pire.

The sixth rule is Method.

Avant donc que d'écrire, apprenez à penser.

<sup>1</sup> *L'Intellectualisme de S. Thomas.*

The analogy with the *Discours de la Méthode* is obvious. The seventh rule is 'Abstraction and Analysis'—which is apparently opposed to colourful expression and experimental observation. The eighth rule concerns Portraits—which are to be psychological, and not physical. These portraits, perhaps the favourite literary exercise of the seventeenth century as a whole, are the social or artistic correspondence of the philosophical self-analysis so dear to Descartes. As the century proceeds, the normal 'portrait' gradually loses sight of the physical characteristics upon which Madeleine de Scudéry concentrated, and approaches, in *La Princesse de Clèves*, to a complete elimination of everything that is not mind.<sup>1</sup> The ninth rule is the 'Séparation des Genres', and corresponds to the Cartesian principles of analysis and homogeneity: the origin of this rule is not in the literature of the Ancients, therefore it can only be in Descartes. The tenth rule concerns Order and Deduction. There are two possible Orders which the artist may follow: one subjective, flowing from the 'pattern' of his own thoughts and feelings; the other objective, that is, 'common', adaptable to all minds, universally intelligible. Descartes sought for a Method which should be universally acceptable and conclusive: so Boileau desired an order, in works of art, which should be almost mathematical in its objectivity and plainness—this is especially to be seen in his legislation for Tragedy.

So much for the *Art Poétique*. Krantz proceeds to enumerate four general characteristics of Classical Art which seem to him eminently Cartesian: the Elimination of the Burlesque; the Elimination of 'Nature'; the tendency towards Optimism; and the absence of a Moral Point of View.

Boileau normally attacked bad writers, rather than bad art forms. His exceptional assault upon the 'Burlesque' as a whole, in which his contemporaries supported him against Bergerac (a Gassendist), Scarron and d'Assouci, was motivated by the following considerations: the 'burlesque' could suffer no rules; it tended towards 'le réalisme le plus crû'; it mocked the Ancients, by concentrating upon their Antiquity; it essentially lacked, or was opposed to, Unity of Tone; and it proceeded, not from reason, but from fancy.

The 'Elimination of Nature' was an inheritance of Classicism from the sixteenth century: but Cartesianism retarded the disappearance of this principle, by its subjectivism, its metaphysical obsession with the transcendence, and unique importance, of God, and by its idealism,

<sup>1</sup> A footnote explains away La Bruyère on the ground that he was not trying to produce beauty.

which allowed artists to substitute an artificial, or literary 'Nature' for the real thing.

The classical poet conceived it to be his function to 'mettre le lecteur en belle humeur'. Gaiety, or at worst a peaceable and delightful melancholy, were demanded in all poetry. In the same way, Descartes insisted upon clarity and intelligibility in reasoning—for clarity is 'the gaiety of the reasoning animal'.

The absence of a moral point of view which Krantz sees in classical poetry is to be compared with Descartes' indifference to, or deliberate ignoring of, all the most difficult and painful questions of Ethics.

Krantz' *Essai* concludes with a series of notes on the less monumental pieces of 'Classical' criticism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including the *Préfaces* of Racine, certain chapters of La Bruyère, and of Voltaire's *Siècle de Louis XIV.*

It will probably be of no advantage to urge against this array of evidence the *a priori* improbability of such an 'influence' as the argument is designed to prove. Krantz declares that philosophy must have a far-reaching effect upon the whole attitude of a man towards his environment—and therefore of an artist towards his environment. It seems, however, that the technical differentiae between systems of philosophy are so far removed from the course of an ordinary man's thought as hardly to modify his practical outlook upon life at all; and that, while the work of an artist who is a cultivated man will differ from the art of the savage, there will be no discernible difference, *ceteris paribus*, between the work of two men who hold different metaphysical positions. This is the weakest of the possible objections to the argument I have just described, and the further pursuance of it would be little more than a waste of words.

The most distressing feature of the *Essai sur l'Esthétique de Descartes*, and one which appears to characterize all writing in support of its contentions, is confused and vague habits of thought—a thing least of all tolerable in a discussion of so abstract and delicate a nature. Two instances will be enough to illustrate this defect. Krantz speaks in one place of 'le souffle Cartésien, qui a passé partout'. Is it then in some vague, indefinable *Zeitgeist* that he finds the origin of Classical æsthetics? No: for he tries to support each step of his argument upon a quotation from the works of Descartes. But if he is concerned with the precise, particular thing called 'the philosophy of Descartes', there is no place in his work for winds which blow where they list; either the philosophy of Descartes modified the æsthetic theory and practice of all those who were

in any sense his disciples, or else Classicism must be interpreted in some other way. 'Le souffle Cartésien', for Krantz, is a synonym for 'le souffle classique', and neither proves anything, nor helps forward the argument. Again, wherever a writer of the seventeenth century exhibits an impatience with the rules or limitations which fetter the work of his contemporaries, Krantz calls him a 'Romantic'. He was, more likely, a humanist in the tradition of Montaigne or Ronsard. Romanticism, being a reaction from a state of things which did not exist before about 1780, can have none but the most far-fetched analogy with anything that happened before 1700: and to use the word in connexion with Corneille, Pascal and the rest, is worse than stupid, for it is profoundly misleading.

Another general fault in the whole of Krantz' argument, and one to which any proof of 'correspondence' is naturally liable, is the abuse of strained, or fortuitous, similarities between systems which appear to be broadly parallel. Much that is characteristic of classical æsthetics rests upon principles of thought which were not formally opposed to the Cartesian method: for Krantz, this is enough to indicate the relation of dependence which he seeks to prove. Now it is certainly true that in the first century of the great Schoolmen, a passion for analysis, a love of homogeneity, and a great desire for complete systematization led the philosophers of every group into a somewhat mechanistic psychology and a ludicrously unreal conception of cosmic order: while almost none of them had or even desired any knowledge of the history of philosophy. Descartes, we are told, admired, in the work of Balzac, 'unity of tone' above all—but this seems to be exactly what Aquinas meant by 'integritas, sive perfectio', the first distinguishing mark of the beautiful. The first, second, fifth, ninth and tenth of the 'rules' of Boileau, as arranged by Krantz, seem to be directly required by the following text from the *Pars Prima*<sup>1</sup>: 'Ad pulchritudinem, tria requiruntur. Primo quidem integritas, sive perfectio; quae enim diminuta sunt, hoc ipso turpia sunt. Et debita proportio, sive consonantia. Et iterum claritas; unde quae habent colorem nitidum, pulchra esse dicuntur.' It is certain that the metaphysical principles of Aquinas could never have encouraged even so idealistic a passion for Nature as appears in the works of Jean de Meung: it is equally certain that Aquinas saw no intrinsic charm, from the philosophical point of view, in mere (inexplicable, or unintelligible) mystery. Even such a scanty review of scholasticism as this, suggests that a scholar might make out an exceedingly strong case for the contention that classical æsthetics embody the principles of

<sup>1</sup> Of the *Summa Theologica* of Aquinas.

Thomist philosophy; yet such a contention would be perfectly absurd. It is therefore to be feared that a great deal of Krantz' argument is equally inconclusive.

More serious, because more easily evitable, are the misinterpretations of Boileau's thought which are too numerous in the *Essai*: here again, the successors of Krantz have been led into error, and his interpretations have become those of a school. I append here a list of those which seem to me the most serious, more or less in the order in which they appear in my analysis of Krantz' work.

First, he draws a parallel between Descartes' deliberate neglect of the history of philosophy, and Boileau's of the history of poetry. It is not true that the historical passages in the *Art Poétique* can be safely ignored. Boileau included in his poem histories of French versification, of the 'pointe', of the Satire, the Tragedy and the Comedy: that is to say, he supported by reference to history all those parts of his argument in which he wished to air important, constructive and personal opinions. Too much stress has been laid upon the inaccuracy of these historical parentheses, which flows simply from Boileau's inevitable lack of 'modern scholarship'. Where the seventeenth century is concerned, Boileau is a reliable historian: and while one could not say as much for any of his contemporaries, one could scarcely hope to say more for him. But apart from the permanent value of this section of Boileau's work, it is quite clear that he set considerable store by it. His veneration for Malherbe seems to have rested entirely upon that poet's historical importance; he observed, and regarded as significant, the historical dependence of the Tragedy of his own day upon the Heroic Romances; he found intelligible, if not convincing, formulæ for the history of Classical Comedy and of Satire, and based upon these formulæ alone his instruction for the two genres.

Next comes the familiar slogan: 'Boileau left no room for imagination in poetry.' Imagination, for Krantz, is a 'faculté représentative'; and it is perfectly obvious that Boileau's instructions for 'realism' in Comedy, as well as his praise of lengthy and impressive descriptions in the Epic, presuppose a high development, and a full use, of this 'faculty'. 'Imagination in poetry' more often means 'strong and articulate emotion'. This, it may be granted, was not a quality in which Boileau himself excelled, and we may legitimately suppose that it was on this account that he wrote Satires and philosophical poems, but few Odes and no Elegies—he may have 'consulté longtemps son esprit'. But Musset himself could hardly be more explicit or more vigorous in proclaiming the absolute

necessity of 'imagination' in its place—the Elegy and the Ode, which is what we call Lyric poetry. If he does not dwell at great length upon this necessity, it is because some 'imagination' is implied in the 'génie' without which no one can write a line of poetry, and which Boileau takes for granted in all who seek to learn his lessons. Even 'poetic fancy' is duly recognized, in the *Art Poétique*, as a necessary part of descriptive poetry, of the epic narrative ('égayé par mille fictions'), and of the pastoral.

A still more serious error is the doctrine that the criterion of the beautiful, for Boileau, was clarity. There is hardly a page in the *Art Poétique* in which Boileau does not mention the ultimate sanction of all his precepts, which is the necessity under which the poet works, of *pleasing*. For tragedy,

Le secret est d'abord de plaire et de toucher:

for poetry as a whole, it is 'divertir' or simply 'plaire'. It is true that the necessity of pleasing implies the duty to be clear: but even in the passages in which Boileau is directly concerned with clarity, he is careful to explain the reason for this concern—the reader's pleasure. And this pleasure was not confused in Boileau's mind with the purely intellectual pleasure of learning, but appeared to him to be *sui generis*; as we may discover from the way in which he explains the particular excellence of the Epic, or indeed from the very conception of an 'Art Poétique'. Boileau's own use of periphrasis might serve as an instance of his preferring the elegant to the obvious, were it not that by another—still more grotesque—misinterpretation, Krantz makes periphrasis step-sister to baraliphton, a mere 'layering' of Cartesian logical rules.

Krantz lays great stress upon Boileau's love of simplicity in poetry: but the texts which he quotes to illustrate this love make it very difficult to understand what is meant by simplicity.

Ne vous chargez point d'un détail inutile

is a warning against dull rigmarole, rather than baroque exuberance. The Epic, according to Boileau, should be constructed upon a slender framework of narrative—but it is to be embellished with grandiose descriptions and adorned with all the delights of Græco-Roman mythology, or else it will be, as Boileau himself wrote, 'froid'. A play should be 'facile à retenir' for the audience; this striking phrase has no parallel in the *Art Poétique*, and obviously refers to the peculiar conditions in which dramatic poetry lives—it is spoken, not read, and the audience has no opportunity to 'look back' at a passage which presented some difficulty.

In the absence of any conclusive evidence that Boileau admired simplicity in poetry, it is safer not to suppose that he did. There are many passages in which he demands ornament—of the epic, of the ode, even of the pastoral. 'Naïveté', in the *Art Poétique* is a term of abuse: and the lighter forms of poetry are everywhere subordinated to the great serious genres. The perfect critic must be a man of some learning, as well as a wide technical knowledge. The evidence, on the whole, seems in favour of the opinion that Boileau admired complexity in art.

Krantz uses the famous line

Il n'est point de degré du médiocre au pire

to draw a comparison between Descartes' love of absolute antitheses and Boileau's refusal to admit *shades* of beauty in art. But Boileau's line will not bear this interpretation. He does not deny 'degrees' between the sublime and the average, but simply states the universally recognized law that indifferent art is bad art. 'Médiocre' does not mean 'imperfect', but 'totally lacking in excellence'. Krantz' law of 'Absolute Perfection' bears little enough relation to Classicism in any form: it is quite foreign to the ideas of Boileau. The fact that Boileau translated Longinus, some of his own notes upon that translation, the wide range of his poetical works—*Lutrin*, *Satires*, *Odes*—as well as the probably authentic *Dissertation sur Joconde*, all prove that his conception of poetic excellence was highly elastic. He rated Corneille above Racine and himself above Régnier, without denying the greatness of those two inferiors: he never admitted an equality between a modern masterpiece and an ancient—indeed he established a very wide gulf between the two kinds of greatness—yet he was prepared to give the most flattering epithets to the works of Malherbe, Voiture, Molière and the rest. The most that can be said for Krantz's belief is that Boileau could never have subscribed to the absurd theory of René le Pays, 'that the existence of bad poets is desirable, since they provide mirth for their betters'. But to say so much is no more than to say that, while le Pays was a buffoon, Boileau was a man of some judgment.

In the first Canto of the *Art Poétique*, Boileau wrote:

Avant donc que d'écrire, apprenez à penser.

Krantz takes this to mean that Boileau insisted upon poets going through a course of logic, before beginning to write poetry as their life's work; and draws a facile comparison between this demand and the prescriptions of the *Discours de la Méthode*. But Boileau's line occurs in the middle of a passage which is wholly concerned with Clarity of Expression. It means

no more than the schoolmaster's 'Don't start to write a sentence before you know what you are going to say': indeed, it means rather less, for it asks only *thought*, not definite knowledge. Such advice is entirely sub-philosophical, and Krantz does Boileau a very ill service by his distortion of it.

Concerning the 'optimism' of classical art, Krantz says rightly, that 'la fonction du poète [classique] est de mettre le lecteur en belle humeur'. But in his subsequent argumentation, he seems to assume that this is the function of all classical writers, whereas it is in fact peculiar to the poet. We shall later consider more particularly the classical idea of the function of poetry: it is worth while here to remark that, for classical criticism, the poet is on a different footing from all other artists except the musician. Poets and musicians must amuse, musicians need only amuse, poets should also instruct; but the prose writer need only instruct, the architect need only build correctly and firmly, the painter need only imitate closely, and so forth. Classical poetry, therefore, will show a 'tendency towards optimism' which classical prose will (and does) belie: and the root of this optimism lies in the peculiar circumstances of the poetic art, not in any *Zeitgeist* or period psychology. It is almost superfluous to give instances of the absolute separation of poetry from prose (and life) in the seventeenth century: le président Nicole, whose teaching formed the serious, over-intellectual temper of his son, wrote nothing but two volumes of poems, all gay and licentious; Fontenelle preluded his would-be profound 'vulgarizations' of philosophy and science with frigid, but wholly frivolous, bucolics. Krantz makes the same mistake, more seriously, in considering the 'absence of a moral point of view' in classical art. La Rochefoucauld came nearer to being a cynic than any of his contemporaries, but a pure and exalted ideal of honour motivated all his bitterest moral judgments; the cultivated public of the time delighted in the *Pensées* and the *Essais de Morale* almost more than in any other two publications of the century; the *Princesse de Clèves*—even more 'classical' than the heroic romances—was a moral sermon; wanton poetry itself became a vehicle of preachments, and Boileau,

...singe de Bourdaloue,

would tolerate no poetry which injured morals, and favoured that which deliberately championed them. It would almost be true to say that, whereas at other times art has been enslaved to money, to politics or to learning, its tyrant in the seventeenth century was Morality. Krantz was presumably misled by the Tragedies, the Operas, the Elegies and the

Odes, from which morality as well as every other *serious* matter was excluded by the author's enforced intention

...d'abord de plaire et de toucher.

I make no apology for this lengthy catalogue of the misinterpretations which underlie the arguments of Krantz. It is a representative, rather than an exhaustive, catalogue; and it constitutes the most serious objection to the view that Classicism and Cartesianism are related as effect and cause—the evidence for the relationship is fundamentally unsound. Unfortunately, the testing of this evidence is a tedious business, whereas the marshalling of it by Krantz and his successors has all the splendour of synthesis and all the persuasion of the insubstantial.

The proof of *suggestio falsi*, although it is the principal, is not the last objection to the argument of Krantz. By his definition of Classicism, he appears to mean 'the typical or representative art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries': but the texts which he adduces as 'Classical' are not typical, and only imperfectly representative, of the literature of their time. First, the *Art Poétique*: this work seems to Krantz so obviously the principal handbook of Classicism that he never troubles to examine its importance or status.<sup>1</sup> I believe that the *Art Poétique* is as personal as any sound criticism can be; but apart from this question of interpretation, it is certain that Boileau's contemporaries had no idea that his work codified their ideals. Any deference they paid to the precepts of Boileau flowed from their belief that he was the mouthpiece of Horace, when it was not merely the expression of an uncritical hero-worship of Despréaux. In the eighteenth century, Boileau was admired as much for his poetry as for his criticism; the *Art Poétique* was seen to be a remarkably successful *tour de force*, but a less authoritative guide to letters than the works of La Motte or Du Bos, to name only two rivals of his fame. In 1808, there appeared for the first time a 'school edition' of Boileau—from which it is fair to assume that Boileau, about that time, first found himself lectured upon, analysed, annotated, learnt by heart and judiciously quoted in the secondary schools—last stronghold of Scholastic aridity and the worship of the Letter which kills. It is not surprising to find the first generation of Romantics reviling Boileau as the corner- (if not the foundation-) stone of the imaginary edifice of Classicism. It would not be impossible to see in this change of the educational curriculum the formal cause of French romanticism as a whole. It was wholly to be expected that nineteenth-

<sup>1</sup> As an example of the misleading effects of this assumption: 'Classicism', for Krantz, has no room for the 'merveilleux chrétien'. I believe I am right in saying that, before 1674, *no critic* had condemned the use of the 'merveilleux chrétien' as such.

century criticism (whose exponents had all revolved the same treadmill) should find it convenient to make Boileau a personification of Classicism, and Classicism an analogue of Boileau. Krantz was at fault, but he is not to blame. Even if it were possible to show an intimate relation of dependence between the theories expressed in the *Art Poétique* and the system of ideas known as Cartesianism, the result would be a proof that Boileau was a Cartesian, and no conclusion could be legitimately drawn from this which would apply to Classicism as a whole.

The same objection can be made to other 'representative' texts selected by Krantz. *Bérénice*—his 'type' of Racinian tragedy—was one of the least successful of Racine's plays when it first appeared, and has never been popular since, except in the theorist's study; and however striking or noble its peculiar beauties may be, this play, written as it was almost 'for a bet', is essentially and seriously unlike the acknowledged masterpieces of its author, such as *Andromaque*, *Phèdre* and *Athalie*. If these are 'Classical', *Bérénice* is something less. The *Préfaces* which Racine wrote for the publication of his various plays were for the most part mere 'boutades'—angry and tendentious manifestoes, calculated to meet particular criticisms of particular points in the play concerned, and to meet them by any means, fair or foul, literary or personal. The significant phrases which Krantz has culled from them for his own purposes prove that Racine wrote well, and thought clearly, even in occasional and ephemeral pieces. They no more represent Classicism than Johnson's replies to Boswell, touching the Catholic Church, represent eighteenth-century Anglicanism.

The peculiar literary doctrine of 'Imitation as Originality' which was held by Boileau, and by La Bruyère after him, was probably unconnected with Cartesian thought; but, what is more to our present purpose, it was certainly not a normal or 'accepted' doctrine in the seventeenth century, nor was it in any sense typically Classical. All the opposition which came to the author of the *Satires* was directed in the first place against his unblushing translation or adaptation of Latin originals, and there were never wanting, during the whole career of Boileau, many notable wits to make the same reproach. We know of two great writers who seriously contended that 'tout est dit': all the rest held views about literary originality which classified the *Art Poétique* and most of the *Satires* as able translations. Once again, Krantz has mistaken a personal fetish for a universal cult.

This unfortunate selection of texts results in a very incomplete picture of Classicism. If the *Art Poétique* be taken as the norm, and *Bérénice* and

*Des ouvrages de l'esprit* as the limiting cases of permissible divergence therefrom, it becomes necessary to exclude from 'Classicism' nearly all the plays of Corneille and Molière, the complete works of Pascal (excepting the *Discours sur les Passions de l'Amour*), most of the Jansenist authors, the 'précieuses', and amateurs like La Rochefoucauld and Saint-Evremond, to say nothing of the Christian Epics and the Heroic Romances, or of much that is distinctive and characteristic in the work of La Bruyère, Racine and Boileau himself. For many of these exclusions Krantz is at pains to excuse himself: Molière was a pupil of Gassendi, Saint-Evremond lived outside France, Pascal broke away from Cartesianism, Corneille began to write before the publication of the *Discours de la Méthode*, and so forth. Such facts do nothing to make acceptable the use of the word 'Classicism' for so trifling a phenomenon of letters, or the argument 'The *Art Poétique* is Cartesian, therefore Classicism must be'. The Classicism which Krantz describes had no self-conscious existence before Désiré Nisard.

So much for the general conclusions of what I may call the 'Krantz school': they rest upon a small number of ill-chosen texts, systematically misinterpreted. In the absence of further evidence we may safely believe that there is no immediate connexion between Classicism, in the usual sense, and Cartesianism, except contemporaneity. It would, however, be more satisfactory to arrive at some more constructive opinion about the critical theory of Boileau than our catalogue of misinterpretations could provide, and to find an alternative explanation of his apparent 'Cartesianisms'.

From a study of literary theory over a fairly wide field and a long period of history, it would seem to appear that the normal or fundamental conception of poetry is Dryden's 'pretty thing', Eliot's 'verses and jingles', a Toy. It is, of course, a very complex toy: not only more complex than the whipping-top or the 'gin-and-mixed', but more, even, than music, and only less infinitely amusing than people. But still it is a toy and its authors are 'makers of pretty things'. In almost every period of literary history there have been theorists or poets who preached or practised this notion of poetry as a superior amusement, which we may call the 'pure' criticism. 'Impure' theories innumerable have very often discredited it, but I think that they can all be explained as the result of some non-literary disturbance in the world of letters. For instances, we will confine ourselves to the history of French literature. The extant works of Chrestien de Troyes all fall naturally into the category of 'pretty things', except for his swan-song, *Perceval*. This work, and the

series of *Grail Romances* which came after it, is a good example of the 'impure': it depends for its success upon an almost esoteric variety of mystical allegory, and it attempts to surprise, bewilder, frighten, exalt or what not, rather than to amuse (in however 'superior' a fashion). But it is abundantly clear that the latter half of the twelfth century in France saw such a burgeoning of extraordinary mystical heresies as hardly before or since; and it is to this theological development that we must attribute the appearance and success of the Marvellous Romances. In much the same way the thirteenth century renaissance of learning was responsible for the excessive 'impurity' of Jean de Meung's continuation of a work which might serve as the perfect model of 'superior amusement'. Again in the sixteenth century, a poetry of great charm and brilliance fell into sudden disrepute upon the advent of a more 'learned' kind of art: but why did the school of Ronsard so easily rout the school of Marot? Because Maurice Scève had prepared the ground for them; and Scève had communicated to Poetry the earthquake shock of Platonism. All the fanfares of the *Pléiade*, and all the strangeness of its splendour, were an indigestive spasm of Poetry, caused by the imperfect assimilation of certain non-literary (philosophical and linguistic) irritants. But Saint-Gelais, Desportes, Bertaut, and others less known, kept alive that other sort of poetry, the complex toy: and Malherbe came to complicate it further with his canons of simplicity. Enough time had elapsed before Boileau came to maturity for the 'pure' criticism to reassert itself, and to appear once more as the only normal, almost the only possible, criticism. It was in this 'pure' atmosphere that Boileau thought and wrote, and his *Art Poétique* presupposes in every line the assured belief that Poetry is no more (and no less) than a superior amusement. It is difficult for us, who have seen the 'pure' theory overshadowed successively by the 'folk' obsession, by scientism, and by Freud, to keep pace with Boileau. A true interpretation of him is made easier if we start from literary history rather than from philosophy.

For example, let us consider Boileau's peculiar doctrine, to which I have already referred, that Originality can only be profitably attained through imitation of excellent models. Krantz sees in this the effect of a turn of mind which seems to him essentially Cartesian. But if we consider the form in which Boileau stated the doctrine, and the historical background of Boileau's literary thought, we shall find a more plausible explanation. The abbé Cotin objected, against Boileau, that he was 'a mere translator of Horace'; Boileau replied that the objection honoured him too much. Every subsequent appearance of this idea in Boileau's

work presents essentially the same features: imitation by the poet, objection to this by a critic, paradoxical self-justification by the poet. Now it is easy to find reasons why Boileau should have practised his imitations; they are mainly drawn from literary history.<sup>1</sup> But it was obvious that Boileau must say something in his own defence when older, younger, or differently educated men reproached him: and from this necessity came the doctrine in question. In point of fact, Boileau did not care for 'originality' but was unwilling to admit deficiency in a quality so widely admired. La Bruyère, in the same case, made the same excuse. Even Pascal found it necessary to defend himself from the charge of 'saying nothing new', but acquitted himself worse than the other two, since he pointed to a specific novelty ('l'ordre'), while they came nearer to a frank admission that novelty did not interest them.

In Boileau's acceptance and promulgation of the laws of the Unities, and of the 'séparation des genres', Krantz sees two examples of the Cartesian attitude of mind. The Unities, according to him, became a Law for Boileau because Boileau had a Cartesian passion for Law. It is more reasonable to suppose that Boileau counselled young playwrights to keep the Unities because these had been an accepted stage convention for thirty years or more when he wrote the *Art Poétique*. Their origin, as Krantz explains, was a freak of textual criticism. But Boileau was probably ignorant of, certainly indifferent to, the origin of stage conventions. Many practical considerations govern the work of a revue producer at the present day, whose origin may lie in long-forgotten accidents of music-hall history, but whose importance, for the success of a revue, is now incalculable. But the man who should recommend producers not to show two acrobatic turns in succession, if he became the victim of another Krantz in another century, might be interpreted as an Hegelian. In much the same way, Krantz argues that the idea of absolute 'séparation des genres' must be Cartesian because it is not Græco-Roman; whereas it dates, in point of fact, from the sixteenth century, and emerged, about 1650, after a period of trial and error, as a normal stage convention. Were we all Leibnizian optimists because, until a few years ago, all the most popular plays had happy endings?

Krantz gives five reasons why Boileau should have disliked the so-called 'Burlesque', as I have said before: that it could have no rules

<sup>1</sup> Deimier, who published his *Art Poétique* while Descartes was still in his 'teens, allowed 'imitation of the Ancients' as a perfectly satisfactory substitute for his first quality of poetry—'l'invention': and this although his work, which exhibits every symptom of the influence of Malherbe, was intended to correct and supersede the sixteenth-century *Arts Poétiques*.

(which it had); that it tended towards raw realism; that it made fun of the ancients 'because they were old-fashioned'; that it had no Unity of Tone (which the *Lutrin* conspicuously lacked); and that it proceeded not from Reason, but from fancy (which Boileau recognized as a perfectly legitimate source of poetry). Now 'raw' realism is the negation of art, and burlesquing the Ancients is rather a silly thing to do: so it is hardly possible to see more than common sense behind these supposedly Cartesian objections. Not that common sense, any more than Cartesian æsthetic principles, was the prime mover of Boileau's attacks upon the burlesque. Since the reconciliation between the brothers Nicolas and Gilles (1667-8), the pen of Nicolas was enlisted in all the feuds of Gilles; and Gilles had never in all his quarrelsome life encountered an enemy so bitter, so dangerous or so unscrupulous as the hunchback Scarron. Scarron's fame rested principally upon his *Virgile Travesti*, and his death in 1660 made possible a legend of Scarron which identified him with the genre he had practically created. Annihilation of this genre by the *Art Poétique* helped to efface the memory of the wrongs of brother Gilles; or, if that seems too hard on Nicolas' critical honesty, we may suppose that he could not help but despise a genre which was inseparable from the name of scurrilous Paul. The role of Scarron in the *Dialogue des Héros de Roman* (first version) is not such as to suggest that Boileau regarded him or his work as wholly contemptible in 1665, when Nicolas could still say of Gilles

En lui...

...je ne trouve pas un frère.

No commonplace of criticism has worn so well as the statement that Classicism ignored Nature (in the sense of green fields, birds and beasts and flowers). Krantz regards this defect as proceeding from Cartesian habits of thought. We need waste little time upon the fact: Boileau wrote half an *Épître* about country life, but his attitude merely confirms the observation, that when the classical poets (generally speaking) treated of 'nature', they were wholly anthropocentric. The observation is broadly true, and its most convinced defenders claim no more for it, since they all agree in excepting La Fontaine. But the fact of this exception is far more significant than the observation itself. Nobody among the contemporaries of La Fontaine thought it odd that he should write poetry about birds and beasts and fishes; and we have no evidence that the 'nature' passages of Balzac or Sévigné were less admired than the rest. There were exceptions: and I doubt whether 'nature poetry' and nature lovers' are ever more than exceptions. The normal reaction of an

artist to natural beauty is a picture. Description, words, are something of a *tour de force* in a man who has been moved by the appearance of external, subhuman phenomena. Corot is a more straightforward event than Collins, who, like La Fontaine, is always regarded (rightly) as an 'exception'. If we bear in mind that much so-called 'nature poetry' uses 'nature' quite as anthropocentrically as Boileau—Lamartine and Rousseau go to nature for their dreams, Musset for his memories, T. E. Browne for God; it is all kitchen gardening—we shall find that pure nature poetry is a very rare phenomenon of letters. 'A green thought in a green shade' is very well said: but the normal poet would tell us *what* thought. If this is true, then here again Boileau was not Cartesian, but ordinary.

The feature of Boileau's æsthetics upon which Krantz insists the most is his insistent demand for Clarity. Now Clarity in literature is of two kinds—clarity of subject-matter, and clarity of expression. The second may be reasonably expected of all poets who intend their work to be read, if we understand by 'clarity of expression' no more than the assemblage of qualities which enable the reader to discover what the poet means from what he writes. It is a moot point whether the possibility of readers is of the essence of poetry, but one which does not concern us. Poetry written to please the poet, and left in a drawer by him when it is written, need not be 'clear': but Boileau was not legislating for such work as that, and the fact of readers definitely imposes upon the poet, who writes to 'communicate', the necessity of writing intelligibly. Boileau said no more than this—though his prescriptions go further than those of the average modern English critic, or those of the French Symbolists, which only means that he was a Frenchman, who had not experienced the tedium and the extraneous influences which made the Symbolists so little French. It is absurd to invoke Cartesianism to explain an attitude which Boileau shared with Chrestien de Troyes, Guillaume de Lorris, Arnoul Greban, Charles d'Orléans, Clément Marot, Jean-Baptiste Rousseau and Victor Hugo. Clarity of subject-matter requires a little more consideration. The reader may legitimately insist that the poet shall tell him what he means, but the poet might make a plausible case for meaning something that some readers cannot understand. It is certain that Boileau took the reader's side on both points, and Krantz draws an interesting parallel between the Cartesian belief in the uniform intelligibility of truth (with a correspondingly unsatisfactory attitude towards insoluble mysteries) and Boileau's love of a straightforward subject-matter in poetry, '*facile à retenir*' and so forth. But if poetry is a superior amuse-

ment, it cannot also be a baffling problem; and I believe it will be found that poetry has always been content to remain upon the intellectual level of the educated man, except when some outside influence has turned it from its normal function and made of it a religion, a philosophy, a natural function or a science.

For Boileau, as for Malherbe, Balzac, and Fontenelle, books were of two kinds—the merely informative, and the literary; and ‘literature’ was of two kinds, ‘l’éloquence’ and ‘la poésie’. (We have no word for ‘l’éloquence’, since ‘prose’ includes the medium in which mathematicians and Dutch bulb-growers find expression.) The properties of ‘l’éloquence’ were *pureté*, clarity, order, cohesion and proportion, euphony. ‘La poésie’ must have *all* the qualities of ‘l’éloquence’, and more besides, the increment being comprehended in the word ‘l’élégance’. Such is the framework upon which classical criticism was built. Its origin is to be sought in that period of French literature when ‘prose’ first became a medium of artistic expression and entered into competition with verse: certainly not later than 1400. The edifice of detailed prescription and preference, that was raised upon this foundation in the seventeenth century, inevitably shews certain analogies with the corresponding edifice of philosophical opinion, that was constructed about the same time by the ‘Cartésiens’—the amateurs whom Pascal mocked. Both systems owed much to fashion. But it can be shewn by direct analysis that all the constructive principles of seventeenth-century criticism were already guiding the minds of Malherbe and his contemporaries before Descartes began to write.

NIGEL ABERCROMBIE.

OXFORD.

## THE BEGINNINGS OF COMEDY IN FRANCE

THIS paper is not an attempt to investigate the Comic Spirit, certainly not an attempt to deny the presence of the mimetic instinct in the human race or the fact that that instinct will find expression at various times in various ways. It is merely an effort to place the five earliest texts of the lay theatre of mediæval France in a setting that certain aprioristic generalities have seemed to obscure.

The origin of the serious drama of the Middle Ages in the liturgy of the Church can hardly be questioned to-day: its development from the Easter trope, *Quem quaeritis in sepulchro*, has been too adequately traced.<sup>1</sup> For the beginnings of formal comedy, however, scholars are inclined to look elsewhere.

Wilmotte, to be sure, holds that comedy first arose within the serious drama itself.<sup>2</sup> He emphasises the fact that the liturgical plays possessed potential comic elements, ranting Herods, boastful soldiers, mercenary spice merchants and the like. Now these elements all reappear in the vernacular religious plays, where their comic potentialities are realised. But, unfortunately for Wilmotte's hypothesis, the vernacular religious plays are all considerably later than our earliest comedies, and the elements upon which so much stress is laid do not appear in our comedies. In the circumstances, the direction of influence, if any, cannot be posited with much certainty.

Indeed Faral is disposed to believe that farce and comedy did not disengage themselves *from* the religious plays, but more probably made their way *into* the religious plays from without.<sup>3</sup> Faral, like Creizenach, Chambers and many others, emphasises the role of the jongleurs in the development of comedy. We know of course that the mediæval entertainer, whatever we call him, was responsible for the dissemination of nearly all of the vernacular literature of the Middle Ages. Obvious as it is, the fact cannot be too often stressed that practically all this literature was written to be heard, not read. Now those entertainers who constantly sang or recited narrative verses would undoubtedly include at times a certain amount of impersonation in their performances, and it would of course be a relatively short step from monologues with impersonation to dialogues with impersonation, mimetic action and some

<sup>1</sup> See Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford, 1933), I, pp. 1 ff., 541-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Études critiques sur la tradition littéraire en France* (Paris, 1909), pp. 93 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Jongleurs en France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1910), pp. 226 f.

mise en scène. How far such entertainers may have influenced the actual writing of formal comedies we shall consider presently.

Other possible sources for our earliest lay theatre have also been suggested. The naturistic cults and folk festivities—May games, dances, mummings and the like—have all been investigated for any dramatic elements that they may have contributed to our plays. But Sir Edmund Chambers, who has probably explored this field more thoroughly than anyone else, has found there little more than evidence of ‘the deep-rooted mimetic instinct’ of the human race.<sup>1</sup> In any case, it seems rather fanciful to characterise the highly literary *Jeu de Robin et Marion* as ‘nothing else than one of those joyous dances in which shepherds celebrate the coming of spring and the fecundity of the earth’.<sup>2</sup>

Still another source of the lighter plays of the Middle Ages has been discerned by J.-P. Jacobsen and Gustav Cohen.<sup>3</sup> These two scholars turn to those Latin poems which are variously known as elegiac comedies, fabliaux or school-pieces, poems like the *Babio* and *Pamphilus*. Such works, to be sure, are occasionally characterised in the texts themselves and in the manuscripts as *comoediae*, and in them there is frequently much dialogue. But it is well established that the mediæval conception of the word *comoediae* embraced narrative as well as dramatic literature, and that the term was applied rather indiscriminately to any poem with a ‘happy’ ending. Moreover, the dialogue in the Latin poems just mentioned is for the most part so interwoven with narrative that their presentation by a group of actors would involve some difficulty. In any case these poems are very different in subject, style and treatment from our vernacular comedies, and the few parallels that have been suggested<sup>4</sup> only serve to emphasise the improbability of any direct connexion.

At this point, without either denying or affirming the possible influence of the religious plays, the jongleurs, the folk festivities or the mediæval Latin school-pieces upon the development of vernacular comedy, we may appropriately turn to the earliest surviving French comedies themselves. I shall omit from consideration all plays in which comedy is frankly subordinate, but shall include Jean Bodel’s *Jeu de Saint Nicolas* and the

<sup>1</sup> *The Mediæval Stage* (1903), I, II, p. 2; *The English Folk-Play* (1933).

<sup>2</sup> G. Cohen, *Le Théâtre en France au moyen âge*, II, p. 7; elsewhere (II, pp. 34 f.) this critic reveals a more realistic conception of the play.

<sup>3</sup> J.-P. Jacobsen, *La Comédie en France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1910), p. 32 (extracted from *Revue de Philologie franç.* [1909–10], xxiii, xxiv); G. Cohen, *La ‘Comédie’ latine en France au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1931), Introduction.

<sup>4</sup> See Cohen, ‘Comédie’, pp. xiii, xiv, xxii, and *Théâtre*, II, p. 42, where incidents in the *Babio* are compared with slightly similar incidents in *Le Garçon et l’Aveugle*, *Robin et Marion* and *Pathehn*.

anonymous *Courtois d'Arras*, in each of which the comic scenes account for almost half the play.

In approximately chronological order, our earliest French plays in lighter vein are: Bodel's *Jeu de Saint Nicolas*, which is dated before 1202; the anonymous *Courtois d'Arras*, dated ca. 1228; Adam le Bossu's two plays, *Le Jeu de la Feuillée*, dated 1276 or 1277, and *Robin et Marion*, dated between ca. 1282 and 1288;<sup>1</sup> and finally the anonymous and undatable *Garçon et l'Aveugle*, which its editor assigns either to 1266 or 1282, though admitting that neither date is decisive.<sup>2</sup>

Now, what are these plays? The *Jeu de Saint Nicolas* is a miracle play that derives its humour largely from its scenes of low life, the drinking, dicing and quarrelling of thieves and tipplers. *Courtois d'Arras* is a dramatisation of the parable of the Prodigal Son, which becomes a comedy only because its author stresses the life of the prodigal while he is wasting his substance with riotous living among gamblers and harlots. These two plays both end with the *Te Deum laudamus* and are so alike in their mingling of humorous and serious scenes that Guesnon<sup>3</sup> conjectured they might have been written by the same author. In any case they might readily have been played by the same *puy* and suggest one way at least in which the profane drama may have 'budded off' from the religious.

Our next examples, however, show no connexion at all with the religious plays. The *Jeu de la Feuillée* is an admixture of personal satire and fairy-tale fantasy. It was written by Adam le Bossu when he was about to leave Arras, and was obviously intended to amuse his friends, some of whom appear as characters in the play. *Robin et Marion*, by the same author, is often described as an operetta or musical comedy. It is in fact a realistic dramatisation of the lyric pastourelle in which music plays an important part: Robin, Marion and the other shepherds and shepherdesses sing snatches of songs well known to us from various collections of courtly lyrics. *Le Garçon et l'Aveugle*, unlike the four plays just considered, has but two characters, a scamp of a blind beggar and his rascally boy. It turns upon the ageless theme of the hoodwinker who is hoodwinked. This is the kind of dialogue that might have been recited at any time, and it can be called a comedy only by courtesy.

It may perhaps be objected at this point that these five survivals of

<sup>1</sup> The derivative *Jeu du Pèlerin*, which seems to have served as a prologue to a performance of *Robin et Marion* at Arras ca. 1290 need not concern us here

<sup>2</sup> The dates ascribed to these plays are those given them by their most recent editors in the *Classiques fr. du moyen âge*: Jeanroy, Faral, Langlois and Roques.

<sup>3</sup> *Moyen Âge* (1908), XII, p. 67.

the lay theatre should not be taken as representative examples of our earliest humorous plays, since earlier examples may well have been lost. It is, of course, certain that much of the patter of the jongleurs—if it was ever written down—has been censored out of existence, that early farces have vanished, that some scenarios of folk dances have disappeared and that other dramatisations of saints' lives than the *Jeu de Saint Nicolas* may have been written but have not survived. And yet, granting for the sake of argument that such works have been destroyed, I nevertheless believe that the five texts just mentioned may be considered fairly typical examples of the earliest lay theatre of mediæval France, that is, of whatever humorous, non-religious plays were performed before an audience by groups of actors impersonating the characters of a play.

In the first place, our manuscriptal evidence does not indicate wholesale censoring. If each of these texts existed in but a single copy, it might reasonably be argued that their preservation is due to merest chance. However, three of them survive in several manuscripts: the *Jeu de la Feuillée* is found, in part at least, in three manuscripts, *Robin et Marion* (complete) also exists in three, whereas *Courtois d'Arras*, though anonymous, appears in four.<sup>1</sup> These copies hardly point to any general destruction of plays in lighter vein.

Moreover, the plays themselves do not presuppose or suggest an elaborate evolution from a long line of lost originals. What are the immediate antecedents of these five works? The earliest of them, the *Jeu de Saint Nicolas*, can be connected in its main theme with a Latin and a French narrative life of the saint and possibly with two Latin miracle plays on the same subject.<sup>2</sup> Whether or not Jean Bodel knew any of these, he undoubtedly depended upon some such material for the more serious elements of his text. He seems also to have modelled his three pagan kings very closely upon the Three Kings of the liturgical Epiphany plays. Similarly, the author of *Courtois d'Arras* drew his primary inspiration from the parable of the Prodigal Son in *Luke* xv.

<sup>1</sup> Although the *Jeu de Saint Nicolas* survives in only one MS., the play was apparently highly regarded, since it appears in a carefully written anthology containing the works of some of the most famous Picard authors. Bédier, in his penetrating study in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1890), xcix, pp. 869 f., came to the conclusion long ago that 'le temps n'a pas détruit le théâtre profane du haut moyen âge', and that the comedies of Adam le Bossu were actually the first to have been written. See especially p. 884.

<sup>2</sup> Karl Fissen, *Das Leben des heiligen Nikolaus in der altfranz. Literatur*, Göttingen diss. (1921), connects the play with the life of the saint by Johannes Diaconus, with Wace's *Vie de Saint Nicolas*, and thinks Bodel may also have known Hilarius' *Ludus* and the Fleury play on this subject. O. Rohnström, *Étude sur J. Bodel* (Upsala, 1900), p. 54, had concluded more reasonably: 'Que Bodel ait pris son sujet chez Wace, chez Hilaire, dans le drame anonyme ou dans quelque vie de saint Nicolas... voilà ce qu'il n'est guère possible de décider.'

Adam le Bossu for his *Jeu de la Feuillée* needed only his friends, their foibles, anecdotes about the citizens of Arras, and the fairy-tales he had heard in his youth;<sup>1</sup> for his *Robin et Marion* he had at hand the stereotyped courtly pastourelles that his companions were wont to write. *Le Garçon et l'Aveugle* is the type of farcical dialogue that is so readily written and recited at any time that analogues to it have been discovered in a Latin school-piece and in a late Resurrection play.<sup>2</sup> It belongs, not to the category of formal comedy, but to the slap-stick variety of entertainment represented as well by the Atellan farces of the ancients as by our own vaudeville turns.

Nor is the source of the humorous elements in these five plays far to seek. The scenes of drinking, gaming and quarrelling, the characters of beggars and thieves, of priests and clerks, of prostitutes and peasants, all took their rise in the taverns of Arras, in the countryside of Picardy, in the streets and fields familiar to men like Jean Bodel and Adam le Bossu.<sup>3</sup>

It would seem then that our earliest surviving comedies may fairly be held to be a representative group, that whatever ancestors they may have had were not unlike the survivors, that their sources, whether in literature or in the living experiences of their authors, can be determined. The writers of our five plays turned for their main themes to a saint's life, a Biblical parable, certain contemporary experiences, the literary pastourelle, and a well-known anecdote. Their innovation, or the innovation of their predecessors, was to present such material—or similar material—*par personnages*, that is, by means of actors playing roles.

This term, *par personnages*, is worth considering for a moment. It frequently appears in our documents, our manuscripts and our early editions of plays. A striking example occurs in *Le Mystère de Grisélidis*, a play that dramatises in verse a French prose translation of Petrarch and incorporates this prose translation almost word for word.<sup>4</sup> The Prologue states:

Et pour ce que plus est meü  
Le cuer de l'omme par veoir  
Que par lire, sanz plus savoir...  
Sera ci fait par personnaiges...  
D'icelle hystoire la semblance.

<sup>1</sup> Bédier's opinion (*op. cit.*, p. 883) is worth repeating here: 'on ressent cette impression que le poète n'a pas été soutenu par une tradition établie de conventions, d'habitudes scéniques; que le théâtre laïque y apparaît dans sa tendre enfance....'

<sup>2</sup> G. Cohen, *Romania* (1912), xli, pp. 346 f.

<sup>3</sup> See also Bédier, *op. cit.*, p. 884.

<sup>4</sup> The prose version is plausibly ascribed to Philippe de Mézières by its editor, E. Golenisteheff-Koutouzoff, *Histoire de Griseldis en France* (1933). A comparison of the play with this text reveals an especially close and striking verbal relationship.

(Cf. also the explicit: 'Ci fine le livre de l'estoire de la marquise de Saluce miz par personnages....'<sup>1</sup>) Similarly, the *Mystère du Vieux Testament* begins 'S'ensuit par personnages comment Dieu...', and Jacques Millet's *Destruction de Troie* bears the title 'L'Istoire de Troye la grant faicte et mise par personnages....'<sup>2</sup> It is evident that for the Middle Ages there was less distinction between narrative and dramatic genres than for us. When a poem was recited by a single jongleur, that was one type of entertainment. When a poem was reworked so that its dialogued portions were spoken by a group of jongleurs, the members of a *puy* or other society, each member impersonating a character, and its narrative portions were replaced by mimetic action and possibly by some *mise en scène*, then the poem was presented *par personnages*, another type of entertainment resulted, and this we call drama.<sup>3</sup>

The original impetus toward this method of presentation may well have come from the religious plays, or the fecundating germ may have lain inherent, though dormant, in the jongleur's method of transmitting all types of vernacular literature in the Middle Ages. I am inclined to think that both factors contributed to the final result. In the case of the plays on saints' lives, which were apparently presented by societies animated by a religious purpose, the liturgical drama lay near at hand for imitation. Since scenes from the Bible were regularly presented *par personnages* at Easter and Christmas time, why should not scenes from the lives of saints be presented—*par personnages*—on saints' days?<sup>4</sup> The presence of the hymn, *Te Deum laudamus*, at the close of the *Jeu de Saint Nicolas* and *Courtois d'Arras* is clearly a heritage from the liturgical drama.<sup>5</sup> That comedy should creep into such plays in the gay, prosperous

<sup>1</sup> Edition M.-A. Glomeau, pp. 2 and 138.

<sup>2</sup> See also the *Fragment d'un Miracle de Théophile*, ed. E. Droz, in *Bulletin de la Société des historiens du théâtre* (1934), II, p. 21, 'redigee en personnages' and, in Petit de Julleville, *Mystères*, II, the MSS. and editions of Greban's *Passion*, of the *Vengeance de Notre-Seigneur*, of the Grebans' *Actes des Apôtres*, of *L'Assomption de la Vierge*, etc., in all of which the expression 'par personnages' occurs.

<sup>3</sup> I have collected elsewhere (*Mod. Lang. Notes* [1920], xxxv, pp. 257 f.; *P.M.L.A.* [1920], xxxv, pp. 464 f., and [1929], xlv, p. 318, n. 14) numerous examples of the direct use of narrative sources by mediæval dramatists. The *Passion du Palatinus* might well be called *La Passion des Jongleurs, mise par personnages*. The reverse process of turning drama into narrative is revealed by one MS. (B) of the *Passion d'Autun* (ed. S.A.T.F., pp. 10 f.). Certain intermediate forms, largely dramatic, but partly narrative in character, are sometimes called 'mimes'.

<sup>4</sup> The miracle plays of Hilarius and those preserved in the Hildesheim, Einsiedeln and Fleury MSS. of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries reveal the same process assumed for the vernacular plays: they dramatise narrative saints' lives, probably using the Easter and Christmas plays as models. See George R. Coffman, *A New Theory Concerning the Origin of the Miracle Play* (1914), p. 60 and Young, *Drama*, II, p. 310. The first author of a vernacular miracle play may well have based his work directly on a Latin play, but it is not necessary to assume this. His successors often worked directly from narrative material.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Young, *Drama*, I, p. 63.

towns of Picardy and in other communities like these was inevitable and in no wise especially significant to author or actors. The guilds, *puys* and societies of various sorts were entertaining their fellow-members and guests in their own fashion. They were unaware of creating a new genre by incorporating realistic scenes in a saint's life presented *par personnages*.

In the case of the plays by Adam le Bossu, of *Le Garçon et l'Aveugle*, and of the later farces—*Maître Pierre Pathelin* and all the rest—no connexion with the religious drama is evident. Of course, even here, the fact that the Church regularly presented certain Biblical scenes *par personnages* may not have been without influence in the beginning. Adam le Bossu was a clerk (cf. *Feuillée*, l. 422) and would naturally be acquainted in any case with liturgical practices. However, he was also a professional poet and musician, a trouvère as well as a clerk, and for a man who wrote chansons, motets, rondeaux, and especially jeux-partis, the idea of presenting poems *par personnages* would grow quite regularly out of his métier.<sup>1</sup> His *Robin et Marion* is a characteristic product of the trouvère's art, a pastourelle; his own innovation—if it was his—consisted in presenting this pastourelle *par personnages*.

My point is not that Jean Bodel and Adam le Bossu—or their predecessors—turned directly to church performances and the jongleur's art for their inspiration in writing comedies. I would merely suggest that the first writer of profane plays, whoever he may have been, had but to present narrative poems *par personnages*, inject humour into the situation portrayed, and a comedy would be born. The principle of dramatic representation was constantly made visible to every mediæval writer in the liturgical drama; it also inhered in the method by which all mediæval vernacular literature was transmitted. One has only to assume a single author with a story to tell who decided to tell his story as directly as possible to his audience. He may have been a clerk, well acquainted with the drama of the Church, who wished to tell in the vernacular some saint's legend or Biblical tale and used the Church's own means of dramatic representation. He may have been a trouvère, well acquainted with the technique of oral delivery, who decided to turn his narrative into dialogue and add thereto impersonation, mimetic action, a more pretentious script, and some mise en scène. The incorporation of humorous or realistic detail would in either case make the modern

<sup>1</sup> This may also have been true in the case of Jean Bodel who wrote a number of pastourelles, a chanson de geste, and a *Congés*, as well as a play, but since the *Jeu de Saint Nicolas* was given on the eve of the saint's day, since it ends with the *Te Deum* and connects with the Latin miracle plays on the same subject, it seems more natural to assume the direct inspiration of the religious drama.

critic call his production a comedy. If the tale he desired to tell were of the fabliau type and more coarsely conceived, the modern critic would call his production a farce.<sup>1</sup>

I suggest therefore that the earliest author of comedies in France was a professional writer. On some occasion when a saint's day was to be celebrated by a guild, when a group of fellow-citizens was to be amused or when a nobleman's court was to be entertained, he conceived the notion of presenting a remembered tale or some original fancy of his own *par personnages*. The jongleurs and the literary and religious societies of his native town—perhaps it was Arras—would furnish him with actors used to reciting verses, men capable of being both serious and gay, versatile bourgeois like those Parisians who in 1398 were forbidden by the provost to play 'aucuns jeux de personages par maniere de farces, de vies de sains, ne autrement'.<sup>2</sup> He was probably not conscious of creating a new literary form or of recreating an old one. It seems unnecessary therefore to posit for the origins of French comedy any survival of the cults of pagan deities or of a classical *mimus*, unnecessary to decide whether comedy first made its way into or out of the religious play, unnecessary to suggest the influence of learned Latin school-pieces like the *Babio* and *Pamphilus*. For the beginnings of comedy in France, for the plays of Jean Bodel and Adam le Bossu—or their predecessors—we need assume only a knowledge of the principle of dramatic presentation, a desire to entertain, a story to tell and a sense of humour.

GRACE FRANK.

BRYN MAWR, PENNSYLVANIA, U.S.A.

<sup>1</sup> See P. Toldo's study in *Studi di Filologia romanza* (1903), ix, pp. 181 f.: 'la farce du xve et du xvie siècle n'est, dans la plupart des cas, qu'un fabliau mis en action...' Toldo finds in the fabliaux and contes more direct sources of the farces than Bédier, who, however, believes that the 'contes bruts' underlying the fabliaux lived on in oral tradition and that these in time were used by the authors of farces (*Fabliaux*, 5th ed. [1925], p. 429).

<sup>2</sup> Petit de Julleville, *Mystères*, i, pp. 414–15. That 'aucuns des bourgeois et autres bonnes gens' of Paris were accustomed to perform plays 'en l'honneur et remembrance de la Passion nostre Seigneur' every year, we learn from a document of 1380 printed by Thomas, *Romania* (1892), xxi, pp. 609 f.

## 'DER BESTRAFTE BRUDERMORD' AND 'HAMLET,' ACT V

IN Chapter VII of *What Happens in Hamlet* (Cambridge University Press, 1935), Professor Dover Wilson, discussing and analysing the last scenes of the play, remarks that the management of the poisoned rapier plot is made much easier, if we suppose that Claudius and Laertes have an accomplice. This accomplice, he says, must be Osric.

Though the introduction of the fatal weapon was easy, the actual choice of weapons required a little management, to which swordsmen in the original audience would no doubt be fully alive. Laertes must get possession of his sharp before Hamlet makes his selection, and the business must at the same time seem open and above board. My own belief is that Osric was needed as an accomplice for this. He was one of the judges, and the judges were responsible for seeing that all was in order with the weapons, so that he would naturally enter with the foils on his arm, while his colleague perhaps bore the daggers, which of course were all bated. And if Osric does not bring in the unbated sword, then Laertes must do it himself, which will be less effective. Furthermore, Osric is suspect as the emissary who is 'put on' by the King to praise the excellence of Laertes with his weapon and so lure Hamlet to the match, while it is to Osric that the falling Laertes whispers 'I am justly killed with mine own treachery', which he would hardly do if there were not a secret understanding between them. That he was an accomplice might easily be conveyed to the audience by a significant glance to the audience on the part of Claudius, as he says 'Give them the foils, young Osric'.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Wilson evidently does not regard the point as proved by these arguments, for he goes on: 'However this may be . . .'

An interesting corroboration of this attractive suggestion, not, indeed, amounting to proof, but in my opinion to a very strong probability, is given by the German (English Comedians') version of *Hamlet*, *Der bestrafte Brudermord*. Professor Dover Wilson frequently refers to this 'late and very corrupt' work to explain, back up, or illuminate points in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (so, for example, in the scene in Gertrude's bed-chamber), but apparently he has not noticed its interest at this point. In *Der bestrafte Brudermord* Osric appears under the name Phantasmo, this, I should suppose, partly in designation of his character as a fantasm, a man of exaggeratedly affected behaviour (Hamlet addresses him at one point (Act v, sc. 3) as 'Signora' Phantasmo), and partly in reminiscence of the name he has in the First Quarto, 'a braggart nobleman'. In some scenes his role is almost word for word the same as in Shakespeare's play, as especially in the challenge scene: in others, however, earlier on, he has appeared as fleeing in distraction before the mad Ophelia, who pursues him with unwanted love, and generally speaking has been a sort of clown

<sup>1</sup> *What Happens in Hamlet*, p. 281.

or Pickelhäring (in the list of dramatis personæ he is the 'Hofnarr'). In the duel he is responsible, under the King's orders, for the introduction of the poisoned dagger and of the poisoned wine, as he admits at the end in the following piece of dialogue:

*Hamlet* (at the end of a longish speech mostly consisting of lamentation over his dead mother). Aber sagt mir, wer hat ihr den Becher gegeben, dass sie Gift bekommen?

*Phantasmo*. Ich Herr Prinz! Ich habe auch den vergifteten Degen gebracht, aber den vergifteten Wein habt Ihr allein sollen austrinken.

*Hamlet*. Bist du auch ein Werkzeug dieses Unglücks gewesen? Siehe, da hast du auch deine Belohnung! (sticht ihm (sic) todt).

*Phantasmo*. Stecht, dass euch die Klinge verlahme!<sup>1</sup>

Now, whatever may be the source or sources of *Der bestrafte Brudermord* (concerning which matter I have a little more to say below), it seems quite certain, and indeed it is now almost universally admitted, that Shakespeare's *Hamlet* in some form or other must have been among them, or more probably must have been its sole provenance. The word for word resemblances are too frequent and too striking to be referable to coincidence or to a common third source alone. Nowhere is this more evident than in Osric-Phantasmo's part in the challenge scene: Hamlet's mockery of the 'fantast' or 'braggart nobleman', especially in the matter of the simultaneous heat and cold of the weather, seems to me to establish beyond cavil that here is some sort of a repetition. That is to say, the later activities of Phantasmo (though of course not his flight from Ophelia)—and thus too, in great probability, his actions as accomplice of King Erico and Leonhardus (as they are named in *Der bestrafte Brudermord*)—are taken from Shakespeare's play in some version or other. Generally speaking, of course, the finest and most admirable details in Shakespeare are lost or else made obvious and vulgar in the German version; and one would thus naturally expect that the subtle indications which Professor Wilson sees of Osric's guilt would appear there in a far cruder form, though the essential meaning should be correctly reproduced.

Further concerning the poison plot, the fencing, and the course of the final tragedies, it is worth while to notice the following points, which also seem to throw some light on the corresponding parts of Shakespeare's play,

<sup>1</sup> This last line has caused great difficulty; Furness (*Variorum Hamlet*, II, p. 120) confesses that though he has translated it 'Stab away, till your sword is tired', he does not know its meaning, and thinks that perhaps Latham's 'and may the blade hurt you' is 'nearer the genuine'. In fact, of course, Latham's rendering is quite impossible; and Furness's is nearer to accuracy: for 'euch' is dative, not accusative, and the verb is intransitive: but the sentence is almost certainly a wish. Sanders (*Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*) gives 'verlahmen' = 'ganz erlahmen' = (among other less apposite things) 'ohnmächtig werden', and quotes from Luther: 'Ich war als wie verlahmt, ich wollte aufstehn, ich konnt' es nicht', and 'Ein Bogen, der stets gespannt ist, verlahmet und verdirbt endlich.' This latter usage is very near the one we have here, where the sentence seems to mean: 'Thrust, and may your blade grow useless', i.e., 'Thrust, curse your sword'.

though sometimes, too, they are obviously based on misunderstanding or perversion of its sense.

(1) The plot is arranged between King Erico and Leonhardus (*Phantasma being present, though mute, all the time*) in the following words (Act iv, sc. 5), spoken, of course, by the King:

Wir wollen zwischen dir und ihm einen Wettstreit anstellen: ihr sollt mit Rapiere[n] fechten, und der von euch beyden die ersten drey Stosse bekommt, soll ein weiss neapolitanisch Pferd gewonnen haben. Aber mitten in diesem Gefecht sollt ihr euer Rapier<sup>1</sup> fallen lassen, und anstatt desselben sollt ihr einen scharf gespitzten Degen<sup>1</sup> bey der Hand haben, welcher dem Rapier ganz ähnlich gemacht muss sein, die Spitze desselben aber must du mit starkem Gift bestreichen; sobald du nun seinen Leib damit verwunden wirst, wird er alsdenn gewiss sterben müssen, du aber sollst doch den Preiss und hierbey des Königs Gnade gewinnen.

Leonhardus is unwilling to try it, because he doubts success, Hamlet being so much the better fencer: the King persuades him, and finally says that anyhow he will have a second line of attack ready, if the first should fail:

Im Fall es ja euch misslingen sollte, so haben wir schon eine andere List erdacht. Wir wollen einen orientalischen Diamant klein stossen lassen und ihm denselben, wenn er erhitzt, in einem Becher voll Wein mit Zucker süss vermischet beybringen: so soll er auf unsere Gesundheit doch den Tod saufen.

(2) In this scene the King just touches upon Hamlet's alleged ambition, with which Professor Dover Wilson concerns himself so much.

<sup>1</sup> There is something odd here. I was at first much puzzled by the use of 'Degen' and 'Rapier' in apparent contrast to one another. Did they really mean the same thing (the apparent contrast being then unintentional, the result merely of typical carelessness and stylelessness), or did they mean essentially different things which were, however, like enough for Hamlet not to be able to tell them apart? It is clear enough, of course, that here the 'Degen' is the 'sharp' of *Hamlet*, and the 'Rapier' is the bated rapier. But these meanings did not necessarily attach to the words. According to Grimm (*Deutsches Wörterbuch*) Degen is found in the sense of Schwert and of Dolch up to the end of the seventeenth century. Originally it had generally meant Dolch, but 'im XVIten Jahrhundert wird Degen schon ofter mit Schwert gleichgestellt'. However (says Grimm), there are many examples of its use in the seventeenth century in the older meaning too: so 'hastu ein schwert, so hab ich ein degen' (Eyerling, 3, 7). Early in the eighteenth century the meaning Dolch drops out. On the other hand, two compounds of it remain, which connect the parent word up both with Dolch and Rapier: 'Faust-degen = Dolch, Fecht-degen = Rapier' (Sanders, *Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*). Rapier, on the other hand, introduced into German from French in the sixteenth century, was first used for a particular kind of war sword ('im Gegensatz zu den Schwertern beider Hand': Grimm), but soon became exclusively used for a bated fencing weapon, as here, and in Lessing, Goethe, etc. In consideration, then, of the various and somewhat confused meanings which Degen could bear in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries I believe that it has been introduced here as the result of a careless, muddled misunderstanding of the 'rapier and dagger' of *Hamlet*, Act v, sc. 2, l. 152, repeated in the stage directions for Act v, sc. 3 in Q 2 but not in F 1. Professor Dover Wilson points out (*op. cit.* p. 280) that the vogue of rapier and dagger fighting had passed away by 1623. The English Comedians understood it still less clearly, and in the Germanization of the play the seventeenth-century Degen is used in reminiscence of 'daggers' (no longer comprehended, but the obvious word with which a careless or incompetent person would associate it) but actually meaning the 'sharp', in contrast to the legitimate 'Rapier'.

Leonhardus [he says, in persuading him] weigere dich hierinnen nicht, sondern thue deinem Könige solches zu gefallen, um deines Vaters Tod zu rachen, must du dieses thun. Denn wisset, dass der Prinz als ein Todtschläger eures Vaters solchen Tod verdienet. Allein wir können keine Gerechtigkeit an ihn haben, weil ihm seine Frau Mutter den Rücken halt, und ihn die Unterthanen sehr lieben: *dürfte also, wenn wir öffentlich uns an ihm rachen wollten, ein Aufruhr leicht geschehen*; dass wir ihn aber als unsern Stiefsohn und Vetter meiden, geschieht um der heiligen Gerechtigkeit willen, *denn er ist mordgierig und unsinnig, und müssen uns künftig selbst vor einem solchen bösen Menschen fürchten*. Thut solches, was wir von euch verlangen, *so werdet ihr den König seiner Furcht benehmen* und euch verblumterweise an euren Vatermörder rachen.

Apropos of the King's alleged inability to lay Hamlet by the heels in the ordinary way of justice, because of his mother's protection and the popularity he enjoys with the people, it is interesting to observe that three scenes later (Act v, sc. 1) Hamlet alleges the counterpart of this difficulty as the reason why he delays his revenge so long: 'Ich . . . kann aber noch zu keiner Revange kommen, weil der Brudermörder allezeit mit viel Volk umgeben'—surely one of the most striking instances of the trivialization of the original Hamlet's difficulties and problems.

(3) The actual course of the duel is very clearly described. Although, of course, it does not necessarily follow that it is derived from the duel in Shakespeare's play, either correctly understood or understood at all, it is again of interest to note its progress (which, incidentally, does not particularly support Professor Dover Wilson's ingenious reconstruction).

At the King's command Phantasmo brings the rapiers, with the curious remark (perhaps a textual corruption): 'Da sind die warmen Biere.' Horatio (in this version) is to be judge. With a more or less complimentary remark on either side ('Sie scherzen nur', says Leonhardus, as Laertes had said 'You mock me, sir') they fall to; and 'in dem ersten Gang fechten sie reine. Leonhardus bekommt einen Stoss'. Hamlet claims his hit; Leonhardus allows it, and with the cry 'Allo Revange' sets to work again. This time he carries out the prearranged plot: he lets his rapier fall,

und ergreift den vergifteten Degen, welcher parat liegt,<sup>1</sup> und stösst dem Prinzen in den Arm. Hamlet pariret auf Leonhardo, dass sie beyde die Gewehre fallen lassen. Sie laufen ein jeder nach dem Rapier. Hamlet bekommt den vergifteten Degen, und sticht Leonhardus todt

(i.e., inflicts a mortal wound on him). Hamlet stands in bewilderment, but Leonhardus begins to let out what has really happened. Thereupon the King sends Phantasmo to fetch the poisoned wine, intending that both shall be persuaded to drink of it, so that both will die without

<sup>1</sup> Somehow Phantasmo must have left it where it would not excite notice, but would be ready to Leonhardus' hand—a matter, one would think, quite impossible to arrange credibly, and a gratuitous piece of clumsiness in the version.

explanations, and the whole plot remain secret. This seems, and is, a little odd, since (1) the King has already told Leonhardus about this second string to his bow. Unless therefore Leonhardus has forgotten, which hardly seems probable, it is hoped that he will drink of a cup which he knows is poisoned. If, on the other hand, he were already too far gone to remember this, he would also be too far gone to let out any deadly secrets, or so one might think. (2) It would, anyhow, be at once apparent that there was something odd about the wine, and the poisoned rapier plot would then only be hidden at the cost of making it quite clear that there was another, and one too in which the King was evidently guilty, whereas the rapier idea might have been (and in Shakespeare is) Leonhardus'. (3) However, it is evident from Phantasmo's words quoted above—'den vergifteten Wein habt Ihr allein sollen austrinken'—that this is an improvisation on the King's part, when he unexpectedly sees his champion also struck down: but it is not an improvisation that would stand much scrutiny. But in any case the improvisation does not work. Before Phantasmo returns with the poisoned drink, Leonhardus has had time to let the whole secret out:

*Leonhardus.* Ach, Prinz, ich bin von dem König zu diesem Unglück verführt worden! Sehet, was Ihr in Eurer Hand habt! Es ist ein vergifteter Degen.

*Hamlet.* O Himmel, was ist dieses! Bewahre mich doch davor!

*Leonhardus.* Ich sollte Euch damit verletzen, denn es ist so stark vergiftet, dass, wer nur die geringste Wunde damit bekommt, augenscheinlich sterben muss

At this point Phantasmo returns, the King rises from his seat (not having heard these disclosures, as it seems), and invites them to drink. But he does not keep his eyes about him: the Queen grabs the goblet from Phantasmo, who is also a singularly incompetent conspirator, and drains it off, not knowing, of course, what is in it. She dies on the spot, and Hamlet promptly runs the King through from behind, so that he and Leonhardus expire at the same moment. Hamlet is left satisfied with his revenge, and at first, in spite of Leonhardus' revelations, is without apprehension: after all, he himself had only been scratched with the poisoned dagger, but Leonhardus had been run right through. 'Ich habe zwar auch einen Stoss in den Arm, aber ich hoffe, es werde nichts zu bedeuten haben.' He then discovers Phantasmo's guilt, as told above, slays him, suddenly feels the effects of the poison, and quickly dies, bidding Horatio 'bring the crown to Norway, to my cousin, Duke Fortempras, in order that the Kingdom may not fall into other hands'. Horatio speaks an epilogue on these lamentable events, ending up with two verse couplets, the whole of a highly moral nature, the burden of it all being that a man will reap as he sows. The fratricide has been

punished: this has by now clearly become the most important thing in the work.

If one is thus making use of *Der bestrafte Brudermord* to throw light on complications or obscurities in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, it seems desirable to end by saying a few words about the probable sources and history of the text, since obviously its credibility and relevance will largely depend on its apparent origin. The matter has not been much investigated by English scholars, so far as I am aware, and the best account of it seems to be given by W. Creizenach in an article published in the *Berichte der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* for 1887. This was reproduced in a somewhat altered form in his introduction to the edition of the play (from which all my quotations are taken) in vol. xxiii of the *Deutsche Nationalliteratur* (Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten). The matter had previously been discussed by Albert Cohn (*Shakespeare in Germany*, 1865), R. G. Latham (*Two Dissertations on the Hamlet of Saxo Grammaticus and of Shakespeare*, 1872), Furness (*Variorum Hamlet*, 1877); and has been considered since Creizenach, for example, by Rudolph Genée (*Shakespeare in seinem Werden und Wesen*, 1905) and by Sir Edmund Chambers (*Elizabethan Stage*, II, pp. 285-6), of whose observations Professor Dover Wilson has made use (*Manuscripts of Hamlet*, I, p. 17).

The manuscript of the play is lost: it had belonged to the great actor Ekhof, who died in 1778 in Gotha; in the following year it was published (or rather parts of it were—the whole came in 1781) by Ekhof's friend Reichard. This, of course, was just after the height of the Sturm und Drang movement with its idolization of Shakespeare, when Wieland's translation (the first into German) had already been out for some years, a second translation, that of J. J. Eschenburg, had recently followed it, and more than one stage version of *Hamlet* (e.g. Heufeld's of 1773 and Schröder's of 1776) had been seen. The MS. is said to have borne the date 1710; and it is extremely probable that it was a written-down version of the *Hamlet* taken to Germany by English Comedians, a company of whom are known to have played *Hamlet* at Dresden on June 24, 1626. It is believed, too, but not proved, that there were other performances in Frankfurt in 1628 and 1686, apart of course from the likelihood that there may have been others of which not even a tradition has survived. The Frankfurt performance of 1686 is said to have been by the famous Velten troupe, with which Ekhof's father-in-law, Spiegelberg, had at one time been associated. It is obvious however that if *Der bestrafte Brudermord* as we have it is a written version of the early seventeenth-century

*Hamlet* of the English Comedians, it has been considerably altered between the date of performance and the date of the MS. Linguistically it is characteristic of the *late* seventeenth or the early eighteenth century, and there is in it also, for example, an unmistakable reference to a well-known late seventeenth-century actor, Carl Andreas Paul, and his troupe. The work has been reprinted and edited two or three times since 1781, and there exist at least three English translations. Creizenach, who has given the matter more attention than anyone of whom I know, discusses the connexion with the various known forms of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, and comes to certain conclusions on carefully argued grounds. With these conclusions I think we must be content, pending the further thorough investigation which is desirable, and for which Professor Dover Wilson's recent examination of the *Hamlet* texts would provide a new and much better *point de départ*. These conclusions are: (a) that *Der bestrafte Brudermord* must be based upon a Shakespearean version of *Hamlet* dating from the dramatist's maturity, and not, as Bernhardt, Cohn, Latham, and others believed, upon the 1589 *Hamlet*; (b) that there are strong reasons for thinking it is not based upon the First Quarto, Second Quarto, or First Folio; (c) that its real source is the Globe prompt-book, of which some troupe of English Comedians must have had or made a more or less debased version. This they then took to Germany with them, and in their performances, and generally speaking in the seventeenth century, it became infinitely more debased, until in the end there remain no more than the bare bones of the original. But, in any case, according to him, and according to Sir Edmund Chambers as well (and this is the important point in the present connexion), *Der bestrafte Brudermord* is based upon Shakespeare and not directly upon Kyd, Saxo Grammaticus, Belleforest, or anyone else—an unescapable conclusion, in my view. Therefore it provides perfectly good and admissible evidence, where it can be used, concerning Shakespeare's text, meaning, and intentions. One is thus perfectly justified in quoting it to throw light upon obscurities, difficulties, and subtleties in the final *Hamlet* text, though it must always be remembered that it is very late and very corrupt; and that therefore its results must be looked on with caution, and, unsupported, do not amount to proof. But in the particular matter from which this article started, the complicity of Osric in Claudius' and Laertes' plot, the evidence seems to me very strong indeed.

A. H. J. KNIGHT.

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

### WALTON'S 'bockerel', 'bockeret'

In the first chapter of Walton's *Compleat Angler* Auceps mentions among the long-winged hawks 'The Bockerel and Bockeret', bockerel being the female, bockeret the male bird. A few years later (1672) Ray, in the *Philosophical Letters*, writes: 'There are, besides... a Boccarell, and a Boccaret. They are the Names of the Male and Female' (1718, p. 113). In *The Gentleman's Recreation*, published by Nicholas Cox, p. 161 of the 2nd edition, we find the same names in the list of long-winged hawks, but in Blome's *The Gentleman's Recreation* (1687), the birds appear under the names *Bawrel* and *Bawret*. There is in these books no further description or mention of this particular kind of hawk, and there is no evidence that they were at any time trained and flown in England. The names have disappeared from modern books on falconry.

The *N.E.D.* has the following entries:

†*Bawrel, bawret.* *Obs.* [of unknown origin: some compare It. '*bariletta* a tree falcon, a hobby'; the *Corpus Gloss.* has '*bariulus* reagufinc', some kind of finch. Cf. also *Bawtere*... 1706 Philips, *Bawrel*, a kind of Hawk, that for Size and Shape, is somewhat like the Lanner, but has a longer Body and Sails.

Whence Philips (*The New World of English Words*) had this information I do not know.

The *bawtere* to which there is a reference in the above quotation is a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον* in the *Book of St Albans*, D iii b: 'Theys haukes belong to an Emproure... an Egle, a Bawtere, a Melowne.' The *N.E.D.* says: '? an error for *vawtere*, Vulture; or by transposition of letters for *Bawret*.' Under *bockerel* the *N.E.D.* says: 'Origin unknown: cf. *Bawrel*, *Bawret*.'

I believe we can omit *bawtere* from a further discussion of these terms: the passage in which it occurs leaves hardly any doubt that the vulture is meant.

In *El Libro dela Caza* by Don Juan Manuel (about 1325) we read the following passages, which I quote from the edition by G. Baist (Halle, Niemeyer, 1880):

Prologo. Etl primero departe commo las naturas delos falcones con que agora vsan caçar son çinco, conuienen asaber girifaltes, sacres, neblis, *baharis*, bornis (p. 4).

Et en pos estos (i.e., neblis) son los *baharis*. estos son otrosi muy buenos falcones e caçan conellos todas las caças que caçan con los neblis... Et son muy plazerteros e duran mucho e pierden se muy pocas vezes... non son tan ligeros nin tan reços nin montan tanto commo los neblis (pp. 5, 25-6, 7).

e son los *baharis* entre bermejos e amariellos (p. 13, 25-6).

Enesta tierra se toman los *baharis* enlos nidos (p. 18, 4).

The famous French writer on falconry, Charles D'Arcussia says in *La Conférence des Fauconniers* (1644; edited by Ernest Julien, Paris, 1883):

Je vous dy queceluy qui veut avoir chez soy un vol pour hairon doit priser les gerfaux sur tous autres oyseaux; à faute desquels j'estime les faucons de haute maille que les Turcs nomment sahins; puis je prise les sacres et sacrets à ce vol; et en fin les faucons communs, qu'on nomme vers la Hongrie *balarins* (Quatrième Journée, p. 27).

O. Ces faucons *balarins* ne sont-ce pas les faucons qui ont la teste noire, et qui communement sont plus petits?

E. Ouy, en certains pays, comme en Corsegue, en la Sardaigne et en Provence. Mais du costé de Maillorque et de l'Espagne, veritablement ils sont fort blonds et fort rougeastres en leurs esgalures, bien qu'ils soient petits de taille (Dixième Journée, pp. 63, 64).

Baist, the editor of Don Juan Manuel's treatise says in the *Wort-register*:

*Bahari*. Falco gentilis, peregrinus, Edelfalk, Wanderfalk, und zwar derjenige welcher in Sud-europa horstet, bzw. dem Nest entnommen ist. Die meisten in Sardinien; in Majorca und in Romanien. Lopez de Ayala, p. 22. Arcussia in der *Fauconnerie du Roy* (nicht in den beiden andern Tractaten) kennt ihn als Balarin in der Provence, Sardinien, Corsica, den balearischen Inseln und Spanien. . . . Aus Arabisch bahri, Adj. von bahr,<sup>1</sup> also der Vogel welcher aus Spanien etc. nach Africa heruberkommt (pp. 110-11).<sup>2</sup>

I believe that we must seek the origin of the mysterious *bockerel*, *bockeret*, *bawrel*, *bawret* in *bahari*, *balarin*. We should not forget that in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance period practical falconers were illiterate and that names and terms were almost exclusively transmitted orally, and were sure to be mutilated in the course of transmission.<sup>3</sup>

A. E. H. SWAEN.

AMSTERDAM.

#### A NOTE ON CUTTING AND SLASHING

Though genuinely diffident about reviving my disagreement with Professor Dover Wilson over the irregular verse-lining in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, v, i, 1-84,<sup>4</sup> a phenomenon which he considers evidence of expansion and poetical embroidery, I should like to make one further observation, more for such general interest as it may have than because it arises from several years of meditation on Mr Wilson's courteous rejoinder to my objections.

While reserving all my original doubt as to the necessity of an elaborate theory at this point, I still think (though I have really tried to see the

<sup>1</sup> Bahr = sea, the word which is concealed in admiral (amir-al-bahr).

<sup>2</sup> I presume that the *Bagarine* in the following line from Tito Strozza's *Eroticon*, lib. 6, is identical with *bahari*:

'Non tibi se eripuit Turtur Bagarine sequenti.'

<sup>3</sup> *Eyas* is an example.

<sup>4</sup> *Mod. Lang. Rev.* (January, 1930), xxv, pp. 23-31. Not till that article had been set up and paged did I learn that my scepticism is shared by Dr B. A. P. van Dam, 'Alley's Player's Part', *English Studies* (October, 1929), xi, pp. 182-203. See pp. 189 ff.

thing Mr Wilson's way) that if we must have one the facts are best fitted by my suggestion that the mislined passages may be stage cuts, set up from marginal restorations.<sup>1</sup> 'It is perhaps', says Mr Wilson, 'the character of these supposed "cuts" which raises *the most obstinate questionings* [my italics]. The abridger must have been a skilful fellow to peel the scene of eight strips in such a fashion as to leave the context with what Mr Spencer calls "reasonable sense and continuity": those who have studied stage-abridgment in "bad quartos", Shakespearian and other, look for cruder methods.' But why? Saving a hundred cents is as good as saving a dollar, and peeling strips is practised whenever a play has to be cut.

Having occasion recently to consult the D'Avenant *Hamlet* quarto of 1676,<sup>2</sup> in which the cuts are marked, it occurred to me to investigate their length. There are four cuts of more than thirty-five lines each. These are listed first in the table below and consist, in order, of Polonius's colloquy with Reynaldo, the whole of the scene with the army of Fortinbras, Hamlet's advice to the players, and the return of Voltimand and Cornelius. (I have counted parts of lines as lines.)

No. of lines cut	No. of passages	No. of lines cut	No. of passages
78	1	10	3
68	1	9	2
37	2	8	6
26	1	7	8
25	1	6	5
22	1	5	10
14	1	4	15
13	3	3	19
12	4	2	37
11	3	1	44

There is no guess-work here: this is how *Hamlet* was actually cut by the Bettertonians; peeling thin strips was quite the order of the day.<sup>3</sup> As for what happened to *M.N.D.*, while I am content like Mr Wilson 'to leave the issue to the judgment of others', I must confess that he makes a shrewd point against me when he mentions the lack of evidence for abridgment elsewhere in this remarkably 'good' quarto. He did not, on the other hand, meet my objections to his description of the mislined

<sup>1</sup> The reader should turn to Mr Wilson's handling of the passage in his edition (pp. 80-6). 'Never again in the whole canon', he thinks, 'may we hope to catch so clear, so unquestionable, so happy a glimpse of Shakespeare at work upon his manuscript.'

<sup>2</sup> By the way, another copy, with a few prompter's notes, probably in a contemporary hand, has just turned up in Baltimore and is now in the possession of the Tudor and Stuart Club of the Johns Hopkins.

<sup>3</sup> It is certain that many of these cuts were taken over from the Blackfriars acting version, and possible that they all were.

passages, though I am inclined to think them rather more pertinent than my proposal of a new theory. Still unconvinced that the mislining necessarily indicates the presence of two strata, I believe that such merit as my article had lay in its analysis of the character of the two sets of passages and of the joints between them, and am much less confident that my theory is right than that Mr Wilson's is wrong.<sup>1</sup>

I did, however, suggest a special reason for stage cuts in this scene, the producer's problem being to get through the preliminaries of the fifth act as speedily as possible. Such a problem may or may not arise from the excessive length of the play over all, and such cutting may be quite independent of any general reduction and indeed subsequent to any number of performances. To put it bluntly, the opening of this fifth act drags. The audience wants to see Bottom at court. It is not in the least interested in Philostrate<sup>2</sup> and not much in Theseus. Mr Wilson cites the beauty of the mislined passages as evidence against their being cuts. The correct inference is just the opposite.<sup>3</sup> There is nothing strange in the omission of the finest poetry, for that is not apt to occur in passages devoted to some necessary question of the play. The treatment of *Hamlet* was similar. In cutting Shakespeare for the stage now we retain the purple patches, not because they are dramatically essential but because they are so famous. Though their beauty was probably recognized from the first, neither time nor bardolatry had hallowed them in the Elizabethan theatres.

HAZELTON SPENCER.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

#### MILTON'S HOBSON POEMS: SOME NEGLECTED EARLY TEXTS

On January 1, 1631, Thomas Hobson, the Cambridge carrier, died. Twelve days later, the Lent Term of the University began, and the returning dons and students—among them John Milton—missed a long-

<sup>1</sup> Nor did I overlook Professor Wilson's mention of the possibility that some of the 'additions' may replace cancellations. I did not allude to it in my article because there is no dealing with that kind of argument. Having erected a theory of poetical embroidery and of the integrity of the correctly lined passages, 'which are complete in themselves both in sense and metre, and must at some stage in the history of the text have stood by themselves and run continuously', the architect seeks to preserve the dubious structure by making off with its foundations and then defying anyone to lay an axe to them. I am, none the less, in his debt for the generosity with which he comments on my remarks. Anyone who, like Mr Wilson, applies a new technique to a major subject must expect to incur the penalty of remonstrance from those whose very interest in the problems betrays its inspiration in his own brilliant and provocative studies.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Wilson thinks Shakespeare wanted to play up the role of Philostrate at this point.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the sensible remarks of Mr Alfred Hart on the cuts in *Romeo and Juliet*, 'Acting versions of Elizabethan plays', *Rev. Eng. Stud.* (January, 1934), x, pp. 1-28; see especially p. 7.

familiar face. Milton must have ridden many times with Hobson between Cambridge and the Bull in Bishopsgate Street; perhaps he had even taken 'Hobson's choice' when mood or necessity led him to hire a horse. In any event, he was prompted, at some time after the old worthy's death, to perpetuate his memory in verse.

To-day, Milton's poems on Hobson interest us chiefly as specimens of his undergraduate muse and as proof incontrovertible that, at least in 1631, he was capable of humour without moroseness or acrimony. Textually, the poems seem to have interested nobody. Editors from Warton down to the scholars responsible for the 'Columbia Milton' have neglected three perfectly valid textual 'sources'. The *editio princeps* of the Hobson verses is not, as is too often asserted, Milton's 1645 edition of the minor poems. One of the Hobson poems was printed in 1640. Furthermore, both of them were reprinted (not by Milton) in 1658; and although neither occurs in the famous Trinity MS., at least one is to be found in another contemporary MS. collection.

Commentators who would deny Milton a sense of humour will do well to ponder the fact that his verse appeared in two different seventeenth-century humorous anthologies. The 'sixth Edition, much enlarged', of *A Banquet of Jests*, London, 1640, contains on pp. 129-31 Milton's 'second' Hobson poem; and *Wit Restor'd in severall Select Poems Not formerly publish't*, London, 1658, has on pp. 83-5 both of the Hobson poems. Finally, on the verso of fol. 69 of MS. Malone 21, in the Bodleian Library, is a neat transcript of Milton's 'second' Hobson poem—part of an anthology of epigrams and miscellaneous verses, in three parts, 'apparently collected by an Oxford student' about 1640-50.<sup>1</sup> Malone, in an autograph note in the front of the MS., suggests that part at least 'appears to have been written... about or after the year 1644'. In all three of these early collections, although many other poems have their authors' names attached, the Milton poems are anonymous. As we shall see in a moment, the Hobson verses circulated for many years in manuscript, and were sometimes transcribed by people who did not know or did not care to know the author's identity.

The form in which Milton intended us to read his poems is the form in which the 1645 and 1673 editions present them. On the other hand, we may well expect the unauthorised versions to throw light on the state of the poems before Milton subjected them to careful editing; and this, we shall see, is a justifiable assumption.

Because the poem which Milton printed second in the authorised edi-

<sup>1</sup> *Summary Catalogue*, iv, pt. 2, p. 429.

tion occurs also in three unauthorised collections, we shall consider it first. I give the text of the 1645 edition, listing beneath it all the variants. 73 refers to the second authorised edition (1673); 40, to the *Banquet of Jests* (1640); 58, to *Wit Restor'd* (1658); and *MS.*, to Bodleian MS. Malone 21.

*Another on the same.*

- HEre lieth one who did most truly prove,  
That he could never die while he could move,  
So hung his destiny never to rot  
While he might still jogg on, and keep his trot,  
5 Made of sphear-metal, never to decay  
Untill his revolution was at stay.  
Time numbers motion, yet (without a crime  
'Gainst old truth) motion number'd out his time;  
And like an Engin mov'd with wheel and waight,  
10 His principles being ceast, he ended strait,  
Rest that gives all men life, gave him his death,  
And too much breathing put him out of breath;  
Nor were it contradiction to affirm  
Too long vacation hastned on his term.  
15 Meerly to drive the time away he sickn'd,  
Fainted, and died, nor would with Ale be quickn'd;  
Nay, quoth he, on his swooning bed outstretch'd,  
If I may not carry, sure Ile ne're be fetch'd,  
But vow though the cross Doctors all stood hearers,  
20 For one Carrier put down to make six bearers.  
Ease was his chief disease, and to judge right,  
He di'd for heavines that his Cart went light,  
His leasure told him that his time was com,  
And lack of load, made his life burdensom,  
25 That even to his last breath (ther be that say't)  
As he were prest to death, he cry'd more waight;  
But had his doings lasted as they were,  
He had bin an immortall Carrier.  
Obedient to the Moon he spent his date  
30 In cours reciprocal, and had his fate  
Linkt to the mutual flowing of the Seas,  
Yet (strange to think) his wain was his increase:  
His Letters are deliver'd all and gon,  
Onely remains this superscription.

Title: 40: Vpon old *Hobson* the Carrier of *Cambridge*. / *MS.*: On *Hobson* ye *Cambridge* carrier who died 1630 in ye vacancy of his carriage by reason of ye sicknesse then hott at *Cambridge* / 58: Another on the same. / 73: Another on the same.

1. 40: *HHere Hobson lyes*, who...truely prove / *MS.*: *Here Hobson lies* who...prove / 58: one,...truely

2. 40, *MS.*, and 58: whilst / 40: dye,...did move: / *MS.*: dy...move / 58: die,...move.

3. 40: sung his destinie,...rot, / 58: destiny,...rot,

4. 40: Whilst...jog...keepe his trot. / *MS.*: So...on & keepe his trot / 58: Whilst he could but...trot. / 73: on and

5. 40: spheares mettall,...decay, / *MS.*: spheare mettall / 58: Sphear mettall,...decay,

6. 40 and 58: resolution / 40: Vntill / *MS.*: stay / 58: made of stay.

7. 40: yet without all crime / 58: yet without a crime,

8. 40: 'Gainst truth, 'twas motion numbred...time: / *MS.*: truth. motion...time / 58: truth,...numbered...time. / 73: time:

9. 40, *MS.* and 58: like some / 40: engine moov'd with wheele and weight, / *MS.*: Engine moved wth wheele & weight / 58: Engine mov'd, with wheelles and weight,

10. 40: seasd,...straight / *MS.*: principalls. .ceasd,. .straight. / 58: once ceas'd...  
 streight.  
 11. 40: Rest,...all us...death / *MS.*: yt gives...death / 58: Rest,  
 12. 40: breath: / *MS.*: breath / 58: breath.  
 13. 40: affirme, / *MS.*: affirme / 58: [Line omitted]  
 14. 40: *Terme.* / *MS.*: Too much. .hasted . .terme / 58: [Line omitted]  
 15. 40, *MS.* and 58: [Line omitted]  
 16. 40, *MS.* and 58: [Line omitted] / 73: quickn'd.  
 17. 40, *MS.* and 58: [Line omitted] / 73: out-stretch'd,  
 18. 40, *MS.* and 58: [Line omitted] / 73: I'le  
 19. 40, *MS.* and 58: [Line omitted]  
 20. 40, *MS.* and 58: [Line omitted]  
 21. 40: his chiefe...right / *MS.*: his disease, & to judge aright / 58: [Line omitted]  
 22. 40: dy'd for heavynesse,...Carts were light. / *MS.*: died...yt...cart was light /  
 58: [Line omitted] / 73: heavynesse  
 23. 40: come / *MS.*: told yt his...come / 58: [Line omitted]  
 24. 40: load made...burdensome. / *MS.*: lacke of load...burthensome / 58: [Line  
 omitted]  
 25. 40, *MS.* and 58: [Line omitted]  
 26. 40, *MS.* and 58: [Line omitted]  
 27. 40, *MS.* and 58: For had / *MS.*: doeings...were / 58: were  
 28. 40: beene...carrier. / 58: been / 73: been...immortal  
 29. 40: Moone...date, / *MS.*: ye Moone / 58: [Line omitted]  
 30. 40: course reciprocall: / *MS.*: course reciprocall, and in his fate / 58: [Line omitted]  
 31. 40: Linckt...mutual...seas: / *MS.*: Like to the mutual flowings of ye seas /  
 58: [Line omitted]  
 32. 40 and *MS.*: thinke) his waine / 10: his disease. / *MS.*: his increase / 58: [Line  
 omitted]  
 33. 40: letters...all, and gone; / *MS.*: letters are deliverd...gone / 58: [Line omitted]  
 34. 40: remains / *MS.*: Only remains...superscription / 58: [Line omitted] / 73: Only

The question at once arises: Was there a version of this poem earlier than and different from the poem which Milton printed in 1645? There are obvious grounds for believing that there was; for, ignoring mere differences in spelling and punctuation, 1640, 1658, and *MS.* differ from both 1645 and 1673 in:

Line 2: *whilst* he could move (1645: while);

Line 9: *some* engine (1645: an engine);

Line 27: *For* had (1645: But had);

Omission of lines 15-20, 25-26.

These three texts, therefore, seem to indicate an earlier version in which, certainly, lines 15-20, 25-26, were absent, and in which, probably, there were a few verbal variants (not necessarily limited to the three above) of interest to the close student of Milton.

An objection to this theory is the argument that 1640 might represent a deliberate tampering with a text essentially similar to that of 1645, and that both 1658 and *MS.* derive from 1640. If this were so—and it is a reasonable hypothesis—the three verbal agreements and the striking consistency in the omission of eight lines would be explained, and all other variants could be accounted for on grounds of typographical error, misreading of the text, or additional deliberate alterations.

Before testing this argument, however, let us consider further. The

editor or editors of *A Banquet of Jests* probably had a MS. version which, if not actually in Milton's autograph, at least pretended to be a transcript of the poem in its original state. If there was an earlier version, this should certainly give us some idea of it. If there was not an earlier version, we must explain, on the several grounds of scribal error, typographical error, and editorial wilfulness, no less than a dozen variants in a 26-line poem. Furthermore, if there was not an earlier version, and if both *MS.* and *1658* are imperfect copies of an imperfectly copied *1640*, then we may well expect to explain them both in terms of *1640*. Can we do so?

In point of time, the Malone MS. *might* have been copied from *1640*. In point of fact, however, it was not—for the following reasons: (1) Although it makes indefensible errors in lines 21 and 23, it is able to restore the correct reading in lines 3, 6, and 32, where *1640* has gone astray. (2) It gives the authorised (1645) reading (not necessarily correct in the earlier version) in lines 5, 7–8, and 11, differing in all these lines from *1640*. (3) It contains readings peculiar to itself, all perfectly defensible, in lines 14, 22, and 30–31. (4) The MS. poem has a title different from any in either *1640* or *1645*, the writer either knowing the exact year of Hobson's death, or copying it from a MS. which he was transcribing. If he was an Oxford student writing in 1644 or later, we can hardly expect him to have known that a certain Cambridge carrier died in 1630–1.

These last two points are answers to the argument that the MS. might have been copied from *1645*, instead of *1640*. Other reasons are: (1) It agrees with *1640* and *1658* against *1645* in the three variant readings: lines 2, 9, and 27. (2) It agrees with *1640* and *1658* in omitting lines 15–20 and 25–6. (3) It agrees with *1640* against *1645* and *1658* in line 1. (4) No other poem by Milton is transcribed. (5) Milton's name is not given, and the compiler seems to have cited authors' names when he knew them.

From the above evidence, therefore, we may infer that a version of the poem earlier than and different from the 1645 text *did* exist; that the earlier version was several times transcribed, and variants introduced either by the author or by the different copyists; finally, that *1640* and *MS.* represent two stages of this earlier version.

As for the 1658 version, determining its parentage is a more complicated problem. Were Sir John Mennes and Dr James Smith, the two persons chiefly responsible for *Wit Restor'd*, using Milton's 1645 volume or the 1640 *Banquet of Jests*? Or is their version linked to the earlier one, printed from a transcript still in circulation? The editors advertise on

their title-page, 'severall Select Poems Not formerly publish't', and they are not likely to have borrowed from a humorous anthology printed eighteen years before. The Hobson poems are anonymous, although one-fifth of the 125-odd poems in the volume have names or initials attached. In 1658 Milton was famous in England, and a humorous poem over his name would certainly have lent attraction to an anthology. Could Mennes and Smith, then, have known the authorship of the verses on Hobson and deliberately withheld it?

In any case, it seems certain that they were not using the 1645 edition of the minor poems. Far more conclusive than the above considerations is the striking fact that 1658 agrees with both *MS.* and 1640 against 1645 in lines 2, 9, and 27, and in the omission of lines 15-20 and 25-6. This can hardly be explained away as a coincidence. On the other hand, it seems logical to suppose that the 1658 editors used *both* the 1640 and 1645 volumes, or else *neither* of them; for they print an anonymous poem on Hobson found in 1640 but not in Milton's volume, as well as a Milton poem on Hobson not in the 1640 volume.

In four lines (4, 6, 9-10) 1658 differs from 1640, 1645, and *MS.* All of these variants, however, are probably corruptions of the text: the second makes no sense, and the remaining three look like simple errors of transcription or printing. The omission, in 1658, of lines 13-14, 21-4, and 29-34 likewise seems of little significance. We might well expect an editor, printing three very similar poems on the same subject, to do some judicious cutting of the longest of them.

Considering further the possible derivation of 1658 from 1640, we discover that in practically every instance where it agrees with 1645 against 1640, it also agrees with the Malone *MS.* The readings in lines 1-3, 5, 7-8, and 11 make it highly improbable that 1640 was the text used. The only real exception, in line 1, is easily explained: the editors probably altered the opening words of the poem to avoid echoing the *first* Hobson poem in their sequence. This was poem number two, and poem number one in 1658 had begun: 'Here Hobson lies.' The change to 'Here lieth one' was simple, and natural.

Finally, 1658 agrees with 1640 against both *MS.* and 1645 in only two instances (lines 4 and 6), the second of which is obviously an error. There can be little doubt that the editors of *Wit Restor'd* were using some manuscript version, belonging to the same family as 1640 and the Malone *MS.* (in other words, the earlier version), but actually closer to *MS.* than to 1640. Its variant readings are therefore worthy of our attention, as evidence for the original state of the poem.

We are now in a position to consider the second Hobson poem: the first in the 1645 authorised edition, but the third in the 1658 collection. I give the 1645 text, listing below it all variants in the 1658 and 1673 volumes.

*On the University Carrier who  
sicken'd in the time of his vacancy, being  
forbid to go to London, by reason of  
the Plague.*

- HEre lies old *Hobson*, Death hath broke his girt,  
A here alas, hath laid him in the dirt,  
Or els the ways being foul, twenty to one,  
He's here stuck in a slough, and overthrown.  
5 ,Twas such a shifter, that if truth were known,  
Death was half glad when he had got him down;  
For he had any time this ten years full,  
Dodg'd with him, betwixt *Cambridge* and the Bull.  
And surely, Death could never have prevail'd,  
10 Had not his weekly cours of carriage fail'd;  
But lately finding him so long at home,  
And thinking now his journeys end was come,  
And that he had tane up his latest Inne,  
In the kind office of a Chamberlin  
15 Shew'd him his room where he must lodge that night,  
Pull'd off his Boots, and took away the light:  
If any ask for him, it shall be sed,  
*Hobson* has supt, and's newly gon to bed.

Title: 58: Another. / 73: [same as above, but with a comma after *Carrier*]

1. 58: *Hobson* / ...hath his desire,
2. 58 and 73: And here / 58: (*alasse*) hath left him...mire;
3. 58 and 73: else / 58: waies
5. 58 and 73: 'Twas
6. 58: glad that he...down.
7. 58: he hath...years
8. 58: Dog'dd him 'twixt *Cambridge* and the *London-Bull*.
9. 58: surely death
10. 58 and 73: course / 58: fail'd.
12. 58: journey's...come;
14. 58: Death in the likenesse of a Chamberlin,
15. 58: room,
16. 58: boots,...hght.
18. 58: supt, and newly

For this poem I can find no early MS. version. Nor can I find it in print before 1645, when Milton presumably put it in its final form. If, therefore, there were alterations made in 1645—and from our experience with the other poem we may expect a few—there should be a suggestion of them in 1658. Let us remember that the editors of *Wit Restor'd* found many of their 'Select Poems Not formerly publish't' in manuscript anthologies (perhaps their own); it is still easy to find, scattered through contemporary MS. collections, some of the verses which went into their volume. Undoubtedly the Hobson poems came from such a source, and some day we may happen upon it. Meanwhile, we may accept (though

with certain reservations) their printed version of this second Milton poem as reflecting the original state of the piece. Whereas the former poem occurs in three independent versions which differ in some details from that which the poet edited, here we have no means of checking the variant readings. It can always be argued that any interesting variant in 1658 is a deliberate emendation, introduced by a transcriber in an attempt to clarify or simplify; and against such an hypothesis we have no MS. or 1640 text to flourish. If we believe that 1658 really gives some idea of the poem's early state, our only defence must be the 'character' of the 1658 text in the case of the companion poem. And this, I submit, is no inconsiderable factor.

Let us examine, very briefly, a few of the variations between the 'early' and 'late' stages of this second poem. The different rimes in lines 1-2 probably represent the original reading. It is possible, but hardly probable, that someone other than the author would alter the rimes in the opening lines of a poem. Line 8, on the other hand, looks very much like an error in transcription ('dogged' is too similar to 'dodged'), although the changes make equally good sense, and the metre is perhaps improved. Line 14 is certainly an independent reading, and some readers will consider it an improvement, for it eliminates the slight ambiguity of the passage. The remaining variants may or may not be the result of errors in transcription; they are most of them, in any event, comparatively unimportant.

In the first poem, the most interesting difference between the 'early' and 'late' stages is, of course, the omission of the eight lines:

Meerly to drive the time away he sickn'd,  
Fainted, and died, nor would with Ale be quickn'd;  
Nay, quoth he, on his swooning bed outstretch'd,  
If I may not carry, sure Ile ne're be fetch'd,  
But vow though the cross Doctors all stood hearers,  
For one Carrier put down to make six bearers.  
That even to his last breath (ther be that say't)  
As he were prest to death, he cry'd more waight;

It is just possible, of course, that the people who wrote *A Banquet of Jestes*, *Wit Restor'd*, and the Malone MS. found the passage cumbrous or ambiguous, and therefore deleted it. But such a theory puts a great strain upon coincidence, and it is almost incredible that all three should have altered 'But' (in line 27) to 'For' in order to mark the transition.

WILLIAM R. PARKER.

COLUMBUS, OHIO.

## THE SETTING OF 'AUCASSIN ET NICOLETTE'

The various editors of this text have assumed that the author had no real knowledge of the town in which he set his story. It is, however, possible that the author was not unacquainted with Beaucaire as it was in his time.

Certain valuable facts which have been brought to light by the researches of Mr R. D. Oldham, F.R.S., help us to a better idea of the geography of the Rhône delta in general. For facts relating more especially to Beaucaire itself we have made use of Guillaume de Tudèle's *Chanson de la Croisade*, and also the *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*.

The present town of Beaucaire stands on the right bank of the Rhône at a distance of some 26 miles from the sea on the south coast. It will be shown later that Beaucaire has not always been situated so far from the sea.

The *chantefable* opens where 'li quens Bougars de Valence faisoit guere au conte Garin de Biaucaire'. This fictitious Count, whose town is on the left bank of the Rhône, would have been compelled to cross the river at some point. Such a spot could be found at Tarascon, from where it was possible to cross by a bridge *via* the island of Jarnègues. In his *Sénéchaussée de Beaucaire* Michel<sup>1</sup> mentions that the pasture-land of Beaucaire was thrown open to the people of Arles and Tarascon by Pierre d'Athies. The existence of a bridge may certainly be assumed, if these people were to cross over to this pasture-land.<sup>2</sup> When the battle begins, Aucassin comes on his horse right to the gates of the castle and into the battle. This would be true of Beaucaire as it would be of Lewes, where a warrior, coming out of the main gate, would be in the streets of the town. A battle in the streets of Beaucaire would fulfil the requirements of the text.

It is difficult to say exactly where Aucassin was imprisoned, but it may have been in the dungeon on the higher plateau. More colour is lent to this theory by a later reference to his prison as a tower. The dungeon is described in Eyssette<sup>3</sup> as a hexagonal tower. Nicolette, escaping from her room, 'vint au postic, si le deffrema, si s'en isci par mi les rues de Biaucaire'. Arriving at the dungeon there is the love scene watched over by the sentry. In the *Chanson de la Croisade* 'al comte de Montfort mostreron de la tor, etc.', we have proof that the top of the dungeon would make an excellent watch-tower.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 242-3.

<sup>2</sup> We note that in Guillaume de Tudèle, when the supporters of the young count come to the siege of Beaucaire: *De Tharasco ichiron e coron als estraus, E tut passero l'aiga e intrero els caus* (ll. 3923-4).

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. admin. de la ville de B.*

Being warned by the watch, Nicolette leaves her lover and goes on until 'ele vint au mur del castel'. This would probably be the outer wall, from where she could climb down into the ditch. The town was surrounded by ditches of this description: 'fossata quae circumdabant villam Bellicuadri.'<sup>1</sup>

The next geographical reference raises difficulties. The author writes: 'Or estoit li forés pres a deux arbalestees qui bien duroit trente lieues de lonc et de lé.' Although a general deforestation took place in the region in fairly recent times, we have no definite information as to this particular forest. Mr R. D. Oldham has kindly informed us that 'the hills round Beaucaire were very probably forest-clad in the thirteenth century, as forests were certainly extensively developed over all this region from which they have now disappeared'. The lions and boars met with by Nicolette are, of course, merely conventional, as are also the 'vaus et les mons' referred to later in the story.

Part of the land near the town was undoubtedly pasture-land at that time,<sup>2</sup> and the very convincing 'pastorel' of the *chante-fable* fits into the picture which we have of Beaucaire in this period. In 1240 Pierre d'Athies settled the long dispute between Beaucaire and Bellegarde over grazing rights:

Concessit etiam militibus et probis hominibus Bellicadri dictus dominus Petrus de Athiis, senescallus, et toti universitati dicti castri quod possint ducere animalia sua adaccare ad rivos Bellegarde per vias publicas sine maleficio, precipiens predictus dominus senescallus predictis militibus et probis hominibus de Bellicadro ne ultra predictos terminos ex parte Bellegarde pascant animalia sua, nec pisquantur, nec colligant....

We have been unable to trace any reference to the seven roads which spread out through the country.

After leaving the wood the two lovers arrived at the sea. This is the point which, more than any other, has led editors to believe the setting of the story to be pure *fantaisie*. Actually, the coast-line in the thirteenth century could have borne little resemblance to the present coast-line. We find that up to the end of the twelfth century St-Gilles was the most important port along this part of the coast.<sup>3</sup> Similarly in the thirteenth century Arles was an important port.<sup>4</sup> This proves, at least, that Beaucaire and its neighbouring towns were much nearer the sea than at present.

If the two lovers arrived at Arles it is quite possible that they could find a ship to take them away from the region of Beaucaire. It would be

<sup>1</sup> *Rec. des hist.*, vol. XXIV, pp. 479 J-K (A.D. 1248).

<sup>2</sup> See Michel, *Sénéchaussée de B.*, pp. 381 f. and 387 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Geog. Journal* (May, 1925), pp. 413 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Nature* (11 July, 1925), p. 53.

useless to try to locate the region of Torelore. M. Mario Roques has added a note of interest: 'Sainte-Pelaye a noté que, de son temps, Aigues-Mortes avaient encore été appelé *pays de Turelure* en raison de diverses singularités qui pouvaient exciter l'étonnement ou la raillerie.'

On his return Aucassin arrives home by sea. At that time the rock on which the castle of Beaucaire stands was bathed by the Rhône which has since shifted more to the east. The *Chanson de la Croisade* clears up this point by referring also to the ships at the foot of the rock:

E al pe de la roca estara lo navetz  
Que si lor toletz l'aig a destrenher los poiret(z).<sup>1</sup>

The present position of Beaucaire is due to silting. It is estimated that the annual growth of the delta since 1737 is 175 ft. It is therefore quite safe to assume that ships could and did get right up to Beaucaire at one time.

The right to collect driftwood attributed to the town of Beaucaire has again been dismissed as *fantaisie* on the author's part. Michel<sup>2</sup> refers to 'la vente du bois des navires démolis'. Was that the *lagan* of *Aucassin et Nicolette*? The *Recueil des historiens*<sup>3</sup> refers to the '...usaticum... lignorum defferendorum' and also, talking of Belliquadrum, '...curserii, consueverunt vendi vel demoliri per probos homines electos ab universitate dicti castri, et precium vel ligna ipsorum, quando erant demolita, expendi in rem publicam dictae universitatis....' Again, it appears that some form of *lagan* did exist at that time.

The poem ends with Aucassin sitting on the *perron*, also mentioned by Guillaume de Tudèle.

Geographical details are few in the text, but in practically every case we have tried to confirm the possibility of such facts as the author does give. There seems no real reason why we should not assume him to have had some knowledge of the town and castle in which he has set his story.

KENNETH URWIN.

PARIS.

### 'LA MILAGROSA ELECCIÓN DE SAN PÍO V'

The history of *La milagrosa elección de San Pío V* is a complicated one. With this title it was first printed under Moreto's name in the *Escogidas* of 1673,<sup>4</sup> but it is an attribution that cannot be taken too seriously, since in this same volume the printer has incorrectly ascribed at least two more

<sup>1</sup> ll. 3892-3.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 216 and 242.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. xxiv, p. 479 J.

<sup>4</sup> José Fernández de Buendía, Parte xxxix (Madrid, 1673).

of the twelve plays there included.<sup>1</sup> The *suelta* of the eighteenth century, published in Sevilla by the Viuda de Francisco de Leefdael,<sup>2</sup> is of no real interest, being a copy of the edition just mentioned.

There is, however, in the Instituto de San Isidro, Madrid, a *suelta* entitled *El Cardenal Morón* which is attributed to Pérez de Montalbán. This version, which is evidently very old, though it carries neither date nor place of publication, declares in its heading, 'Representóla Morales' and its final lines are:

Entremos pues, porque fin ponga,  
pidiendo perdón, *Morales*  
a *La elección milagrosa*.

Now we know that between October 5, 1622 and February 8, 1623, the famous Juan de Morales Medrano played *La milagrosa elección de Pío V* before the Queen.<sup>3</sup> An examination of *El Cardenal Morón* shows it to be the same play as the one ordinarily attributed to Moreto under the title *La milagrosa elección de San Pío V*, although the relatively unimportant character of Porcia, found in *El Cardenal Morón*, has been reduced to mere mention in *La milagrosa elección*<sup>4</sup> and there are lines in each version which have no counterpart in the other. Such facts, when taken in connexion with the strong internal evidence against Moreto's authorship,<sup>5</sup> make it fairly certain that the play attributed to Moreto was the one played by Morales in 1622-3 at a time when Moreto was only four or five years old. Its attribution to him is, then, clearly a falsification.

Its history remains obscure, nevertheless. As I have already stated, there are lines in each version which have no counterpart in the others.

<sup>1</sup> Lope's *La discreta venganza* is here attributed to Moreto, though it had been published in 1625 (Parte xx, Madrid) and his *El desprecio agradecido* (Parte xxv, Zaragoza, 1647) appears as Matos' with the title *La dicha por el desprecio*. *La mesonera del cielo*, here printed as Amescua's, had in Parte x of the *Escogidas* (Madrid, 1658) been attributed to Zabaleta. *El veneno para sí* ('de un ingenio de esta corte') is in manuscripts of the Nacional (Nos. 14888 and 16909) assigned to Avellaneda and to Diamante. It is significant that the latter is partly written in the handwriting of Matos Fragoso, under whose aegis this volume of the *Escogidas* was published.

<sup>2</sup> No. 19, without year, 24 pp. It may be found in the Ticknor Library at Boston.

<sup>3</sup> See Rennert, *The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega* (New York, 1909), p. 236, and Restori, *Piezas de títulos de comedias* (Messina, 1903), p. 101. The latter suggests that there may be a confusion with Tirso's *La milagrosa elección de Sesto V*.

<sup>4</sup> There are two other very minor characters that have likewise been eliminated.

<sup>5</sup> I have pointed these out in *The Dramatic Art of Moreto* (Smith College Studies in Modern Languages), vol. XIII, October, 1931-July, 1932, Northampton, Mass., p. 135: 'The play is not characteristic of Moreto in that the *gracioso* is lacking and in that the character of the villain Amadeo shows a cold brutality that is not found in even the rebels of Moreto's religious theatre. Moreover, the punishment of impalement is meted out to Amadeo by the protagonist with all celerity and without any traces of the generous sentimentalism that so ordinarily characterises Moreto's heroes. Finally, the dialogue is heavily loaded with literary and historical allusions and is without any of those oft-repeated quips of the *gracioso* which the reader of Moreto comes to expect.' I might add, further, that the mechanics of the play are poor.

Of the two, *El Cardenal Morón* is the more complete text, though with such ridiculous misprints<sup>1</sup> as to indicate that the typesetter worked from an illegible manuscript. Both the *suelta* and the *Escogidas* edition are apparently cut versions of an older and longer text—one that was entitled *La milagrosa elección*, if we may judge by the closing lines of *El Cardenal Morón*<sup>2</sup> quoted above.

The work has been associated not only with the theatres of Montalbán and Moreto but also with that of Godínez to whom Medel<sup>3</sup> attributes a play entitled *La milagrosa elección*. Moreover, the presence in both *El Cardenal Morón* and *La milagrosa elección de San Pío V* of one Clarindo 'who makes verses in order to eat' led Schaeffer<sup>4</sup> to link it with Andrés de Claramonte's name.

I have not seen the *suelta*, *La milagrosa elección*, which La Barrera attributes to Godínez, but I suspect it to be the latter's *La corona derribada y vara de Moisés*. Menéndez y Pelayo<sup>5</sup> points out that the second title of this work is *La milagrosa elección* and on the strength of internal evidence—he had apparently not seen Medel's mention of the *suelta*—attributes the play to Godínez.

Mr C. E. Anibal<sup>6</sup> is equally certain that the play is not Claramonte's work: 'When Clarindo is ridiculed... as is the case in Moreto's *La milagrosa elección de San Pío V*... one may be sure that the author is not Clarindo himself.' The passage<sup>7</sup> referred to is as follows:

*Morón:*    ¿Qué humilde poeta es ése?  
*Oriado 1:*   Antes peca de arrogante.  
*Morón:*    ¿Quién es?  
*Oriado 2:*                      Clarindo.  
*Morón:*                      Él confiesa  
    que por comer versos hace.

Whether this 'confession' refers to Clarindo's words found in Act II of *El Rey Don Pedro en Madrid*<sup>8</sup> or whether both are allusions to the Alarcón-Claramonte controversy,<sup>9</sup> similar to the well-known passage in *La estrella de Sevilla*, I cannot say. If to the latter, then the verses must

<sup>1</sup> For instance, 'Cástor y Pólux', *B.A.E.*, xxxix, I, p. 548, become 'casto y pollo'!

<sup>2</sup> The latter title is an evident misnomer, since *Morón* plays only a very minor role in the play.

<sup>3</sup> *Índice general alfabético de todos los títulos de comedias* (Madrid, 1735), printed recently by John M. Hill in *Revue Hesp.* (1929), lxxv. See p. 211.

<sup>4</sup> *Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas* (Leipzig, 1890), II, p. 183.

<sup>5</sup> *Obras de Lope de Vega Carpio*, Acad. ed., III, p. lxxiii.

<sup>6</sup> 'Observations on *La Estrella de Sevilla*', *Hisp. Review* (January, 1934), p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> *B.A.E.*, xxxix, p. 555.

<sup>8</sup> First published in Parte xvii, 1621 according to Rennert y Castro, *Vida de Lope de Vega* (Madrid, 1919), p. 488. See *Obras* (Acad. ed., ix, p. 491) for the following verses:

*Rey:* ¿Qué queréis?

*Clarindo:* Comer quería.

<sup>9</sup> See the article of C. E. Anibal mentioned above.

have been inserted after its first presentation, since this literary storm does not seem to have broken until September 9, 1623. The *terminus ad quem* would be September 19, 1626, the time of Claramonte's death.

By elimination, Montalbán seems the probable author. Medel attributed it to him under the title *El Cardenal Morón*.<sup>1</sup> The fact that Montalbán was one of the group which wrote *décimas* commenting on the Alarcón-Claramonte affair<sup>2</sup> makes it all the more likely. Still again, the rather grandiloquent tone of the whole, the episodic nature of the plot, the unhappy characterization are reminiscent of Montalbán.<sup>3</sup> Given such cumulative evidence, I think we may not only definitely remove the play from Moreto's theatre but may tentatively at least add it to Montalbán's.<sup>4</sup>

RUTH LEE KENNEDY.

NORTHAMPTON, MASS.

#### A GERMAN SOURCE FOR 'THE SHAVING OF SHAGPAT'?

Since George Eliot published her appreciation in the *Leader* and the *Westminster Review* in 1856, Meredith's first novel has been accepted as a work solely of Oriental inspiration, 'another Arabian Night'. Thus C. Photiadès (*George Meredith*, Paris, 1910, p. 239) speaks of it as 'sa féerie orientale', Eugen Frey (*Die Romane George Merediths. Ein Versuch*, Winterthur, 1913, p. 25) as 'ein reizend erzähltes Märchen in orientalischem Gewande'. Laura Torretta ('George Meredith', in *Studi e Ritratti*, v, Naples, 1918, p. 33) refers to it as 'questa sbrigliata fantasia araba', and M. S. Gretton (*The Writings and Life of George Meredith*, London, 1926) gives no hint of modification of this general belief. R. E. Sencourt (*The Life of George Meredith*, London, 1929, p. 104) draws attention to the influence on the story of Bhanavar of the fantastic personal experience of M. de Haxthausen. A more thorough search for sources was made by Aug. H. Able (*George Meredith and Thomas Love Peacock: A Study in Literary Influence*, Philadelphia, 1933), who

<sup>1</sup> *Índice*, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> Anibal, *op. cit.*, p. 8, n. 12 and *B.A.E.*, LII, pp. 587-8.

<sup>3</sup> However, it is evident that these faults may be due in part to the corrupt state in which the texts have reached us. The play was, as we have seen, first printed in 1673, and in November of 1684 a *comedia* entitled *La milagrosa elección* was played in Valladolid. (See N. Alonso Cortés, *El teatro en Valladolid* [Madrid, 1923], p. 294.) Such dates link this up with the period following Philip IV's death when many old plays were clipped here and pasted there in order to adapt them, with the least possible effort, to the taste of the day.

<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, G. W. Bacon ('The "comedias" of Montalbán', *Revue Hisp.*, 1907, xvii, p. 55), felt that *El Cardenal Morón* 'does not read like our author's work', and Fernández-Guerra y Orbe included it in his volume of Moreto's plays (*B.A.E.*, xxxix), characterising its attribution to Montalbán as a 'necia supercheria de los libreros'. However, Bacon made the mistake of thinking *El Cardenal Morón* a revision of Moreto's *La milagrosa elección de San Pío V.*

demonstrates parallels between the works of Meredith and those of his father-in-law. Meredith used the same library: 'classics, Italian romances, Welsh bardic poetry' are mentioned (p. 16) and finally Peacock's own *Rhododaphne* is cited as a possible source for *The Shaving of Shagpat*. Able makes a general reference to the 'genre of the mediæval romantic story' (p. 18) and to *Vathek* (p. 19).

Explicit mention of inspiration from any one German source does not seem to have been made. Even John Lees (*Mod. Lang. Rev.* 1917), though investigating the German literary relations of George Meredith and admitting the novelist's acquaintance with the writings of Jean Paul and E. T. A. Hoffmann, does not appear to have suspected a nineteenth-century German source for the *Shaving of Shagpat*.

Between the main themes of Meredith's story and *Klein Zaches, genannt Zinnober* of E. T. A. Hoffmann there are similarities which do not seem accidental. In both, the antagonist is a grotesque and arrogant character, whose superiority is so widely accepted that he is able to assert his will almost without opposition. The hero is the one individual who from the beginning is suspicious of him and effectually opposes him. In both there is a progress towards the final defeat of the upstart: significant stages are, in Hoffmann, the telepathic beating of Zaches, and in Meredith the acquisition of the Sword of Aklis. But both Balthasar and Shibli have to become further enlightened and strengthened before they can hope for victory.

The *concept* of the allegories (denied by both Hoffmann and Meredith<sup>1</sup>) indicates a further similarity. The accepted belief of the day is rejected by an individual who has strength and vision. Meredith's special objective, the myopic creed of the mid-century, finds its counterpart in the early subsidiary theme of Hoffmann's story, the lectures of the uninspiring professor of science. Here, as Harich has suggested (*E. T. A. Hoffmann*, Berlin, 4te Aufl., II, 1920, p. 168), Hoffmann is depicting the struggle between the 'Mystiker' and the 'Physikanten' of his own day.

But the most striking parallel is the motif of the hair—the Identical in *Shagpat*, and the three strands of red hair which must be combed regularly by the fairy Rosabelverde in Hoffmann's story. In the hairs the peculiar power resides: once they are removed *and burned*, Shagpat and Zaches are powerless and despicable. The general motif is old enough, but the special use of it by Hoffmann and Meredith as a symbol of pretence and unwarranted superiority, and the burning as climax of the action, suggest more than fortuitous coincidence.

The interspersed doggerel of Meredith's story, not accounted for either

by the *Arabian Nights* in their English version or, I think, by the source mentioned by Able (*Rhododaphne*, *loc. cit.*), may conceivably have been suggested by the similar device in Hoffmann's stories.

One is tempted to note a further significant parallel between the episode of the duping brides in the Palace of Aklis and the climax of Hoffmann's story, *Der goldene Topf*. The hero in each tale has suffered temporary defeat; he is rendered powerless and sees others in the same plight; but he alone is conscious of his degradation and is set free from the spell because of his own peculiar worth. The situation at the beginning of the Thwackings finds a parallel in the first Vigilie of *Der goldene Topf*; the mysterious old woman of Meredith is, in character if not in function, remarkably similar to the market-woman of Hoffmann.

Though they are not conclusive evidence, these facts, when remembered in conjunction with Meredith's early acquaintance with Germany, seem to suggest the possibility of a direct influence of Hoffmann upon his first novel.

W. F. MAINLAND.

MANCHESTER.

## REVIEWS

*The Year's Work in English Studies*. Edited by F. S. BOAS and MARY S. SERJEANTSON, for the English Association. Vol. XIV, 1933. London: Oxford University Press. 1935. 387 pp. 10s. 6d.

The fourteenth volume of *The Year's Work in English Studies* maintains the high standard of its predecessors. Once more English scholarship is bound to express its gratitude to the English Association for an invaluable survey and guide to the ever-increasing output of learning in this field whether in this country or overseas. The books and articles noticed in this volume total 1097, a figure that serves as some hint of the labours that have gone to the making of it. The names of the editors and of the collaborators in the various sections of the work are sufficient guarantee of its competence and trustworthiness. And it is pleasing to observe how many centres of English learning have furnished their part in the joint effort, as befits the national character of the Association which sponsors it. Dr Harrison no longer deals with the later Tudor period, but Dr McIlwraith is an admirable successor. For the rest, there is little change in the reviewers. In general, continuity in this respect has been achieved, apart even from the supervision of Dr Boas and Miss Serjeantson.

The danger of such a survey as this lies in the necessarily summary accounts that must be given of work in such quantity, and of such varying importance. The result might well tend to be an analytic or descriptive, rather than a critical, review of scholarly work, perhaps reduced to taking refuge in noncommittal judgment. But, in fact, the survey serves as a helpful estimate of values, and the contributors make us aware of faults as well as merits, with equal judgment and fairness. I am inclined to think, however, that the editorial net has perhaps dragged in some fish that can hardly claim scholarly consideration. Inclusion in the survey ought to imply scholarly consequence in the works noticed.

The year 1933, as may be seen, produced its full share of work of the greatest importance. We may well single out here Karl Young's *Drama of the Medieval Church*, the collotype facsimile *Exeter Book* edited with introductory chapters by R. W. Chambers, Robin Flower, and Max Förster, and Sir William McCormick's *MSS. of the Canterbury Tales*. There has been, moreover, a notable quantity of literary criticism of high quality, including Elton's *The English Muse*, G. R. Owst's *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, Edith Batho's *The Later Wordsworth*, B. I. Evans' *English Poetry in the Later Nineteenth Century*, and Douglas Bush's *Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry*. Finally, there are Grierson's definitive *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, a valuable edition of Chaucer by F. M. Robinson, and *Johnson's England*,

edited by A. S. Turberville. Altogether, a vintage year, well deserving its chroniclers in this indispensable annual survey.

C. J. Sisson.

LONDON.

*The Beginnings of Systematic Bibliography.* By THEODORE BESTERMAN. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1935. xi + 81 pp., xii collotype pl. 21s.

During the last twenty years, several eminent British bibliographers, including W. W. Greg, R. B. McKerrow, Stephen Gaselee, and Alfred Pollard, have attempted to define the nature, limitations, and functions of bibliographical science, distinguishing between 'systematic bibliography', a mere mechanical enumeration of books, in some kind of a methodical order, and 'critical bibliography', which claims to carry much further the physical, technical, and literary analysis of individual items and groups of printed or manuscript material.

On so slender a basis, an opposition has grown in many minds between the objects of these two forms of bibliography, the separate existence of which *de jure* and *de facto* is far from easy to establish. To any conscientious bibliographer, this dual aspect, on closer analysis, ceases to a large extent to be justified, as any attempt towards a 'systematic' or enumerative bibliography very soon develops into a 'critical' or scientific treatment of the same subject. In other words, the only reliable 'systematic' bibliographies are those which are written by 'critical' bibliographers with 'critical' methods. The practical difference between the two aspects thus proves to be more a question of quality than a question of system.

Why therefore should Mr Besterman attempt to confine his researches to the history of 'systematic', rather than of 'critical' bibliography? Fortunately for the reader, Mr Besterman stops half-way and the distinction is continually neglected by the compiler of this excellent handbook, who, in this useful series of lectures, has covered what is practically new ground. It would have been interesting if Mr Besterman had pointed out more clearly how, from the very start of bibliography, mere enumerations have been superseded by 'critical' descriptions. Has he realised how soon bibliographers have understood the necessity of going a great deal further than a bare transcript of titles?

The dean of British bibliographers, John Boston of Bury (floruit c. 1410), well deserves more than a passing mention, if only as one of the chief sources of John Bale's *Scriptores Britanniae*; on the other hand, Mr Besterman gives full credit to the efforts of John Leland, to whom Bale owes even more than to John Boston, and to the works of Bale himself, as now available in the publication (1902) of R. L. Poole and Mary Bateson.

Continental bibliographers receive ample treatment at the hands of Mr Besterman, who impartially honours the pioneer works of Trithemius and Gesner, although he may perhaps have underestimated the valuable French bibliographies of La Croix Du Maine and of Du Verdier. Does Mr

Besterman realise that their rival and independent *Bibliothèques* (1584 and 1585) are conscientious original collections and that their contents were unscrupulously pirated by the hacks who printed the Frankfurt Fair catalogues?

A most pleasing and instructive feature of Mr Besterman's work is the illustration, with admirable facsimiles, of chosen pages from sixteenth-century bibliographical books and manuscripts. It is a joy for the eyes to examine the actual handwriting of Leland and Bale.

As a first survey of a large and unexplored field, this work is an inspiring model. But there is still room for much detailed research, towards which Mr Besterman has so ably opened the way. Nobody seems to have yet investigated with sufficient minuteness the origins of 'critical' bibliography. Was it born in England with Bagford and Ames or did France show the way, with De Bure and Van Praet? This and similar problems are well worthy of the attention of any serious and painstaking scholar.

SEYMOUR DE RICCI.

PARIS.

*Catalogue of Specimens of Printing Types by English and Scottish Printers and Founders, 1665-1830.* By W. TURNER BERRY and A. F. JOHNSON. With an introduction by STANLEY MORISON. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1935. 8vo. liii+98 pp., xxiv collotype pl. 42s.

Sixty years ago, William Blades, the celebrated biographer of William Caxton, published in the *Printers' Register* and issued as an independent pamphlet a pioneer essay, entitled: *Some early type specimen books of England, Holland, France, Italy, and Germany* (London, 1875, 12mo), 24 pp. It was mainly founded on some type-specimens preserved in the British Museum and on the fine series in Blades's own collection, which is now permanently housed in the St Bride Typographical Library in Fleet Street.

Two years later, a remarkable collection of type-specimens from various libraries was exhibited on the occasion of the Caxton celebration (1877) and fully described in the *Catalogue*, pp. 431-49, nos. 4358-537.

Later historians of British typography, such as E. C. Bignmore and C. W. H. Wyman, *A Bibliography of Printing* (London, 1880-6, 3 vols., sm. 4to), Talbot Baines Reed, *A History of the Old English Letter Foundries* (London, 1887, 4to), and Daniel B. Updike, *Printing Types, their History, Forms and Use* (Cambridge, Mass., 1922, 2 vols., 8vo), all insist on the importance of type-specimens for any minute typographical investigation.

A few more or less extensive lists of actual specimens were printed at various dates: for instance, in 1924 (*Catalogue of an Exhibition in Commemoration of the Centenary of William Blades*. By W. Turner Berry, London: St. Bride, 1924, 4to) and in 1926 (*Type Specimen Books and Broadsides Printed before 1900 Exhibited at the Grolier Club on November the Eighteenth, 1926*. 18mo); in December 1928, Messrs Birrell and Garnett issued an elaborate *Catalogue of: I. Typefounders' Specimens...* (London, 1928, 4to), with full descriptions and many facsimiles.

All these are now superseded by the elaborate bibliography published in collaboration by Mr W. Turner Berry, of St. Bride, and Mr A. F. Johnson, of the British Museum, with an introduction by Mr Stanley Morison. At last we have, instead of mere lists, very full descriptions and reproductions, full schedules of all copies of these rare broadsides and booklets recorded both in British and American libraries, the whole treated and commented upon with the minutest scientific accuracy and brought out in accordance with the best traditions of the Oxford University Press.

Recent investigations, by Messrs John Carter and Graham Pollard, on 'the nature of certain nineteenth-century pamphlets' (1934) have proved the possible literary importance of typographical details studied with an eagle eye. The same methods had been previously made use of by many investigators of early printed books. May it be suggested to students of Shakespeare, Dryden, Pope and Shelley, that the use of the magnifying glass may still be profitable to the historians of English literature.

SEYMOUR DE RICCI.

PARIS.

*Zur Vorgeschichte des 'Beowulf'*. By WALTER A. BERENDSOHN. Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard. 1935. 302 pp. Kr. 15.

The author here attempts to separate out the 'older' parts of the *Beowulf* epic. He distinguishes three strata: (a) heroic lays, (b) popular stories, (c) Christian addition, compilation and partial adaptation. Wherever there is some heroic action or some popular element this is pronounced 'old'. 506½ verses fall into this category, and these are printed pp. 84-104. In the first hundred lines of *Beowulf* the following verses are 'old': 1-5, 8-11, 18-19, 28-42, 47-49A, 57-69, 74-85. A detailed investigation of these lines then proves that they differ to a considerable extent from the remaining 2675½ lines in vocabulary, structure, style and form. These differences, and they are admittedly striking, are then regarded as proof absolute. According to the author we have here an objective proof based on verifiable stylistic criteria. So far, so good. However, if we consider that a poet of some competence—and though the author of *Beowulf* is usually garrulous and frequently dull, he is competent enough in his own way—will naturally employ a different technique for heroic adventure and moral reflection, the literary history built upon this evidence collapses. Moreover, nobody doubts that much in *Beowulf* is based on older material and that we can usually recognise sections where such older material has been utilised. To go further than this is to attempt the impossible with the means at our disposal.

A cycle of Danish lays centring upon Heorot is assumed for the sixth century (pp. 269, 276 f.), an English Grendel poem for the early seventh century (p. 201). This poem contained *Beowulf's* fight with Grendel, the hero's death at the hands of Heorowearð, the avenging of this death by Wiglaf (pp. 78 f.). The length of this Grendel poem was 750-850 lines; it was already a small epic. We are not told whether it was written, nor whether the author was a cleric. The dragon and Grendel's

dam were added by the last poet (pp. 62 ff.). Unferth's role originally belonged to Æschere, who was slain by Beowulf, not devoured by Grendel's mother (p. 61). It is all very ingenious and very unconvincing, in spite of the great knowledge shown of the Scandinavian material and the able way in which the supposed parallels are interpreted. Throughout there is much operation with 'Volksüberlieferung' and 'Märchenzüge', and a tacit assumption of the correctness of Panzer's totally discredited theories.

An appendix (pp. 285-95) deals with *Widsith*. The lines are radically rearranged (50-74, 109-30, 88-108). Line 125 has disappeared. We are not told why. On the basis of the rearrangement the author is able to explain the poem. What we need is commentators who can explain things without violent and unjustifiable alterations.

F. NORMAN.

LONDON.

*Two Apocrypha in Old English Homilies*. By RUDOLPH WILLARD. Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz. 1935. (*Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie*, H. 30.) 149 pp. 8M.

This searching study deals with two themes from the early eschatological literature, which had hitherto been met with in Irish and Latin but not—in this expository form at least—in Old English, viz. (1) an *Apocryphon on The Seven Heavens*, or description of the seven heavens through which all souls, those of sinners and of righteous alike, have to proceed on their way to judgment before God; (2) an *Apocryphon* containing the *Three utterances of the Soul* during its transit to the Other World. Both texts are found in unprinted O.E. homilies of which Professor Willard is preparing a critical edition. The *Apocryphon of the Seven Heavens* is contained in MS. 41 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, the text of which belongs to the pre-Aelfric period. Of this MS. the author gives a summary followed by a critical text of the *Apocryphon* and a study of its several elements, with illustrations from similar passages in Latin and Irish MSS. (the *Vision of Adamnan*, the *Evernew Tongue*, etc.) and suggestions as to the sources. The second theme, which has obvious affinities with the well-known *Visio Pauli*, is treated at length with the same thorough method: a critical text from the three O.E. MSS., with parallels from a Latin homily and from the O. Irish texts of the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*, and an abundant commentary.

Apart from their intrinsic interest as specimens unique in the O.E. homiletic literature, these texts and the commentary which accompanies them may well throw new light on the treatment of the theme of the Last Things by mediæval writers and artists. Incidentally, they seem to lend support to the theory of a pronounced Celtic element in the dogma of Early English Christianity. This book, a worthy achievement in itself, makes one look forward to the appearance of the edition of the Homilies, of which it is stated to be 'a by-product'.

E. J. ARNOULD.

MANCHESTER.

*Fourth Supplement to a Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400.* By J. E. WELLS. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. 1929. 84 pp. 8s. 6d.

*Fifth Supplement.* 1932. 100 pp. 8s. 6d.

*Sixth Supplement.* 1935. 118 pp. 8s. 6d.

These three volumes, whose slenderness is no index to their importance, bring up to date the great single-handed achievement of the *Manual* of 1916.

The whole work is far more than the mere handbook that it purports to be. It has something of the good dictionary's allurements and charm, something too of its humour. An abundance of material is coolly and carefully displayed before the reader, together with a digest of the information concerning it. 'All phases of interest connected with each English writing of 1050-1400' are not only presented, but presented with such fairness of emphasis and proportion, such illuminating as well as convenient organization, that the book should be a storehouse and guide to a wide diversity of students: there is aid here for historians—political, social, literary and religious—for theologians and philosophers, for folklore enthusiasts and critics, for philologists and palæographers. Not least in interest and importance are the entries concerning the fortunes of manuscripts, their sales, their present location and their changing designations. Moreover, those not primarily concerned with the problems of mediæval texts, who nevertheless cannot afford to ignore the specialists' findings with regard to the origin, for instance, of the drama cycles, of the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, or of the *Pearl*, nor the results of detailed investigations into Chaucer's life and works, will find the essential facts of all such subjects stated in the *Manual* and its Supplements judiciously, clearly, briefly and in a most handy form; the most recent information is provided in such a way as to save the searcher incalculable time and energy, and even to stimulate his curiosity by the close juxtaposition of unfamiliar and conflicting theories and points of view. Like all good books of reference, this one lures beyond the original subject of inquiry; besides the innate attraction of the works it records, there is a quality of excitement emanating from the accumulation of theory and counter-theory, identifications, reassignments and discoveries, reaching almost to the sensational in the Sixth Supplement's notice of Carlisle as the possible location of the *Ormulum*, and, in a less degree, its announcement of the reappearance of the manuscript of the Brome *Abraham* after the Fifth's notice of its loss.

These three Supplements maintain the accuracy, completeness and up-to-dateness of their predecessors. There is the same degree of total freedom from misprints and corrections specially remarkable in a work of this nature and scope. Few texts have to be recorded here for the first time; the English *Speculum Christiani*, the chief addition of the Sixth Supplement, was not fully edited till 1933. Similarly the bibliographical notes, because of the thoroughness of previous work, contain a comparatively small proportion of items anterior to the date of the preceding

issue; and each of these volumes includes items appearing in the same year as itself. In addition, the practical system of classification and entry, the grouping of related items, the liberality of reference to reviews and criticisms and the generous inclusion of cross-references and repeated entries are sound antidotes to the hopelessness of keeping abreast of contemporary developments in even a few small fields, besides means of compelling attention to the developments in fields which, in the flux of our present knowledge, may one day prove less remote than they have been deemed. In this respect also, both text and bibliography show a commendable lack of rigidity in classification, selection and chronological limitation; while the constant reference to texts and studies in Latin, French, Irish and other writings keeps steadily before the reader the compound nature of the background of mediæval English works. Moreover, much light can often be shed on writings in English by studies such as Pelan's *L'Influence du Brut de Wace* (p. 1384) which do not always appear in bibliographies more strictly confined to English literature.

Certain important trends in the study of mediæval English writings are clearly indicated in these Supplements. The inconclusiveness of our knowledge concerning dialects, and concerning the origin and provenance of even well-known texts, runs throughout them like a warning and a challenge; on the other hand, the lines of attack upon these problems are multiplying. Precious stones, costume and mediæval sciences come more into prominence here than in previous volumes, and the Sixth Supplement indicates a fuller realization of the importance of mediæval music in any proper study of the drama and the lyric. The most noticeable feature is this volume's testimony to the growth of interest in popular and oral forms of expression, especially in proverbs and in mediæval preaching.

There is every reason to welcome these Supplements, and their successors will be gratefully awaited; still more, that continuation of the work through the fifteenth century which will be not only valuable in itself but the necessary crown and completion of the present 'handbook'.

HILDA A. C. GREEN.

LONDON.

*The Lyfe of Sir Thomas Moore, knyghte, written by William Roper, Esquire.*

Edited by ELSIE VAUGHAN HITCHCOCK. London: Published for the Early English Text Society by Humphrey Milford. 1935. li + 142 pp. 10s.

Dr Hitchcock has already given us the *editio princeps* of Nicholas Harpsfield's *Life of Sir Thomas More*, a masterly edition which, enriched by Professor R. W. Chambers' essay on the continuity of English prose and his historical annotations, constitutes one of the finest works of scholarship in recent years. It is therefore fitting that the same editor should now give us, not the *editio princeps*—for the work was first printed in 1626 and has since been republished several times—but the definitive text of William Roper's biography of More.

The volume has not, nor indeed could it possibly have, the same monumental character as the Harpsfield volume, to which it is rather in the nature of an addendum. In the Harpsfield volume Dr Hitchcock explained, in an important essay on methodology, the principles upon which a modern text should be edited from a number of more or less contemporary manuscripts. In the Roper volume these principles are assumed, and are applied to the thirteen manuscripts upon which the text is based. Again, to the Harpsfield volume there was appended a magnificent set of notes. Many of these are of course appropriate to the Roper text, and Dr Hitchcock has wisely contented herself with repeating merely the gist of them, leaving the full notes to be studied in the earlier volume. Finally, Dr Hitchcock herself comments on the 'rather disappointing' results of her painstaking collation of the Roper manuscripts. The variant readings that have emerged are not of much significance.

All the same, this volume is a worthy successor to the Harpsfield volume. It establishes once and for all the text of a famous historical and literary work; a labour worth performing, whatever the results. Then again, some of the historical notes, especially on genealogical questions concerning the More family and circle, break fresh ground; and even those which refer for fuller detail to the Harpsfield volume are in themselves adequate. Along with the introductory account of William Roper, they round off a very fine piece of editorial work. Dr Hitchcock has the enviable satisfaction of having linked her name permanently with studies centring on Sir Thomas More.

J. E. NEALE.

LONDON.

*At the Court of Queen Elizabeth: The Life and Lyrics of Sir Edward Dyer.*

By RALPH M. SARGENT. Oxford: University Press. 1935. xiii + 229 pp. 10s. 6d.

The only thing at all amateurish about this book is its main title. For the rest it is a closely written, well-documented study of Dyer's life followed by a critical appendix on his poetry, and a text of the fourteen poems ascribable to him, together with textual and other notes. Though based largely on material 'originally presented in a doctoral thesis at Yale University', it shows few signs of its probationary origin. Dr Sargent has indeed produced a work complementary to the best recent studies of Sidney, for he has not only corrected many errors in previous accounts of Dyer, in *D.N.B.* and elsewhere, and added many new episodes and details of his career, but has at last enabled us to see him in his true place against the political and social background of his day. If, finally, much of the poet's personality remains obscure, that is the fault of the available biographical material, which, scattered for the most part about the State Papers, is tantalisingly external. We must be grateful to Dr Sargent for simply giving us the facts, and for resisting what must have been a temptation to produce a 'modern' portrait in either the ironic or the romantic manner. We see Dyer coming to Court in about

1565 and making his way with the friendship of Leicester, Walsingham, Sackville, Hatton, and the Queen herself. We trace his intercourse with Sidney and Essex, his missions on the Continent, the monetary worries which dogged him from 1579 (when he borrowed £3000 from that hardest of usurers, his royal mistress) till the day of his death in 1607, his part in Frobisher's gold-bubble, and that other search for wealth which made him the willing intermediary between Elizabeth, Burghley, and the rascally alchemist, Kelley. Yet in spite of all this the essence of the man eludes us, as it seems to do the author. That he was an honourable and ingenious gentleman is plain; but what specifically endeared him to Sidney and his contemporaries?

Dr Sargent gives thirteen poems from printed and commonplace books as by Dyer, together with three fragments from Puttenham. The two poems from which these fragments came have now been found, and printed (with another piece) by Mr B. M. Wagner in *R.E.S.* (Oct. 1935). Dr Sargent does not attempt to impose upon Dyer without external evidence any of the anonymous poems in *The Phoenix Nest* and Bodenheim's *Belvedere*, although he thinks it probable that two hitherto unasccribed pieces in the former collection may be by him. He has done his work judiciously, and though it would be possible to cavil at two poems whose identification depends entirely on MS. Rawlinson Poetry, 85, since that collection also ascribes to Dyer Sonnet VIII of Spenser's *Amoretti*, he prints no piece which might not plausibly be given to Dyer on stylistic evidence alone. On this latter ground and because the poem is absent from Fulke Greville's printed works and from the MSS. at Warwick Castle which he supervised, we may well accept Dr Sargent's (and Malone's) claim that the *Elegy on the Death of Sidney* was Dyer's. But it is not strictly true that 'the only time Greville ever used' poulter's measure 'was in his imitation of Dyer's *A Fancy*' (see *Alaham*, *Chorus Primus* and *Chorus Tertius*, and *Mustapha*, *Chorus Quartus*). Nor is it true that 'Puttenham must have had some such piece in mind when he termed "Master Edward Dyer for Elegie most sweete, solempne, and of high conceit"'. For Puttenham, like many other Elizabethans, meant 'a certain pitious verse' written by those 'who sought the fauor of faire Ladies, and coueted to bemone their estates at large, and the perplexities of loue' (*The Arte of English Poesie*, l. xi).

In printing each poem Dr Sargent uses one version as his basis and gives the variants. Not content with this, however, he occasionally substitutes a variant reading for the basic one, and thus entangles himself and his readers in all the difficulties of a composite text. Since he makes no attempt at a general evaluation of his sources, or at tracing the textual development of individual poems (both problems perhaps insoluble), and since he does not explain the principles of his textual selection, one can but wish that he had remained faithful to one version in each case. And it is not always easy at first sight to see from which MS. the chosen reading is taken.

Dr Sargent gives a few notes on allusions and uncommon words; more might have been done in this direction, for the smooth surface

of Dyer's work occasionally covers a depth of thought and implied knowledge. Thus in *The Song of the Oak*, where the editor's only note is on the word 'wonne', it is more necessary to discuss the exact meaning of such lines as those in which the poet declares himself to be the spirit of

The man of woo, the matter of desire,  
Free of the dead that liues in endless plainte.

Since Dr Sargent is naturally interested in the literary relationship between Dyer, Sidney, and Greville, he might with advantage have devoted more space to resemblances in detail between their poems. He mentions of course that Sidney wrote a companion sonnet to Dyer's

Prometheus, when first from heauen hie,

but does not note the full influence of that striking poem, which is also referred to in Sidney's

When to my deadlie pleasure (Stanza 5)

and in Greville's *Cælica* (Son. 96, 1633).

The more one reads in these three poets, the closer seems the connexion between them, and the more probable does it appear that we may find pieces written in friendly rivalry and mutual influence, when each was, as Sidney said: 'Striving with my mates in Song.' Dr Sargent notes Greville's imitation of Dyer's *Fancy*, but declares that the latter, if it refers 'as it appears, to Dyer's disfavour with Queen Elizabeth, . . . must have been written between 1572 and 1575'. But as he says elsewhere, 'evidently Dyer, along with Sidney and others, withdrew from Court activities for awhile in 1580', when Sidney was in trouble over his letter (written in January) on the French marriage. Greville saw Sidney on his return from Holland in March, but he was away in Ireland for four months of the year, returning in September. Sidney's first *Pastoral Upon his meeting with his two worthy Friends* may well have been written about that time, and the second after his return to Court in October. Since Sidney's friends shared in his disgrace and retirement, Dyer's appeal to the Queen may have been written during that period, and the resemblances between Greville's poem and his make it likely that the two were written together, or in close sequence, for although the parallels of imagery are only occasionally close, the main ideas are the same, and the skeletal framework, the turns, the key-thoughts, are alike, as one would expect if the poets were in close contact during composition.

Dr Sargent argues ingeniously that in the *Arcadia* Dyer is 'Coridens' to Philip's 'Philisides', and that the references to 'Mira' in the romance and to Coridon and Amaryllis in Dyer's poetry, relate to a real love rivalry. Though the evidence is slender, he might have found some support for his theory in the unfinished theme of Strephon and Klaius, and in the poem first printed in the 1593 Folio, 'A Shepheards tale no height of style desires', which tells how Strephon and his friend Klaius

He, that the other in some yeares did passe,  
And in those gifts that years distribute doe,

both fell in love with Urania, who scorned them much as Dyer's Amaryllis scorned her lovers. But the theme was a commonplace; and although 'obviously "Mira" is simply an anagram for "Mary"', and although Aubrey accused Sidney of incest with his sister and asserted that Dyer was more intimate with her than with her brother, one hesitates to accept the tentative suggestion that 'in the references to "Mira" and "Amaryllis" one has the clue to the story of a rivalry between Sidney and Dyer for the particular affection of the Countess of Pembroke'. Philip's affection for Mary Sidney was, as far as we can judge, entirely fraternal. And we should have to regard the affair not as triangular, but as quadrilateral; for Greville also wrote sonnets to 'Myra'.

GEOFFREY BULLOUGH.

SHEFFIELD.

*Sir Philip Sidney as a Literary Craftsman.* By KENNETH ORNE MYRICK. (*Harvard Studies in English*, xiv.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1935. viii + 322 pp. 15s.

*Sir Philip Sidney and the Arcadia.* By MARCUS SELDEN GOLDMAN. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1934. 236 pp. \$2.25.

'The purpose of the present study', says Mr Myrick, 'is to discover in what spirit this typical courtier of the English Renaissance composed his works of literary art.' His book is primarily a study of the *Arcadia*, which, he insists, is an attempt, both in subject and structure, to follow Minturno's rules for the heroic poem. The fact that Sidney referred to it, in his letter to the Countess of Pembroke, as 'a trifle, and that triflingly handled', has obscured for modern readers his true intention; for, as Mr Myrick shows, with more detailed argument and illustration than has been previously devoted to the subject, a nobleman was still likely to provoke derision, not only by publishing poetry, but by publishing any books whatever whose practical utility was not immediately apparent. 'In the days of Sidney the utilitarians have become reconciled to the practical subjects in the humanistic programme—"the common laws, divinity or physic"—but they still maintain the war against the arts.' Sidney therefore had to speak slightly of his work, not only to forestall the objections of the practically minded that he was wasting his time, but also to preserve, in this as in every other activity, that appearance of careless gaiety, that *sprezzatura*, which Castiglione regarded as the highest perfection of the courtier's art.

Having thus shown that there is no reason for supposing that Sidney did *not* take his writing seriously, Mr Myrick next proceeds to prove that he *did*, by demonstrating, with great thoroughness, that the *Defence of Poesie* is a most careful and successful attempt to compose a classical oration, according to ancient precept and modern comment.

He then passes to his main subject, and demonstrates that the *Arcadia* is an heroic poem fully conforming to the recipes for that form of art to be found either in the *Defence of Poesie* or the works of Minturno. And the *New*, or revised, *Arcadia*, he insists, conforms still more closely to

these recipes than does the *Old*, for while of the subjects in which Sidney, in the *Defence*, shows a special interest, love, adventure, and politics appear in the *Old Arcadia*, two others, heroic warfare and great events, are added in the *New*. It has generally been held that Sidney's attempt to rewrite the *Arcadia* was not a happy one, that he was transforming a comparatively rounded and synoptic work of art into a chaotic farrago, but Mr Myrick has no difficulty in showing that whatever Sidney was doing he was doing of set purpose and according to principle. The plot of the *Old Arcadia* conformed almost exactly to Minturno's requirements except in three respects: it began *ab ovo* and did not plunge *in medias res*; the author narrated past events in his own person and not through his characters; exciting scenes were sometimes broken off in the middle. In the *New Arcadia* these imperfections were carefully removed. But, it might be objected, has Sidney, in following these further precepts, observed Minturno's fundamental requirement, that of a single great action bound together by causal connexion? To this Mr Myrick replies that there *is* order and connexion, if you look closely enough, and he then refers us to Minturno's notion of episodes: 'Epic poetry grows in magnitude by a magnificent and sumptuous pomp of incidents and language'; 'The heroic poem by its very nature takes on these additions in order to increase in magnitude, as is the genius of narrative. In this matter no other kind of poetry can rival it.'

Finally, Mr Myrick shows that the *Arcadia* is an example of Sidney's theory of poetic truth. He carefully examines that theory, as expressed in the *Defence*, insists that 'moving' is there held to be a more fundamental object of poetry than either delight or instruction, and that this object is to be achieved, not, as has too often been assumed, by means of allegory, but by means of what Sidney calls 'imitation', that is to say, by the representation of typical characters in typical situations.

Mr Myrick's work is admirably thorough; and he has certainly proved that, whatever may be the value of Sidney's works, Sidney took them very seriously. Nevertheless, I cannot but feel that in the course of his three hundred odd pages he has missed many opportunities for more general and interesting observations. The late W. P. Ker—God rest his soul, he was a merry man!—used to insist that the supposed pedantry of the Middle Ages was as nothing in comparison with the pedantry of the Renaissance, a point he once illustrated with admirable effect by comparing Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* with Boccaccio's *Teseide*. Spenser, like Sidney, had crammed and confused himself with much pedantic comment on ancient tags—that one must not begin *ab ovo*, that one must plunge *in medias res*, that poetry is more philosophical than history, etc. Accordingly, to show his superiority to the mere 'historiographer' he began his *Faerie Queene* at the end instead of at the beginning, and prefixed to it a letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, describing the never-reached beginning which 'it needs that ye know'.

Mr Goldman declares that his work was suggested by Professor Feuillerat's remark, in his preface to the original *Arcadia*, that 'the study of Sir Philip as a thinker is an entirely unexplored field and will fully reward

those who undertake it'. What exactly was in Professor Feuillerat's mind I cannot pretend to know, but after considering the results of Mr Goldman's digging I conclude that the field is not a very fruitful one. All that he has been able to find in the way of thought—if it may be called thought—is a passionate conviction that the great thing is action. 'The persistently recurring theme of *Action*, which dominates nearly every page of the romance, demands attention and appreciation', he says, and, like Mr Myrick, he has no difficulty in proving that the *Arcadia* is no mere *bergerie*, but a serious heroic romance, teaching by example. His book contains a very full and scholarly account of Sidney's life and friendships and ideals, and a really excellent critical survey of his biographers, where English readers will be glad to meet the hilarious Dean Denkinger. His insistence that Lamb's remark about the sonnets, 'Time and place appropriates every one of them', is equally applicable to the *Arcadia* seems to reveal some bluntness of perception: Lamb was drawing attention to a certain *quality*, immediately recognisable by every sensitive reader, not to mere facts, with which an historian might be able to find parallels in contemporary life.

Indeed, I must confess that neither of these scholars has persuaded me to revise my previous estimate of the *Arcadia* as a work of pure literature. But are we really concerned with pure literature? And am I wrong in detecting a tacit and perhaps unconscious assumption that seriousness, energy, and a zeal for morality are in themselves sufficient passports to the Temple of Fame?

J. B. LEISHMAN.

SOUTHAMPTON.

*Shakespeare's Imagery and what it tells us.* By CAROLINE F. E. SPURGEON. Cambridge: University Press. 1935. xv+408 pp. 25s.

This is one of the major adventures in Shakespeare criticism. Like the bibliographical and textual criticism which has been the main discovery of the first three decades of this century, it promises a new way of approach to Shakespeare's mind, the possibility of certitude in areas hitherto uncertain and, in consequence, a valid and permanent contribution to our knowledge of him, proceeding through a scientific examination of certain of his mental processes to conclusions about those processes themselves, about his mind, tastes and personality and even in some cases about the text and authorship of the plays.

It is easy to bring objections to this type of criticism and, on the whole, they fall into two classes; first, those that find nothing new in going to his imagery for knowledge of a poet's mind, and, second, those that, more perspicuously, perceive wherein this criticism differs from previous examinations of poetic imagery, but allege doubts as to the possibility of making a scientific, and so a valid, test along the lines that Professor Spurgeon lays down. The first objection is laid to rest by the author herself in the Preface: 'the novelty of the procedure I am describing is that *all* his images are assembled, sorted, and examined on a systematic basis' (p. x), and the body of the work, with its ample illustration and its con-

tinual reference to statistical records, the charts at the end of the volume and the specimen analysis in Appendix iv, confirm this beyond dispute. The second type of objector goes nearer to the bone, but he, too, serves in his turn to bring out the care with which Miss Spurgeon has foreseen the dangers of the exploration, allowed for and provided against them. Briefly, he would say: You claim to offer us a new way into Shakespeare's mind. But your process must, if it be valid, be uncoloured by the mind of the exponent and therefore as nearly scientific as possible, as nearly unsubjective. Moreover, there are many aspects of imagery to be studied, all of value and possibly all mutually interdependent: the subjects drawn upon for images, the themes that call up images, the relation (clear, confused, obvious or subtle) between subject and theme, the intensity (or depth) of the experience that has culminated in the image and, allied to this last, the distinction between the poetic and the illustrative or explanatory image. Under the first of these counts he would object that the system is invalidated by the inevitable entry of the mind of the writer, with its own peculiar field of associated ideas, both in deciding what is and what is not an image and in deciding what subject actually was in Shakespeare's mind; that is, in the classification upon which the whole superstructure rests. Under the second count, he would protest that the subjects of Shakespeare's images cannot be accurately computed without distinguishing, for example, between the varied functioning of the same subject in relation to different themes and in images of different degrees of intensity, coming, that is, from varying depths of the mind and so offering revelations ('betrayals') of the man of varying value.

I have dwelt upon these objections, the apparent weaknesses of the system of which this book is the first exponent, because I am convinced, first that the system is of major significance, and second that it can and will resolve them.

In fact Miss Spurgeon herself resolves a far larger proportion of them than we would at first glance suppose, even in this first book of the triple group. No one could be better aware of the dangers and difficulties, first of selection, then of classification, than she is: 'Probably no two people would entirely agree as to the number of images to be found in any one play. First there is the question as to whether what we are considering is an "image" at all, or not? Secondly, is it one image, or two, or three? Thirdly, is it one image with a subsidiary idea, and if this, how should it be classified?' (p. 359); she admits, then, that the final decision rests with the critic and must therefore bear the mark of his personality. But if the whole is assessed by one person, provided that the judgment, memory and power of synthesis be what we know them to be in the case of the author of the volume in question, the dangers of the entry of the subjective element into the process of selection and classification may not be so great as was at first feared. (With complete frankness, the author, in a note in the margin of Chart vi, admits the danger, even, of cross-classification, at least in one case.) Here, again, while, as Miss Spurgeon tells us, only those who have worked in this field can imagine the difficulties in the original selective and classificatory processes, the dangers are, per-

haps, ultimately little more formidable than those in other scientific experiments. We are too apt to forget that in laboratory science itself the subjective plays a part.

Nor are the other and more puzzling æsthetic difficulties disregarded. Miss Spurgeon says boldly (pp. 8, 11, etc.) that her estimate rests on the subjects of the images and the subjects only, and when we have followed her argument we are ready to agree that this is a reasonable road to a knowledge of Shakespeare's tastes, preoccupations, beliefs even, and personality—a knowledge which, springing as it does from the unconscious self-revelation peculiar to imagery, was probably not consciously possessed by Shakespeare himself. But actually she is better than her word, for Chaps. VIII and IX ('Evidence in the Images of Shakespeare's Thought') show what can be done when images are classified primarily on a basis of theme instead of on the basis of the subjects by which the themes are imaged. Again, she distinguishes clearly between the form and content of an image and declares as a result of mature consideration that a balanced picture can be drawn from the evidence of content alone: 'My survey shows that, quite apart from style and method of forming the images (a study in itself), each writer has a certain range of images which are characteristic of him, and that he has a marked and constant tendency to use a much larger number of one or two kinds' (p. 13). Even in the difficult matter of checking the relative importance of different 'subjects' in the poet's mind and experience by an attempt to distinguish in some way the varying degrees of intensity in the images themselves (a point upon which the present writer would, if anywhere, join issue with the author) the system is vindicated as it stands by Miss Spurgeon's cumulative argument, that in drama images are probably less 'sought' and more spontaneous than in any other poetic form, that Elizabethan dramatists are peculiarly rapid in their output of imagery, and that Shakespeare, of all Elizabethan dramatists, offers most continuously imagery of the 'intense' kind (pp. 4-5, 43-4).

What, then, the system being valid, are the findings arrived at by its application? These are of varying degrees of novelty, but all of considerable interest. Sometimes it is a general impression that is confirmed, sometimes a new aspect of Shakespeare's mind and taste that is emphasised, sometimes a problem of authorship that is assisted towards solution (as in Chap. x 'Association of Ideas' and in the cases of the *Henry VI* plays and *Henry VIII* in Chap. xi), sometimes even an emendation that is clearly indicated, a by-product, as it were, of a train of reasoning leading to some other conclusion (p. 196, footnote). Outstanding, perhaps, are the evidences of Shakespeare's personality and appearance (Chap. xi), of his passionate love of vitality and movement (pp. 48-52, 92-4), of his tendency, indeed, to see primarily that in everything he saw—birds, the human face, colour and light themselves; and next to these, the evidence of his dislike of harsh noise and love of silence and stillness (pp. 75-8), of his tastes in food, in everyday manners (pp. 120-1, 123-4). His senses were, as we might have expected, as keen and exquisite as were Chaucer's, and an immense proportion of his

impressions were those carried over from his boyhood in Stratford, impressions of nature and of everyday life (see also Charts I and V).

Of the seriousness of this task, both as regards the figure to be revealed and the uncharted æsthetic territory to be explored, neither Miss Spurgeon, nor, I imagine, her readers, are in doubt: 'For I incline to believe that analogy—likeness between dissimilar things—which is the fact underlying the possibility of metaphor, holds within itself the very secret of the universe.... Hence it is that great metaphor in great poetry moves and stirs us in a way impossible to account for purely rationally and logically. It stirs us because it touches or awakens something in us, which I think we must call spiritual, at the very roots of our being' (pp. 6-7).

U. M. ELLIS-FERMOR.

LONDON.

*The Life and Work of Henry Chettle.* By HAROLD JENKINS. London: Sidgwick and Jackson. 1934. vii+276 pp. 12s. 6d.

Mr Harold Jenkins has been well advised in elaborating his University of London M.A. thesis on Henry Chettle into this detailed study of his life and work. Chettle is one of those minor Elizabethan figures who are familiar in the orbit of greater personalities. From that point of view a good deal has been written about him, but Mr Jenkins is apparently the first to set him in the centre of the stage and make him the theme of a substantial volume.

Even the industry of Mr Jenkins has not been able to add much to the facts of Chettle's biography, but he has clarified the existing data. From an examination of the evidences he shows that 1560-1 is the more likely date of Chettle's birth than the generally accepted 1563. He also makes it clear that the dramatist was neither the Henry Chettle baptised on May 30, 1563, in St James's, Clerkenwell, nor the Henry Chettle whose daughter Mary was buried in September, 1595, in Windsor Parish Church.

Chettle's career as a printer is traced, and though his partnership in 1591 with Hoskins and Danter was brief, it is shown to be probable that he was afterwards associated with Danter, perhaps as a journeyman printer, at least up to 1596. In this connexion Mr Jenkins emphasises the importance of the discovery in 1925 of a copy of the 1596 edition of the second part of Munday's *Primaleon of Greece*. This contains the letter to Munday (omitted in the 1619 collected edition of *Primaleon*) signed, 'Your old Well-willer: H. C. Printer', and containing a spirited defence of the printing trade. This letter also makes it evident that the H. C. who wrote prefatory verses to *Primaleon* was Henry Chettle and not Henry Constable.

But these equivocal initials pursue Mr Jenkins like 'adders fanged'. They are attached to the verse tract, *The Pope's Pitiful Lamentation*, the broadside ballad, *A Doleful Ditty*, and the miscellany, *The Forest of Fancy*. Ritson claimed these for Chettle, but was not followed by Hazlitt or Bullen. Mr Jenkins after a careful re-examination of the question concludes that 'as far as we can tell it is very unlikely that he should have written them'. But the same problem arises, in a far more important

form, over the authorship of the prose tale, *Piers Plainness' Seven Years' Prenticeship*, and four of the lyrics in *England's Helicon*. The H. C. of the tale has been traditionally identified with Henry Chettle, and the H. C. of the lyrics with Henry Constable. But Professor Hyder Rollins pointed out in 1931 that one of the four lyrics, *To His Flocks*, is one of two poems included in *Piers Plainness*. Hence the author in both cases would seem to be the same. And between the two claimants Mr Jenkins gives the preference to Chettle chiefly on the ground that 'Constable had a pleasant vein of lyric verse, but he is not known to have composed anything in prose'. Moreover, *Piers Plainness* was issued from Danter's press. But if Chettle wrote the four lyrics in *England's Helicon*, it may be to him and not to Dekker that we should give the credit of the songs in *Patient Grissell*.

Before passing on to Mr Jenkins's discussion of Chettle as a playwright, I would like to note what I consider to be his successful vindication, against the attack by Mr C. E. Sanders, of Chettle's good faith as editor of Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*.

The chapters on Chettle's dramatic work occupy four-fifths of Mr Jenkins's volume. Here he is faced with an even more formidable difficulty than that of enigmatic initials. Henslowe in his Diary mentions Chettle, one of the most industrious specimens of the dramatists in his employ, in connexion with 49 plays between February 1597/8 and March 1602/3, but only five of these have survived. In the case of 'a tragedie called Hawghman' payment is recorded to Chettle alone, and Mr Jenkins thence infers that *Hoffman* was his unaided work, and that 'in a rather specialised field it may show us the general standard of which Chettle as a dramatist was capable'. Mr Jenkins shows somewhat less than his usual caution in drawing this conclusion. The late and badly printed quarto of 1631 contains no author's name on the title-page, and, as Mr Jenkins shows, bears marks of revision. There is therefore some risk in taking *Hoffman* as the touchstone of Chettle's dramatic powers. But the analysis of the leading characteristics of the play, and the indication of its distinctive place among Elizabethan tragedies of revenge are ably carried out. The peculiarities of the quarto are also carefully examined, and as Chettle's handwriting in the extant specimens of it is a legible one, Mr Jenkins concludes that the manuscript copy for the quarto was not autograph but the work of a somewhat careless scribe. Nevertheless he seeks to show that from *Hoffman* it is possible 'to catch small glimpses of Chettle's habits in writing blank verse, habits which we shall find it important to be aware of when we study the "Robert Earl of Huntingdon" plays and Chettle's other collaborations'.

It is impossible within the limits of this review to follow the details of Mr Jenkins's illuminating examination of the 'Robert Earl of Huntingdon' plays, *The Downfall* and *The Death*. It is noticeable that as with *Hoffman* Henslowe records payment for *The Downfall* to only one author, in this case Munday. But here Mr Jenkins draws a different conclusion. 'It does not follow that Munday was sole author of the play even in its original form; but it does appear that his was the hand which guided it.'

It is suggested that Munday had a collaborator in the earlier scenes of *The Downfall* who may well have been Chettle. In any case Chettle received payment for 'mending' both *The Downfall* and *The Death* for presentation at Court in November, 1598. Munday had the chief hand in *The Death* till the end of Robin Hood's career, these scenes being dramatically and chronologically the continuation of *The Downfall* plot. The tragedy of Matilda and the subplot of the Bruces form in effect a separate play for which Chettle is chiefly responsible.

In *Patient Grissell*, where Chettle was associated with Dekker and Houghton, Mr Jenkins finds 'one of the happiest results of the method of collaboration among the Elizabethans, for to it three authors brought vitality of invention and variety of style and manner'. There is no sign of their having been indebted to the earlier play on the subject by John Phillip, but their comedy is akin in various features to the 'most pleasant Ballad of patient Grissell'. Chettle, who received in October, 1599, the first payment in earnest of the play, must have begun it. For the careful discussion of his and his collaborators' respective shares in this 'aptly varied and completely rounded play', students must be referred to Mr Jenkins's pages.

In *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green* Chettle appears again to have taken a ballad as a starting point for a play, but the results of his collaboration, here with John Day, were less happy than in *Patient Grissell*. Mr Jenkins goes as far as to suggest that in *The Blind Beggar* we may have 'an example of a play which collaboration very largely wrecked'.

Mr Jenkins deals also with Chettle's contribution of 71 lines, in Hand A, to *Sir Thomas More*, first identified by Dr Tannenbaum. Here he cannot add much that is not already known, but it will be new to many of his readers to hear of Chettle's twelve lines in the MS. *John of Bordeaux* found at Alnwick Castle by Professor Renwick. A full list of the lost plays in which Chettle had a share, and of some plays attributed to him on insufficient grounds, rounds off this valuable study. There are some points which should be 'mended' if it goes into another edition. On p. 58 Mr Jenkins states categorically that *Friar Bacon* is later than Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* though this is now known to be improbable. On p. 211 *Edmond Ironside* should be added to the list of extant plays dealing with the pre-Conquest period of English history. And on p. 219 it is curious to find so well-known a poet and academic playwright as Nicholas Grimald described merely as 'a scholar associated both with Oxford and Cambridge'.

But such comparative trifles do not detract from the merits of a volume where Mr Jenkins has realised his main aim of giving us a picture, so far as the evidences permit, not of a leading Elizabethan figure, but one of the 'men of lesser rank who come nearest to typifying the age which brought them forth'. It is here that he has rendered a real service to scholarship.

F. S. BOAS.

LONDON.

*Richard Crashaw. A Study in Style and Poetic Development.* By RUTH C. WALLERSTEIN. (*University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, No. 37.) Madison. 1935. 160 pp.

Let no reader be deterred by the ugly and inefficient printing of this most interesting book. The thorough scholarship which one has learnt to expect from America is here combined with discriminating taste and a clear sense of values. By minute comparison of Crashaw's poetry with its sources in Marino, the Latin epigrammatists, the emblem writers and the handbooks of rhetoric, Miss Wallerstein contrives to show not so much what he owed to them, as how, from time to time, he triumphed in spite of them. 'Crashaw had apprenticed his art and his forms of thought', she sums up, 'to techniques so rigid and artificial and in themselves so barren that it required all the intensity of his ecstasy and all the sweep of his passion to instil in them inner imaginative life.' This sound judgment is itself an indication that Miss Wallerstein has something to offer in addition to careful research. She never surrenders to the fascination of discovering sources for its own sake, and she always bears in mind her own warning that

Poetry is . . . the most difficult of the arts in which to trace relationships. For poetry is made of the stuff and, unlike other arts, with the instruments, of all men's consciousness. . . the poet is constantly cultivating his own powers of perception and making his own idiom of expression from all he reads and hears merely as a man, long before he listens with an artist's ear to a single poem.

Nevertheless Crashaw apprenticed himself so deliberately to specific schools of writing that in his case the study of originals is well worth the labour.

Miss Wallerstein's style is sometimes clotted and difficult: such a sentence as 'It was this process of integrating all his intellection with the fuller movements of thought that Crashaw worked so intensely and so consciously to achieve' gives the reader more trouble than is perhaps warranted by its meaning. But in spite of this obstacle and in spite of the badness of the printing, the book repays the reader's effort. It throws light not only on Crashaw's development, but on the whole problem of poetic technique.

JOAN BENNETT.

CAMBRIDGE.

*The Intellectual Milieu of John Dryden. Studies in some Aspects of Seventeenth-Century Thought.* By LOUIS I. BREDVOLD. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1934. viii+189 pp. \$2.50.

The high reputation of the humanistic studies published by the University of Michigan will certainly be enhanced by this recent addition to the series. Dr Bredvold's important and interesting book is neither a biographical nor a critical study of the poet, but an account of the 'climate of opinion' in which he lived and worked, based on a study of some of the chief contemporary movements in English and European thought which influenced his writings. It can thus be compared with Mr Basil Willey's

*The Seventeenth-Century Background*, and it shows that the recent tendency among English scholars to study seventeenth-century literature in relation to the philosophic and religious movements of the age is shared by their colleagues in the United States.

Dr Bredvold's starting-point is an able and refreshing vindication of Dryden from the common misconceptions concerning his moral and intellectual character which have been repeated in various forms *ad nauseam*. These misconceptions are well summed up by Dr Bredvold as the notions 'that Dryden was a hireling whose political and religious affiliations were determined by bribes and pensions; that in his most serious work he never rose intellectually above the level of ephemeral journalism; and that the inconsistencies and contradictions with which his work abounds are conclusive proofs of a lack of intellectual character and significance'. Dr Bredvold's reply to criticism of this sort is a demonstration first that Dryden was in touch with a great European tradition of philosophic scepticism, and that it was his study of this sceptical philosophy combined with his natural conservatism, and not any selfish or mercenary motives, that finally brought him, as it had brought other serious thinkers, into the fold of the Roman Catholic Church, and secondly that his Toryism was no blind, irrational prejudice, but a sound and well-thought-out political philosophy analogous to the Pyrrhonism that he learnt from Montaigne and others and anticipating in some respects the opinions of Burke.

Dr Johnson wrote that Dryden's 'compositions are the effects of a vigorous genius operating on large materials'. Dr Bredvold gives us a fair notion of what those materials are. He begins with a sketch of European scepticism from Pyrrho and Sextus Empiricus to Montaigne, Browne and Pascal. He then passes to Hobbes and his materialism and the New Science of the Royal Society. Here he demonstrates admirably the superficial nature of Dryden's debt to Hobbes, and his much more genuine sympathy with the scepticism of the scientists.

But perhaps the most original and interesting part of the book is the fourth chapter, where Dr Bredvold gives a valuable and detailed account of 'fideism' or the anti-rationalist movement in the Roman Catholic Church in the seventeenth century, which he shows to be closely related to the ancient tradition of scepticism that had come down from Pyrrho and Sextus Empiricus. The descriptions of 'fideist' and 'anti-fideist' propaganda in this chapter and particularly of Father Simon's famous *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* are of the highest importance for the understanding of Dryden's controversial poems, and the extracts printed by Dr Bredvold form a most valuable commentary on these works. In his concluding chapter Dr Bredvold deals with Dryden's politics in a masterly way, and he has no difficulty in showing that his Toryism is a political philosophy worthy of respect. 'Dryden's Toryism', he writes, 'was eminently reasonable and constitutional', and he demonstrates clearly that it belongs to an entirely different plane of thought from that of the cloudy absolutist theories of such men as Sir Robert Filmer. After a study of these admirable chapters no fair-minded critic

can fail to agree with Dr Bredvold's conclusion that 'Dryden is even on the intellectual side a significant and imposing figure'. Of the five useful appendices the most interesting is the last which consists of a valuable note on English Catholic opinion in the reign of James II.

The only fault that might be found in this excellent book is the omission of any account of the 'libertine' thinkers of Charles II's reign, whose opinions must have formed part of Dryden's intellectual 'milieu' as well as those of the 'fideists'. It is rather surprising to find that Dr Bredvold makes no allusion to John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, and that even his name, though it occurs in an interesting letter of John Evelyn quoted on p. 104, does not appear in the index, where the only Rochester to be found is Lawrence Hyde. Rochester and Dryden were certainly on familiar terms in the summer of 1673. Later, in his *Allusion to the Tenth Satire of the First Book of Horace*, Rochester laughed at Dryden for trying to ape the courtiers:

For he to be a tearing *Blade* thought fit.

Surely this statement of Rochester's is to be read in connexion with the famous passage in *The Hind and the Panther* quoted by Dr Bredvold:

My thoughtless youth was winged with vain desires,  
My manhood, long misled by wandering fires,  
Followed false lights;...

Dr Bredvold takes pains to show that the 'false lights' referred to by Dryden in this passage are not those of Deism. His arguments, however, are not very convincing, as they are based chiefly on the Preface to *Religio Laici*, which was written long after Dryden had ceased to be a member of Rochester's circle. If Dryden tried to be a 'tearing *Blade*' in the early sixteen-seventies, surely it is likely that, at that time, he shared or affected to share the sceptical 'libertine' opinions of Rochester and his friends. It would therefore seem that an account of Dryden's intellectual 'milieu' can hardly be complete without some description of his relations with Rochester and of Rochester's great sceptical poem, *A Satyr against Mankind*, which was being circulated in manuscript before the end of March, 1675/6, and, as the first of the great Augustan poems of intellectual argument, may be regarded as the forerunner of *Religio Laici* and *The Hind and the Panther*.

However, as Dr Bredvold has given us so much that is excellent, it is perhaps rather ungenerous to complain that he has not given us more. His book is certainly one of the most useful contributions to the study of Dryden that has appeared in recent times.

V. DE SOLA PINTO.

SOUTHAMPTON.

*The Letters of Jonathan Swift to Charles Ford*. Edited by DAVID NICHOL SMITH. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1935. xlvii + 260 pp. 15s.

The publication of fifty new letters written by Swift is a literary event of the first importance. Quite apart from what the letters may contain for the scholar, the unexpected chance of reading for the first time a

hundred new pages of Swift's writing is in itself sufficient to make this volume one of unusual interest for the general reader. Professor Nichol Smith has printed sixty-nine letters that passed between Swift and Charles Ford from 1708 to 1737, and of the fifty-one which were written by Swift only one had previously been published. They are not the wittiest, or the gravest, or the most polished letters that Swift wrote; but a reading of this correspondence, so natural and so entirely friendly, does give one a remarkable feeling of contact with the man, and to some extent a new impression of him. The kind of letter that a man writes depends very much on the kind of person who is to receive it. Charles Ford was a thoroughly intelligent friend, and yet he was no more than that; he was not, like Pope, an intense and gifted creature against whose wits Swift was prompted to whet his own. On the other hand, he was not one towards whom Swift felt any temptation to condescend; he was a gentleman, cultured and well-read, quick to take Swift's points, and alive to what was going on about him. With Ford Swift seems to have been on very easy and pleasant terms indeed, and the result is a correspondence that is familiar and delightfully informal, without reproducing the small intimacies and the things shared in common that mark the *Journal to Stella*. The editor must have been glad indeed to publish a series of letters which show Swift in such an easy and natural vein, and so unlike the Swift that most of his biographers have been inspired to paint. Indeed, the very normality of these new letters should have a steadying influence on his future biographers.

But they have more than a biographical importance. New light is thrown on the political crisis in the summer of 1714; for all through July Ford, who was at this time *Gazetteer*, was writing almost every day to Swift, and his letters give a full and interesting picture of the last few weeks of the Queen's reign—one of the real turning-points in English history—and of the first few days of her successor's. Of Swift's own writings, frequent mention is made of his pamphlet, *Some Free Thoughts upon the Present State of Affairs*, which it was Ford's business to convey secretly to the printer, and there are some fresh facts about *The Drapier's Letters*. Most important, however, are the references in this correspondence to *Gulliver's Travels*. We now learn that Swift had begun to write what he usually referred to as 'my Travels' before the middle of April, 1721, and that the two first voyages were finished by the end of 1723. On January 19, 1724, he was writing to Ford: 'I have left the Country of Horses, and am in the flying Island, where I shall not stay long, and my two last Journeys will be soon over.' The *Voyage to Laputa*, therefore—the one which has probably given the least pleasure of the four—was the last to be written, and Swift may already have been tiring of his theme. In addition to the Swift-Ford correspondence, there are a number of letters from the same collection written by Ford to Pope, Gay, Parnell, Bolingbroke, and the Duchess of Ormonde, and several poems from Swift's holograph and from transcripts made by Ford, which furnish a number of important variants from the printed versions.

Professor Nichol Smith sums up one's impression of the Swift-Ford

correspondence in an effective sentence: 'All has the freedom of conversation in which nothing that is said will be misunderstood.' For the modern reader, however, there is a great deal in these letters that he could not possibly understand without the help of their editor. They are full of slight allusions to contemporary events, and personal references, often of the most casual kind. These it was the editor's business to explain, and he has carried out his task with enviable success. His notes, it need hardly be said, are packed with relevant information, and no difficulty is shirked. On one or two minor points there may be some grounds for a difference of opinion. 'I had as live be a Beau in Dublin as a Politician', Swift writes (p. 7), and his editor refers in a note to Sir Andrew Aguecheek's similar exclamation in *Twelfth Night*, III, ii, 34, and adds, 'one of Swift's few allusions to Shakespeare'. It certainly looks like that; but the phrase, 'I had as lief', was still in fairly common use when he wrote, and in spite of its proximity to 'Politician' it is possible that Swift was unconscious of any allusion to Shakespeare. On p. 213 the editor prints an admirable set of Latin verses by Ford for Swift's birthday (November 30, 1727), and suggests that Ford's poem anticipates Pope's address in the *Dunciad*, 'O thou! whatever Title please thine ear, etc.' It is worth noting, however, that though the address to Swift did not appear in print until 1729 it was apparently written by October 22, 1727, when Pope refers to it in a letter to Swift. A note on p. 120 suggests very plausibly that the 'friend' mentioned may be Stella: in view of what follows it looks as if Swift may have intended to write 'Friends', though the change is not, of course, necessary.

It would be impertinent to praise this edition of Swift's letters, but it must be said that such wise and firm and unobtrusive scholarship as this is rare at any time. Is it also impertinent to hope that Professor Nichol Smith may be persuaded some day to give us that biography which his sane and sympathetic understanding of Swift entitles him, more than any other living scholar, to write?

JAMES R. SUTHERLAND.

LONDON.

*The Life and Times of Henry Crabb Robinson.* By EDITH J. MORLEY.

London: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1935. ix+212 pp. 10s. 6d.

Professor Edith Morley has in preparation an edition of those passages of Crabb Robinson's diary and reminiscences which relate to the English writers who were contemporary with him and most of whom he knew personally. This book on his life and times is, in effect, an introduction to what must be, when it appears, a boon to students of English literature—how great a boon only those who have burrowed in the immense mass of Crabb Robinson MSS. can realise. It is also in itself not only a useful work of reference but one of considerable interest even to the general reader, who, in any biography dealing with the period, meets references to, and quotations from, Crabb Robinson, and may wonder who he was. An affectionate phrase of Lamb's and a dedication of Wordsworth's give him his immortality, but he deserves to be better known for his own sake.

There was little outward event in his life, though he was one of the first war correspondents, if not the first; but he was in the middle of the intellectual movements of his age. It is no reproach to him to say that he had a touch of the journalist in him, an instinct which led him to seek out the great spirits of England and Germany and to record their conversation, not in any servile temper, but with frank annotation of agreement or dissent. It becomes any former student of University College, London, to speak of one of the founders with respect, and that respect is deserved by Crabb Robinson, both for his sound views on intellectual liberty and university education and for that readiness to recognise and welcome greatness in literature and life, that clear-sighted loyalty to his friends and fairness to those whom he disliked, which are shown in this book. His was a remarkable personality, and he deserved the biography which he has at last received. Professor Morley's estimate of him is one with which students of his writings are likely to agree, though it may be suggested, if with some hesitation, that in Appendix C she lays too much stress on his verbal accuracy of reminiscence: the two passages which are given for comparison may not be independent either of each other or of some source of earlier date, and what we should like to know as a certainty—and can never know as more than a probability—is that Crabb Robinson was as accurate in his first jottings as he was honest in intention.

The value of the book is enhanced by the reprinting in Appendices of Walter Bagehot's article on Crabb Robinson and Professor De Morgan's recollections of him, two admirable pieces of character drawing which ought to be more widely known. There are also facsimiles of a page of the *Diary* for 1812, of the last entry in 1867, and of part of a letter from Carlyle, and three other illustrations. Two odd misprints may be noted for correction in a later edition: p. viii, *William* De Morgan should be *Augustus* (the name is given correctly in the Index); and p. 83, l. 3 from bottom, for *Miss Fenwick* read *Mrs Wordsworth*. Again, p. 84, Wordsworth was not an opponent of Tractarianism, but rather, like others of his family, sympathetic towards it; it was Crabb Robinson, not he, who held Tractarianism as one of his bugbears; but it is satisfactory to find that the two men, who differed so widely in religious thought and belief, agreed in their admiration of F. W. Robertson.

EDITH C. BATHO.

LONDON.

*Wordsworth's Anticlimax*. By WILLARD L. SPERRY. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1935. ix+228 pp. 10s. 6d.

By the 'anticlimax' is meant the decline in Wordsworth's poetical gift; it is usually taken to begin about the year 1815, or, in the opinion of some, several years earlier. Like all just judges, Dean Sperry insists that Wordsworth wrote much good poetry (and, let us add, some great poetry) after the *Excursion*. Still, he faces the fact of the 'anticlimax', dismisses several theories that have been thought to explain it, and offers an ex-

planation of his own. It is an ingenious and interesting one, though I cannot think that it is sufficient, or exactly necessary. He holds (to give a summary that can only be in shorthand) that the poet became a victim of his own doctrines, æsthetic and psychological; that the work of his greater period was chiefly inspired by these doctrines; that, in time, his 'technical premisses and restricted subjects' ceased to be fruitful; and that (p. 142) 'his capital was sunk in a concern which by its own articles of incorporation was destined to go bankrupt'. There are difficulties in this solution: for one thing, Wordsworth's best verse (when, for example, he is praising Milton, in Milton's own manner) often does not fit at all into his doctrines about poetic language, or about the themes of poetry. I think that Dean Sperry, at the best, has pointed to one of many contributory causes; it has, indeed, been unduly neglected. And yet, frankly, can we *ever* find satisfactory reasons for the decay of a poet's inspiration, and are we not all inclined to look too far into millstones? No one will ever know why Shakespeare stopped work; we can only repeat the bare fact in more pompous language. We know what injured Coleridge; but we also know how often he recovered his genius—which was, in no real sense, a *variable* of his infirmities.

The theories that Dean Sperry dismisses well deserve, from this point of view, the treatment they get from him. Some, surely, are hardly worth his powder and shot. Few now suppose that the reviews of Jeffrey and the rest did anything to damp the powers of William Wordsworth, still less to 'intimidate' him. Dean Sperry, like Miss Batho in her book *The Later Wordsworth*, deals faithfully with those who exalt the affair with Annette into a great spiritual crisis, involving 'suppressions' and 'conflicts'. Then, in two chapters, 'the French Revolutionist' and 'the English Tory', the Dean controverts the notion that the poet's 'literary decline' was due to the change in his opinions on matters political and ecclesiastical. The notion is, or was, that Wordsworth became, rather quickly, a mere reactionary, an Old Tory, and was punished for this by heaven with the loss of his genius. The real story, as it is worked out by Miss Batho, ought already to have disposed of this fancy, and her argument is still fresh in mind. Dean Sperry, working independently, covers part of the same ground, though less fully and scientifically. His chapters on 'Nature', 'Religion', and 'Ethics' strike me as the freshest and most original in his book. As a divine and philosopher, he takes the poet's deeper creed very seriously; and he has effective thrusts at Matthew Arnold for putting such questions politely by; and also at Mr Aldous Huxley, for demurring to Wordsworth's disregard, in his nature worship, of the ferocities of the jungle. Amongst matters for debate may be mentioned the view (p. 58) that 'the poet never felt the French Revolution as a personal concern', and the acceptance, apparently from De Quincey, of the idea (p. 38) that Wordsworth was 'nervously burnt out at forty', i.e., in the year 1810. In any fresh edition an index would be acceptable, and 'Badouin' (p. 81, etc.) should read 'Baudouin'.

OLIVER ELTON.

*Undercurrents of Influence in English Romantic Poetry.* By MARGARET SHERWOOD. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1934. 350 pp. 15s.

Professor Sherwood in her examination of the undercurrents in English Romantic poetry treats the idea of evolution as the one of greatest significance in the romantic outlook. To define its working is not an easy task. Surface manifestations—the growth of the attitude of wonder, the return to nature, etc.—are recognisable more readily. Beneath these she finds evidence of a new outlook on life and the world, and her object is to show that the deepest manifestation of this new spirit is related to, and is a poetic utterance of, the significant idea of evolution. For a century it was more a poetic intuition than a theory, but its spiritual implications for humanity had become the burden of poetry long before its formulation by scientist and philosopher. ‘With the Romantic period the world of thought took on new vitality in passing from the static conception of earlier centuries to the dynamic of the nineteenth: from the conception of a world finished and done to the conception of a world still in the making: from the conception of rigid immutable laws, mechanically active, to the conception of a rebirth of creation.’ In the seventeenth century man saw beauty and harmony in the regulation of the universe, but his vision was an objective one, and he felt himself outside this harmony. With the dawning of the new conception he began to feel himself part of a larger whole which is progressively changing, and he became aware of new relationships, wider sympathies, and fresh emotional states.

Chapters are given to Shaftesbury and the Deist poets influenced by him, Henry Brooke, Akenside, Thomson, etc., to Herder, Wordsworth, Keats and Browning. Much of the interpretation is subtle and delicate; the few pages on Thomson are a masterly piece of exposition. Anything profoundly felt and sincerely expressed on Wordsworth, in so many respects our most difficult poet, is welcome, and there is here much thoughtful analysis of his profound intuitions about nature and man and their relationship. The source of his greatest power, deeper than the ‘healing balm’ of Arnold, is shown to lie in his reverence for the human soul, a reverence most deeply based on man’s power of keeping faith with the highest hopes and deepest intuitions of humanity. In creation England led the way, but it was the Germans, and Herder in particular, who worked out a profound and philosophic statement of the new principles. For the poets it was normally a matter of instinct and intuition. It was after his stay in Germany that Wordsworth wrote the Preface of 1800; *Tintern Abbey* preceded it. The reign of Reason was ended, and in its place had come the romantic doctrine of the validity of Intuition, ‘that greatest gift which comes from the co-operation of all the faculties’. Keats is related to the main theme in his use of mythology. The idea of the oneness of all life, ‘of organic relationships between all manifestations of life toward which the natural philosophy of the time was groping’, was, with him, through his very temperament a sensation as well as an instinct, an intuition. He was immediately aware through all his gifted senses of the close interknitting of man, body, mind and soul, with the

green world of which he formed a part. This sense in him, Professor Sherwood asserts, was closely akin to the primitive nature sense of the early makers of myth. This is largely the secret of his success in the use and interpretation of mythology. The relation of the speech of Oceanus in the second book of *Hyperion* will be obvious, but the chapter as a whole is very fresh and suggestive.

The descent to Browning is easy. The gibe may be cheap, but yet it is to be regretted that the study finds its consummation in him. What was a deep experience and a poet's intuition has become with Browning a 'philosophy', one is tempted to say a sermon's text. Surely Hardy's pathetic challenging, his questioning of the relevance of emotion in this world of law, is the further poetic step—and our modern poetry of choice moments one logical corollary.

Professor Sherwood's book is a very suggestive treatment of a large theme. It is the work of one for whom the art of criticism is part of the art of living. It is not dispassionate. The attitude of veneration towards Herder and Browning, for example, prevents somewhat the achievement of the firm clarity one would like; but it is the same spirit which begets also the subtle and delicate interpretations and comparisons which give the book a value apart from that which it has for its presentation of a thesis. It is the product of a fine, cultured mind. It is also the statement of a faith.

W. D. THOMAS.

SWANSEA.

*Rebellious Fraser's. Nol Yorke's Magazine in the days of Maginn, Thackeray, and Carlyle.* By MIRIAM M. H. THRALL. New York: Columbia University Press. 1934. xiii+332 pp. 15s.

The greater part of this book is material for the literary historian. For the general reader, the writer's accurate and detailed research cannot make the contemporary satire of the Fraserians, clever and caustic as it was, of very much interest to-day.

Miss Thrall's book, like many theses, is somewhat formless and unbalanced. She would have been better advised, perhaps, to begin with her excellent sketch of William Maginn—a real contribution to the scanty records which exist of that amazingly versatile genius whose lack of discretion lost him the position as a man of letters to which his brilliance entitled him.

Miss Thrall shows us how the precocious Maginn carried all before him at Trinity College, turned schoolmaster at nineteen, became a contributor to *Blackwood's* and, in Lockhart's phrase, 'entered into the very core of Ambrose's', until finally, as the first editor of *Fraser's Magazine* in 1830, he found the ideal medium for his pungent satire and exuberant wit. Of all the contributors, we are told, 'the most learned and popular writer for *Fraser's* remained its irascible Irish editor, William Maginn. The public was flattered by his scholarship, amused by his informality, and surprised by his wit.' Moreover it was the Golden Age of magazines, and *The Edinburgh*, *The Quarterly*, *Blackwood's*, *The London* and *Fraser's*

provided the necessary outlet for criticism and self-expression. *Blackwood's* boisterous days were over; Lockhart had become the sober editor of *The Quarterly*; Christopher North held a chair of Moral Philosophy, and it was left to Maginn, no longer a regular contributor to *Blackwood's*, to lead the spindled group which gathered round him—Barry Cornwall, Father Prout, Theodore Hook and the rest—in their 'slashing methods' of dealing with the literature and politics of the day.

Overmuch space is devoted to the story of L. E. L. Miss Thrall would gladly clear the Doctor of all blame, but she does so rather at the expense of Mrs Maginn whom Jerdan described as 'an excellent woman', and who, after all, must have exercised an unusual forbearance towards her affectionate but dissipated spouse.

To one of her authorities Miss Thrall seems less than generous. Certainly no one has equalled Mrs Oliphant in her brilliant reincarnation of the Blackwood Group, and Miss Thrall might have learned from her to avoid such irritating puerilities of phrase as 'Nol Yorke' and such egregious blunders as the assertion that Wilson was ever the editor of 'Maga'.

In the Appendices dealing with the two Fraserian giants, Thackeray and Carlyle, some new light is thrown on the identification of their respective contributions to the magazine, and to the general bibliography of *Fraser's*—a valuable guide for future students—Miss Thrall adds a more detailed bibliography of Thackeray, Carlyle and Maginn.

The charming illustrations reproduced from MacIise's 'Gallery' are a pleasing addition to the book and go far towards recapturing the bohemian atmosphere of the early Thirties.

M. CLIVE HILDYARD.

LONDON.

*The History of the English Novel*. Vol. VI. *Edgeworth, Austen, Scott*. By ERNEST A. BAKER. London: H. F. and G. Witherby. 1935. 278 pp. 16s.

In the sixth volume of his *History of the English Novel* Dr E. A. Baker had to deal with Maria Edgeworth, Jane Austen, and Scott, and it is not surprising that he found he had to devote a whole volume to them and postpone consideration of Miss Edgeworth's Irish successors and Scott's historical followers to the next volume. There were the chronological difficulties which he mentions in his preface, but there was also the difficulty that 'the chapters grew and grew'—as might have been expected when an enthusiastic novel reader came to those novelists. The book consists of two chapters on Maria Edgeworth, of which the second also touches on Hannah More and Mrs Brunton, three on Jane Austen with a pendant on Mary Russell Mitford, four on Scott, and a final chapter on other Scottish novelists; Susan Ferrier, John Galt and the Blackwood Group, with especial commendation of Michael Scott, Lockhart in *Adam Blair* and *Matthew Wald* and James Hogg in *The Confessions of a Justified Sinner*. That is to say, we have three detailed studies of the three writers of the turn of the century from whom it may fairly be said that all the later

novelists derive, and a chapter of equally ripe and acute criticism of some minor writers who deserve to be remembered for their own sakes and not simply as links in an historical chain. It is impossible not to admire the skill with which Dr Baker fits this discussion of individual authors and their separate works into his history without sacrificing detailed criticism to the whole or clouding the general survey with a mist of details.

EDITH C. BATHO.

LONDON.

*La Critica Letteraria di Henry W. Longfellow.* By FRANCESCO VIGLIONE. Florence: Vallecchi. 1934. xv + 478 and xv + 440 pp. 40 Lire.

Longfellow produced a great quantity of literary criticism in essays, reviews, introductions, letters and in his own poems, as well as in *Outre-Mer* and *Hyperion*, the fruits of his first two visits to Europe. Combining the thirst for European culture common among his contemporaries with the philological and historical curiosity proper to a Harvard professor, he dealt at one time or another with the landscape, people, language and literature of a dozen countries. Professor Viglione has systematised this disordered continent of criticism for the first time, in two volumes of careful and cautious scholarship, judiciously refraining from giving the poet's critical powers more credit than they deserve. His method, though simple and clear, involves a frequent repetition of Longfellow's not very original critical principles. These, adequately stated and discussed in an early chapter, the most valuable part of the work, are of a prudently romantic type, derived mainly from the German transcendentalists, but modified and sometimes confused by the eclecticism and common-sense compromises of a quite unphilosophical mind, much more at home in historical than in æsthetic criticism. (As Professor Viglione puts it in a more complimentary formula, he harmonised the romantic and classical views, his most distinct characteristic being his *felice equilibrio delle varie facoltà*.) Successive chapters treat his recorded judgments on American, English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, German, Dutch, and three Scandinavian literatures, in each case beginning with the country and people, and going on to the language and then to the constituent works in chronological order. Each chapter has a convenient summary and the whole is briefly resummarised at the end. It is difficult not to feel that the author's own labours have answered his complaint that Longfellow's criticism has been unduly neglected. Its bulk, variety and occasional liveliness, its usefulness in its day, and its passages of unusual insight do not conceal its unoriginality, its lack of system and its inconsistencies, its insubstantial basis of theory; while its historical comparisons (see II, p. 410) have been dated by the advance of comparative history. (The *idea nuova tutta sua* acclaimed on I, p. 112, can, I think, be found in Longinus.) It would be idle to quarrel with the 'modern views' superimposed upon Longfellow's by the author. They are sometimes derived from modern reprints of old monographs; thus Nichol's *Byron* [1880] answers for *oggi*, Myer's *Wordsworth* [1880] is *moderno*, Ward's *Dickens*

[1882] is *recente* (I, pp. 323, 307, 324). I note some obvious errors of fact in the English field, disregarding the havoc played by Italian composers with English names. Vol. I: p. 110, Dryden's *Essay* was preceded by several plays; p. 246, *Thomas of Reading* was not written in the twelfth century!; p. 284, Fisher I take to be a slip for Fuller; p. 331, the story of *Adam Bede* inaccurately recollected; p. 344, 1811 should be 1851. Vol. II: p. 136, Howell's *Survey of the Signorie of Venice* certainly exists—it was published 1651. There is an extraordinary confusion of dates and names on I, p. 331, where one reads with surprise of the rise at Oxford in the nineteenth century of *il movimento detto dei metodisti*. But one can hardly expect so wide a survey to be without error. It is indeed possible both to commend and wonder at the amount of time and care which Professor Viglione seems to have devoted to this widely cultured poet critic who lacked the intellectual power to understand *Faust* (II, p. 332), *non aveva così profondo acume da andare a fondo delle cose* (I, p. 154), thought the *Orlando Furioso* to be verse rather than poetry, and disapproved of Malory on the score of immorality. The author's disarming remark at the end of his interesting analysis of Longfellow's critical theories is likely to be read with amusement and sympathy—at least, he says, the poet *ha dato prova di pensar nel suo miglior modo possibile*.

R. D. WALLER.

MANCHESTER.

*The Appreciation of Poetry*. By P. GURREY. Oxford: University Press. 1935. 120 pp. 3s. 6d.

Mr Gurrey describes his book as 'an investigation into the nature of poetry, primarily for the guidance of students and teachers of literature', and he hopes that his treatment of the various aspects of poetry 'may lead to a solution of the problem of poetic appreciation, though actually it may do no more than reveal its baffling complexity.' It is the latter that his book certainly succeeds in doing, and his emphasis on the difficulty of his subject is a salutary reminder that, as he says, 'the appreciation of poetry is both rich and rare'. But he offers no positive help to the teacher who hopes to make it less rare. His seriousness and his insistence on a strenuous discipline for reading poetry are so valuable that one hesitates to find fault, and yet the book has faults of a kind that may well defeat its purpose.

The author's habit of supporting all his opinions by quotation from other writers is not only extremely irritating, it also saps one's confidence in his own powers of judging. For instance, does he need the authority of Miss Margaret Bully to persuade us that 'a great painting will only yield its secret slowly'? or Epstein to tell us that 'People will not make an effort to understand art'? or Mr Greville Cook that 'Art relies for its effect on what the spectator brings with him'? Almost on every page we are presented with some such truism in the words of its unfortunate author. But the habit of leaning on the opinions of others has more serious consequences, as for instance the indiscriminate acceptance of current fashions in taste. Among the critics with whose work Mr Gurrey

is most familiar Ezra Pound's poetry is admired, therefore Mr Gurrey ransacks it for an example of 'firm delicacy'. Unfortunately he lights on this undistinguished line

Let us build here an exquisite friendship.

Milton, on the other hand, is out of favour with this group of critics, and Mr Gurrey finds it necessary to guard against overpraising him; on p. 64 he is slighted by comparison with Dante and Mr Eliot, and on p. 97 the conclusion of the *Sonnet on his Blindness* is dismissed as 'less inevitable' than the conclusion of a sonnet by Shakespeare. The whole of Mr Gurrey's chapter on imagery suffers from an indigestion of modern criticism. He never makes up his mind whether to use the word imagery in the traditional way to describe figures of speech or whether to use it to denote all that occurs in our mind as we read (the visual, oral and motor images of the psychologists).

A reader who perseveres undeterred by these faults will be rewarded by some sound doctrine, particularly in the chapter on rhythm with its warning against the wrong kind of attention to scansion. Indeed, Mr Gurrey is frequently right when he tells us what not to do.

JOAN BENNETT.

CAMBRIDGE.

*English Literature and Culture in Russia (1553-1840)*. By ERNEST J. SIMMONS. 1935. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 357 pp. 15s.

Le livre de M. Simmons fournit une revue générale des apports faits par l'Angleterre à la Russie. Il débute par des détails amusants sur les rapports presque exclusivement commerciaux et diplomatiques jusqu'à Pierre le Grand. Il aurait pu y réserver plus de place qu'une simple mention à l'ambassade de Carlisle, intéressante par l'objet qu'elle n'a pas atteint et le livre qui en est issu. De même on trouve omis les noms de deux médecins célèbres: Arthur Dee et Samuel Collins, l'auteur de *The present State of Russia* (1671).

La partie essentielle du volume offre une revue rapide, mais complète, des principaux emprunts faits par la Russie à la littérature anglaise. Les Russes ont abondamment étudié la question, mais M. Simmons connaît mieux qu'eux les revues anglaises qui ont été pillées au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, en particulier le *Spectator*, et il apporte ici des précisions nouvelles qui ont leur valeur.

M. Simmons parle ensuite du sentimentalisme et l'étudie avec un sérieux des plus louables. Mais il ne cite guère que les noms célèbres de Karamzine et de Joukovski, sans tenir assez compte du développement du sentimentalisme russe avec les Ismailov, Chalikov et consorts, tous, il est vrai, plus obscurs les uns que les autres. S'il avait suivi jusque dans ses ennuyeux détails le mouvement du sentimentalisme, il n'aurait pas été amené, comme il l'a fait, à mettre sur le même plan et confondre *sentimentalisme* et *sensibilité*. Sans doute en effet le jeune Karamzine des *Lettres d'un voyageur* est sentimental, et Joukovski ne l'est pas moins,

mais ils s'arrêtent bientôt tous deux sur la pente du ridicule, et, à mesure qu'ils prennent des années, ils dépouillent leur sentimentalisme juvénile pour ne plus garder que leur sensibilité naturelle. Or c'est cette dernière qui seule leur a permis de préparer le renouvellement littéraire, et avec Joukovski, de préluder au lyrisme russe, un des plus beaux qui soient.

D'ailleurs ce n'est pas le sentimentalisme qui fournit l'explication du lyrisme russe. Les Russes sont instinctivement lyriques, parce que ce qui les guide dans la vie est la sensibilité et non le raisonnement. Leur imitation des modèles classiques français était contraire à leur nature: le classique, quel qu'il soit, ne s'imité pas: c'est une fleur de culture très poussée, et elle se flétrit sans porter graine. En outre le classique français avait pour base la raison, chose contraire à l'esprit russe. Les Russes sont donc entrés de plain-pied dans le lyrisme moderne, dès que la formule leur en a été révélée.

Sur l'influence de la littérature anglaise moderne, le livre de M. Simmons est au point, sans apporter de considérations très nouvelles. Il est fort au courant des productions russes, et son goût, qui est sûr, lui fait corriger certaines exagérations. Par exemple, après avoir dit que Lermontov était le plus typique des byroniens, il avoue que cela n'est vrai que des productions de sa prime jeunesse. Ajoutons d'ailleurs que l'influence anglaise sur la Russie au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et au XIX<sup>e</sup> jusqu'en 1840 n'est qu'un cas particulier de l'immense révélation lyrique et romanesque que la littérature anglaise a procurée, avec des réactions et des fortunes diverses, à tout le continent européen.

En résumé, le livre de M. Simmons est au point et bien composé; le choix des détails cités y est judicieux. C'est un livre bien fait et qui rendra service.

JULES LEGRAS.

PARIS.

*Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch.* Eine Darstellung des gallo-romanischen Sprachschatzes. Von WALTHER VON WARTBURG. Vol. I (A-B: Parts 1-10. RM. 41.60). 1922-8. xxxii+683 pp. Vol. III (D-F: Parts 11-13, 17-28. RM. 73.20). 1928-34. vi+945 pp. Beiheft (Parts 15-16. RM. 8.80). x+90 pp. 1929. Maps (Part 14. RM. 4.40). 1929. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner.

The completion of these two volumes provides a fitting occasion for introducing Professor von Wartburg's monumental work formally to the readers of this review. While his principles and methods have remained constant throughout, he has added very considerably to his sources in the course of publication and has made various small but effective changes in his presentation of the accumulated material. Typographically too, various improvements have been effected, but continuity and uniformity have been preserved in spite of the vicissitudes of publication. In addition to the original publisher (Kurt Schroeder) and the present publishers, the names of Fritz Klopp and Carl Winter appear upon the covers of the various parts, and parts 7 and 8 (1926-7) were published by the author on his own account. Various subventions have facilitated the publication

of this vast work, and the Institut de France has honoured it with the award of the Prix Volney, but the sacrifices made by the author have not been merely those of time and energy. The printing of vol. II (C) is proceeding, and it is to be hoped that he will have the satisfaction of seeing the remaining volumes with the promised supplements appear in the not too distant future.

The title of the dictionary, suggesting as it does a preoccupation with etymology, is perhaps less apposite than the subtitle. It is true that the material is grouped under *etyma* arranged in alphabetical order, but the author's declared aim is to present all the words and meanings of words which have been in use within the Gallo-Roman domain since the Fall of the Roman Empire and/or are still in use. Words of doubtful etymology are reserved for a final volume arranged on onomasiological lines. This does not mean that absolute completeness is achieved or even aimed at. On the one hand certain elements have been left aside of set purpose. The derivatives which have had or still have currency in northern France have been included, but not the numerous formations (diminutives and the like) which are constantly being created as required in the southern idioms and which might be called *nonce-derivatives*. Learned words and all borrowings have been included except those modern creations or borrowings and exotic terms which have remained technical and therefore of limited currency. The latter selection could not have been easy to make, and it may be regretted that words like *avion* are not included. Similarly words borrowed from French by other European languages have generally been kept if they throw light on the development of French vocabulary. In this respect Anglo-Norman and the French element in English are often illuminating and they are taken into account, but they might be exploited more fully than has been the case hitherto. One is surprised to find that the *New English Dictionary* does not figure in the exhaustive list of authorities, nor does H. Brüll's *Untergegangene und veraltete Worte des Französischen im heutigen Englisch* (Halle, 1913). Place-names are also included in so far as they are derived from words which still existed as substantives in the Gallo-Roman period. For various cogent reasons names of persons have only been included to a very limited extent.

Within these self-imposed limits, it may be said that while it was possible to point to certain gaps in W.'s information in the earlier parts, these have now been filled out and his documentation is virtually as complete as it is humanly possible to make it. The collection of this vast amount of material represents a remarkable effort, but it has been but a step in W.'s undertaking. A more exacting task confronted him when it came to setting out his material in such a way that it should (a) illustrate the *natural* development of French vocabulary, particularly from the semantic point of view, (b) enable the reader to follow this development and the searcher to find a particular type of information with the least possible trouble. This twofold requirement has been satisfied with a remarkable degree of success, and W.'s procedure may be most clearly shown by an example. The article *furca* extends to 19 closely printed

columns and is arranged under three main headings: I, 'Werkzeuge', II, 'Gabelung', III, 'Galgen', each of which is again subdivided, the first being treated under the headings 1, 'Gabel', 2, 'Übertragen auf andere Werkzeuge', 3, 'Essgabel'. Under each of these subheadings the forms are arranged in a uniform order; thus, under 1, 'Gabel' we have first the various representatives of *furca* in the meaning 'Gabel', beginning with Old Fr. *forche* and Old Prov. *forca* and continuing with the dialectal forms in conventional orthography (italics) or phonetic transcription (spaced italics), arranged in a more or less fixed order (generally from East to West). Where necessary the source is indicated explicitly; elsewhere each form is preceded by the name of the locality, and the reader need only refer to the Index to discover the source of information. Then, still under 1, 'Gabel', follow sections devoted to secondary meanings, to derivatives and to compounds, in each of which the material is arranged on the same principle. The whole article *furca* concludes with a discussion of the etymology in the widest sense of the term and of the phonetic and semantic history of the derived forms, together with references to the relevant etymological or lexicographical literature. The footnotes contain observations which would have interrupted or overburdened the main article, collateral forms from other Romance languages, etc. In this concluding section the author gives proof not merely of his vast information but of his clear vision and calm, unfettered judgment.

It is not without significance that the dedication links the names of Jules Gilliéron and W. Meyer-Lübke. The schools of thought and the methods represented by these two scholars may be said to converge and find their consummation in W.'s work. Though inspired by both, he maintains a critical and independent attitude, being intent above all upon letting the material speak for itself and determine both presentation and conclusions. Nowhere is the determination to facilitate the handling and exploitation of this vast thesaurus brought out more clearly than in the *Beiheft* and the maps which W. has provided in addition to the provisional word-indexes to each volume. The *Beiheft* contains an Introduction which is to be read with profit, notably for the classification and discussion of dialect dictionaries and glossaries. Then follows an alphabetical Index of localities with the sources of information for each and extending to no less than 46 pages, as compared with the original 10-page list of 1922. A second list gives the localities in the order in which they are cited in the dictionary. A third list enumerates authorities, studies, editions, etc. and constitutes a full bibliography which, together with Index I, makes of the *Beiheft* a valuable work of reference, quite apart from its primary function. Finally the author has designed and had executed a key map and a number of skeleton maps for the plotting out of forms, thus enabling the reader to obtain a clearer picture of the geographical distribution of forms and uses.

It is the common fate of dictionary-makers to find themselves accumulating materials for a supplement even before the ink of the first part is dry and to have omissions pointed out to them by reviewers. The *F.E.W.* is no exception to this rule, and a useful summary of reviews of

the first part was given by Ch. Bruneau in *Romania*, LII, pp. 174-91. From these and later reviews it is abundantly clear that, in spite of criticism of details and some difference of opinion as to method, the *F.E.W.* is sure of its place in the history of French linguistics and of general lexicography as a monumental work in the best senses of that word.

A. EWERT.

OXFORD.

*Four Latin Plays of St Nicholas from the Twelfth-Century Fleury Play-book.* Text and Commentary with a Study of the Music of the Plays, and of the Sources and Iconography of the Legends. By OTTO E. ALBRECHT. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: Humphrey Milford. ix+160 pp. 9s.

This study of the four plays of St Nicholas from the Fleury MS. began as a doctoral dissertation in 1931, that is to say, three years before the appearance of Karl Young's massive volumes on the *Drama of the Medieval Church*, where a complete text and commentary are given. This celebrated MS., now in the Public Library at Orléans, was first brought into notice in 1729, and since that date has attracted many editors, among them Thomas Wright, E. du Méril and E. de Coussemaker. In preparing this edition, Mr Albrecht was able to make use of Young's now classical work, but there was certainly room for his own detailed study of these four plays, for he deals not only with the cult of St Nicholas, the sources and development of the legends on which they are based, and their iconography, but also with the versification of the plays, and, what is more important, with their music. As Mr Albrecht points out: 'No adequate appreciation of the medieval liturgical drama is possible until the musical text is generally available and its origins explained, any more than one can get the full flavor of the art of the troubadours without hearing the music along with the poetry.' This is equally true, of course, of the Latin hymns and religious and secular lyrics of the Middle Ages. We look forward, therefore, to the appearance, at a date which, we hope, will not be far distant, of Mr Albrecht's projected edition of all the Fleury plays, with a facsimile of the MS. and a transcription of the music in modern notation.

Meanwhile, the present edition, which has been prepared with great care, and printed in a manner which is a credit to the University of Pennsylvania Press, will be of much value to scholars and students. I make a few suggestions and corrections in unimportant details. P. 5, the sermon attributed to Hildebert is hardly his; Hauréau ascribed it to Maurice de Sully, and Dom Wilmart (*Rev Bénéd.* XLVII, 1935, pp. 12 sqq.) does not assign it to Hildebert; p. 11, note 18, reference might be made to Manitius, *Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. M.A.*, I, p. 711; p. 16 read *habitant, argutiae, ad*; p. 22, Honorius is now not referred to Autun, but, with great probability, to Ratisbon; p. 23, for 'Richard de Cournouailles' substitute the more familiar 'Richard of Cornwall'; pp. 79 and 80,

Bernard of Clairvaux's surviving poems are, I think, limited to the hymns in his office of St Victor, and the *Dulcis Iesu memoria* is now recognised not to be his; p. 80, the St Omer poem referred to is by Walter of Châtillon (Strecker, *Die Gedichte Walters von Chatillon*, p. 28); p. 79, Iob is, I suggest, a disyllable; p. 118, i, 11, for the obviously corrupt *socia* I would propose *solacia*; p. 134 read *mansuetudinis* [Ps. cxxxii].

F. J. E. RABY.

HARPENDEN.

*Les Lais de Marie de France.* Par ERNEST HOEFFFNER. (*Bibliothèque de la Revue des Cours et Conférences.*) Paris: Boivin. 1935. 178 pp. 15 fr.

To his edition of the *lais* and his subsequent research into the genesis of the poems and their relation to the literature of the period M. Hoepffner now adds a book of artistic appreciation. Here questions of chronology, origins, etc., are relegated to a subordinate place, but it is interesting to note that he is sceptical of theories identifying Marie with one or another contemporary personage bearing that not uncommon name; is content with the meagre certainty that Marie was of French birth (not Norman, as has been asserted); leaves it an open question whether the 'Breton' story-tellers and minstrels to whom Marie attributes her anecdotes were Welshmen or Bretons; and, though he regards a sense of faery as characteristic of all her work, considers, like M. Foulet, that her stories are, for the most part, not specifically 'Celtic'.

The object of the book is no doubt to supply that 'chapitre littéraire sur la poétesse', of which he deplored the absence when reviewing Warnke's 1925 edition of the *lais*. 'Ne faudrait-il pas enfin', he added, 'rompre avec la tradition surannée qui néglige, presque de parti-pris, l'appréciation littéraire de l'auteur et du livre édités?' The gap was to some extent filled by M. Hoepffner's Introduction to his own edition, and since then Spitzer, Nagel and others have put forward interpretations of Marie's poems. But the present study is more extensive and is intended to make her writings accessible to non-specialist readers, for whose benefit the O.F. quotations are translated.

Four of the thirteen chapters are devoted to the literature which precedes the *lais* and special importance is attributed to *Thèbes* and Wace's *Brut* as providing models. In this section we regret the absence of a chapter on the influence of *Eneas*, incorporating the material which M. Hoepffner has collected and which is to be published in a review article. To the Arthurian romances of Chrétien de Troyes, M. Hoepffner considers that the *lais* owe nothing. It may be remarked, incidentally, that his references (pp. 53 and 92) to the title 'Les Enseignements d'Ovide', used both by Chrétien and Marie, misquote *Cligès*, where the text has *commandements*, and that in *Guigemar* the allusion is not to the title of the work, but to 'son enseignement'.

The main portion of the book is occupied by a detailed appreciation of the twelve authentic *lais*, grouped according to their themes. These chapters make most agreeable reading, owing less perhaps to Marie's own

talents than to the delicate analysis and sympathetic admiration of her commentator and the skill with which he brings out the living interest of these old stories.

CLAUDINE I. WILSON.

LONDON.

*Samtliche Lieder des Trobadors Giraut de Bornelh.* Von ADOLF KOLSEN. Zweiter Band: Vida, Kommentar und Glossar. Halle: Niemeyer. 1935. viii+291 pp. 18 M.

This volume completes the edition of which the text and translation appeared twenty-five years ago. Delay has been largely due to financial difficulties, as the editor explains in his preface; few continental publishers are inclined to risk money upon books which show a doubtful prospect of return, however scholarly the pains expended on them; for this reason an edition of Peire Cardenal is still awaiting a publisher. This volume contains the *razos* and the biography which throw more or less light on the troubadour's life; but no attempt has been made to subject these texts to an historical examination or to construct a connected life of Giraut. This part of the work therefore remains to be done, and much useful material for it is provided in other parts of the volume, for instance, in the register of poems which can be dated with exactitude or approximately (p. 284). The commentary has been advantaged by reviews of the first volume and observations made in other texts, and if all the difficulties in the texts are not entirely cleared up, the interpretations of the editor are always plausible and generally convincing. The glossary is a full and careful piece of work, which usefully supplements the commentary. It is pleasant to know that the editor has been able to complete his task with a volume which no *provençaliste* can afford to overlook.

H. J. CHAYTOR.

CAMBRIDGE.

*Les Poésies Lyriques du Troubadour Arnaut de Mareuil.* Par R. C. JOHNSTON. Paris: E. Droz. 1935. xxxviii+180 pp.

Arnaut de Mareuil is a troubadour who seems to have enjoyed a considerable popularity, to judge from the number of MSS. in which his songs are preserved. He shows no particular originality of thought, but much ingenuity of technique; it was, perhaps, his simplicity of expression that made him popular. Mr Johnston can attribute twenty-five poems to him, and prints four others of doubtful authenticity. There is little to be said of Arnaut's life, and the editor shows due caution in accepting the statements of the biography; no less caution is needed in discounting the scandal collected for the benefit of Bertran de Born by Guillem de Berguedan (p. xv), an obscene and untrustworthy scamp. Mr Johnston ingeniously arranges the poems in an order which suggests a 'roman d'amour', which, if unattested, is plausible and makes pleasant reading. His reconstitution of his texts is careful and sound and his interpretation of them leaves little opening for criticism. In No. xviii, 33, *sobre ls aussors fuelhs* is more easily taken to mean 'the top of the tree' than the first leaf of a

register, but the passage, as the editor says, is probably interpolated. In xxiv, 7, he seems doubtful of the meaning of *menatz estra ley*, but his interpretation is perfectly correct and is guaranteed by Giraut de Bornelh, xxiv, 1 (Kolsen), who uses the same phrase in the same sense. In vii, 9, we should prefer to read *franh, pertus, us'e briza*; *perciar* is unexampled, and the repetition of the syllable *us* may have led a scribe astray. *Delis* which is queried in the vocabulary is certainly from *delir*. But these are trifles. Mr Johnston is to be congratulated upon a very successful debut as a *provençaliste*.

H. J. CHAYTOR.

CAMBRIDGE.

*Leopardi. A Biography.* By IRIS ORIGO. With a foreword by GEORGE SANTAYANA. Oxford: University Press. 1935. vii + 227 pp. 10s. 6d.

Giacomo Leopardi is supremely important as the poet of the *Canti*; the external events of his life were trivial and dull. Rusticated in a remote provincial town of the papal states, living shyly on the fringes of literary and learned society in Florence or Rome, intellectually marooned in the shallow conviviality of Naples, he moves across the Italian scene an angel entertained unawares. His most discerning biographers have used the circumstances of his life to illustrate his poetry, whereas here 'the writings have been considered only in so far as they throw light upon his life and character'. A biographer who adopts the latter plan is open to the same objection we make against Ranieri, that of giving us a picture of a weak, unamiable, pitiful little man and thus obscuring our appreciation of the miracle of his poetry. Fortunately the present author is too well aware of Leopardi's genius to let us forget it, but in chronicling the day-to-day activities of a man who really lived on a purely intellectual plane she has found herself in a somewhat uncomfortable situation.

Leopardi has received considerable attention in Italy of recent years, and this book makes no pretence of telling us anything new. It would be a mistake, however, to dismiss it as a purely popular repetition without serious value, for the author has a keenness of mind, a sincerity, and a critical insight which enlivens her material and sometimes illumines it. Her method is the right one, for, although at one moment she threatens us with oriental philosophy and Jung, she sticks close to the *Epistolario* and note-books of the poet himself.

Considering the stress Leopardi lays on the happiness of childhood we are surprised that the author 'can find no record of a moment's simple gaiety'. Yet gaiety was there, and may be seen reflected in that early poem *La Dimenticanza*. The author rightly tells us of Leopardi's fear of early death (p. 29), but when she apparently associates this with the obsession 'that death was always on the watch for him' (p. 31) she has forgotten that in the summer of 1817 he definitely rid himself of the apprehension that he was to die young (*vide* Letter to Giordani, March 2, 1818). The consideration of the poet's patriotism is insufficient, and when we read (p. 70) that Angelo Mai's discovery of Cicero's *De republica* 'was merely used by Leopardi as a pretext for the expression of his patriotic

sentiments', we suspect a misunderstanding of the essentially literary nature of this patriotism. '...L' Italia; per la quale ardo d' amore... perchè alla fine la nostra letteratura... è la sola legittima figlia delle due sole vere tra le antiche' (Letter to Giordani, March 21, 1817); '... della quale [la letteratura] sola potrebbe aver sodo principio la rigenerazione della nostra patria' (Letter to Paolina, April 23, 1831). Such words indicate that the discovery of a Ciceronian MS. is something more than a mere pretext for patriotic sentiments unconnected with them.

In describing Roman society Stendhal is a useful source of information, but it is absurd to compare his estimate of it with that of such a different character as Leopardi, because they were in Rome at the same time. In the same way it is of no value to consider Leopardi's hypothetical criticism of the Byronic circle at Pisa for the still more inadequate reason that he was in that town five years after they had left it! The most serious criticism that can be levelled against this book is that Leopardi's poetry, even within the limits imposed by the author, is inadequately dealt with and at times in such a way as to give a false impression. The remarkable poems the *Canzoni-Odi* (of Carducci's categorical division) are dismissed with a few words, even though full of suggestive matter for a biographer. For this author the idylls are supreme, yet she fails to reconcile her description of the man 'imprisoned within the walls of his own self-preoccupation...[who could] see no landscape but that of his own mind' with that of the poet who has created wonderful lyrical scenes of country life.

The humble, but none the less important, part of authorship concerned with notes and references is not well done. Letters are sometimes allowed a date, sometimes not; Mr Bickersteth's name is sometimes appended to his translations (p. 166), sometimes not (p. 142); exact reference for quotations is sometimes given, sometimes not. Translation from Italian is occasionally at fault: *ha preso a farmi di gran carezze* does not mean *she has begun to favour me with her caresses*; *vetusto* does not mean *worn-out*; a *passero solitario* is not a *lonely sparrow*—this last is a serious mistake. These may seem pedantic cavillings, but the quality of mind revealed by this new recruit to Italian critical studies is such as to hope that she will not despise accuracy in such things. Despite whatever shortcomings there may be in this work, it succeeds in giving us a striking portrait of the poet in accord with the known facts. From the mass of available material the author has chosen the essential, and has succeeded in illustrating some aspects with skilful discrimination, particularly the poet's love affair with Fanny Targioni and his relationship with Ranieri.

E. R. VINCENT.

CAMBRIDGE.

*Viaje del Parnaso de Miguel Cervantes Saavedra.* Edición crítica y anotada dispuesta por FRANCISCO RODRÍGUEZ MARÍN. Madrid: Bermejo. 1935. lxxxiii+576 pp. 30 pesetas.

Señor Rodríguez Marín has the unconquerable spirit of his master Cervantes. Born a year before his friend Menéndez y Pelayo, who is

already a distant and legendary figure, he has recently celebrated his eightieth birthday and reigns a greatly revered Nestor among the third generation. In spite of age, illness and public and private sorrows, his zest in life and literature remains undiminished and his industry unflagging. His example may well shame the despondencies and sloth of lesser men. His published works average over two a year during a period of sixty years (from 1875), and there are few pages of them that are not precious. The last (No. 136) of his works is the *Epistolario de Menéndez Pelayo y Rodríguez Marín* (Madrid, 1935, 10 pesetas) containing 283 letters written between 1891 and 1912, the year of the former great scholar's death. Don Francisco has also recently (No. 133) added *Los 6,666 refranes de mi última rebusca* (Madrid, 1934, 12 pesetas) to his previous collections, bringing the total of his Spanish proverbs to over 40,000. Apart from treatises throwing light on Cervantes and many sixteenth-century writers, on the Spanish language, the popular poetry and folklore, his works include the well-known biographies of Espinosa and Barahona de Soto, which for many might alone have been the work of a lifetime, and editions of the works of Espinosa, Baltasar del Alcázar and others. When one reads Señor Rodríguez Marín's exquisite *Madrigales*, one wishes that he had devoted the whole of his life to the writing of poetry; but when one turns to the perennial fascination of his other works one finds a full recompense for the loss. To his celebrated editions of *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, the *Novelas Ejemplares* and *Don Quijote* (in two editions, of six and seven volumes) he has now added at the age of eighty an elaborate edition of the *Viaje del Parnaso*. It consists of eighty pages of introduction, 120 pages of the text and over 350 pages of notes and appendices (these are longer notes, of which separate editions of fifty copies have been printed for private circulation). The invaluable notes are, like those in the editions of *Don Quijote*, largely composed of parallel passages, drawn from the editor's unrivalled knowledge of the writers of the Golden Age. Biographical and other information concerning the poets mentioned in the *Viaje* is reserved for a second volume. In the first section of his introduction Señor Rodríguez Marín studies the circumstances under which Cervantes wrote the *Viaje*; in the second he deals with 'the king of prose' as poet and comes to the conclusion that 'although Cervantes' versification was almost always mediocre, he was always and at the same time a most admirable poet'. The third section treats of the Italianisms in the poem, giving twenty-seven instances. In the fourth section other aspects of the *Viaje* are studied, and in the fifth the present and former editions of the poem are discussed. 'God and my doctor and I', says Señor Rodríguez Marín, 'know under what difficulties this Introduction was written'. But Señor Rodríguez Marín, *rebus in arduis*, is able to maintain not only equanimity but the full force of his subtle intellect. His devotion to Cervantes must have made this edition a labour of love.

He dedicado [he says] a Cervantes lo más granado de mi labor en treinta y tantas obras; pero le debo, en cambio, además de inapreciable solaz deleitoso en los días reposados y alegres y dulce consolación y saludable enseñanza en los desengañados y tristes, la mitad del pan que como en mi vejez.

Surely this must bring a radiant smile of pleasure to the face of Cervantes as he walks with Plato, Shakespeare and Sophocles in the meadows of asphodel.

But a labour of love is one thing, it is quite another to carry through in illness and old age a work of six hundred pages with the most scrupulous accuracy of scholarship. A generation has passed since Menéndez y Pelayo declared that it would require a whole volume to do justice to Señor Rodríguez Marín's works. And since 1912 seventy-five new works by Señor Rodríguez Marín have seen the light. In a brief notice such as this one can only call the attention of scholars to another edition *de Lope* from the skilful untiring hands of the master.

AUBREY F. G. BELL.

MANIQUE DE BAIXO, PORTUGAL.

*Etnografia Portuguesa*. By J. LEITE DE VASCONCELLOS. Vol. I. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional. 1933. vii+388 pp. [No price indicated.]

During sixty years Dr Leite de Vasconcellos, whose reputation is now world-wide, has been collecting notes on the language, folklore and ethnology of Portugal, notes derived from constant study and travel, from books and personal investigation. It might truly be said of him, as has been said of Gil Vicente, that he has become a whole nation. Probably there is no complete bibliography of his books and articles, although lists have been published from time to time. Numerous as they are, they can give to the world scarcely a tenth part of his gathered material. With an eye keen to pounce on the most elusive traces of past cultures, an ear trained to distinguish the minutest shades of dialect and pronunciation, he has amassed a wealth of first-hand matter as subtle as it is substantial. His *Revista Lusitana*, of which over thirty volumes have been published, is a treasure-house for the folklorist and philologist. His shorter articles were being reprinted in a series of *Opusculos* (4 vols., 1928-31) by the Coimbra University Press when it came to an untimely end under the economical axe which seems strangely to consider learning and culture immaterial things unproductive of wealth. But the Imprensa Nacional of Lisbon has published the first volume of Dr Leite de Vasconcellos' *Etnografia*, a work which, when completed, will rank with the three volumes of his *Religiões de Lusitania* (1897-1913). This first volume, published when its author was seventy-five, has all the freshness and enthusiasm of youth. Its 400 pages form a general Introduction to the work. It is divided into five sections, of which the longest is the third, 'Fontes de investigação etnográfica', describing a large number of literary sources, modern and ancient, with many reproductions of title-pages and photographs of authors. Ten pages, for instance, are given to Gil Vicente, whose sixteenth-century plays (1502-36) are a mine of ethnographical and philological details. The whole work, of which vol. II is in the press, will consist of four books, describing the land, the people and the traditions of Portugal. Readers of Dr Leite de Vasconcellos' previous works will realise what a feast of original interest is before them, and they will thank whatever powers there be that his genius is of a force

to withstand the onset of time. *Contra vim mortis* there may be no *medicamen in hortis*, but *praevallet vir fortis*. The print of the book is large and good and the illustrations many and various.

AUBREY F. G. BELL.

MANIQUE DE BAIXO, PORTUGAL.

*The Daina: an anthology of Lithuanian and Latvian folk-songs.* With a critical study and preface by URIAH KATZENELENBOGEN. With an introduction by CLARENCE A. MANNING. Chicago: Lithuanian News Publishing Company. 1935. xii + 165 pp. [Price not stated.]

It is possible that other readers may pick up this book, on the cover of which only the words *The Daina* stand out to the eye, with no more prevision than the present reviewer as to the remarkable interest of its contents. Concerning the folk-songs of Lithuania there has been no important book in English, and those of Latvia have obtained no more than a 'hurried and superficial' anonymous article in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* for 1831, followed by a century of almost complete silence. So remote have been from us the Lithuanian and Latvian languages, virgin soil to all but an occasional philologist grubbing for Indo-European roots! Yet the folk-poetry of these peoples is of extraordinary interest, and this anthology will both whet our curiosity and satisfy some immediate needs. Of some 8000 Lithuanian folk-songs the author has translated 98; that is, one eightieth of the whole body, and doubtless the best. The proportion for Latvia is slightly lower. The translations have been made into simple and direct English, preserving as nearly as possible the rhythms of the originals. The Baltic languages abound in rhymes, thanks to their grammatical structure, and these rhymes neither cause offence as jingles nor tyrannise over the verse. They occur merely as frequent accidents. Mr Katzenelenbogen has very wisely neglected rhyme in English, as that would warp his renderings, which are everywhere fresh and natural. Diminutives are the poppies in the Lithuanian fields, but they are rare in English, and it has been a happy thought not to seek them out in the remoter corners of our dictionaries. There are also echoes in the originals, and what appear to be more pregnant phrases and swifter turns of expression than is possible in translation. The Lithuanian *daina* No. 91, beginning

Oh, dear husband, you lie there like a wolf, soft as silk,

reads in Juškevič (*Liėtėviškos Dėjnos*, No. 1208)

O, tu, mėnu vyrėli, guli kaip vilkas, svėtnas kaip šilkas,

which has a rather different and more spontaneous movement. I make the point not against the translator, whose work is worthy of all commendation if an outsider may judge of it, but because most of us will have to remain content with translations in these matters, and it is needful to know how far the ice will bear us.

The folk-poetry of the two small but ancient peoples is essentially the same, though with one surprising difference in the forms. The Cock Robin

motif—in which birds and animals play the parts of human beings in some ceremony—is carried out almost identically in Lith. 98 and Lat. 95 of this anthology. The occasion is a wedding; but in Lat. 162 the occasion is a funeral, as in our nursery song. The difference in form, apart from some matters which depend on divergent accentual principles, is that the Lithuanian songs are normally complete lyrics, but the Latvian ones rarely exceed a quatrain. Whether the shorter or the longer treatment is the older is a matter apparently still unresolved. It is at least clear that the Latvian ejaculations are provoked by many trivial details of custom or situation which pass unnoticed in Lithuanian, but they are much inferior in power of lyrical evocation. They are more realistic, somewhat prosy, and at times crude; yet they can be very apt, as in this jibe at a sluggardly wife (Lat. 240):

Sleepyhead, dreamyhead,  
my young bride.  
I have put a fence about the hearth,  
lest she tumble into the fire,  
lest she tumble into the fire  
when she cooks the food.

At other times, they have an elliptical suggestiveness like an old Chinese poem, as in Lat. 65 concerning the maiden 'standing with reluctant feet where the brook and river meet':

I sing and sing, I weep and weep  
and set my wreath with acorns.  
My heart tells me:  
the last summer,  
the last wreath of roses,  
blooms upon my forehead.

But such fugitive moments are not to be compared with the poignancy of the Lithuanian maiden's song (Lith. 53):

O rue, rue,  
dear little rue,  
why are you wilted  
in summer?

or the vividness of Lith. 2:

Laimė called and Laimė shouted,  
o'er the mountains running barefoot,  
climbing up the mountainside.

where the anonymous singer has 25 lines to develop his theme worthily. That is approximately the length of the Lithuanian pieces, and shows a tact in contrast with the verbose exuberance of the neighbouring Russian *byliny* or the tautology of the Danish *viser*.

The *daina* is essentially lyrical. Epic or heroic pieces are almost wholly absent and war is never praised. War is only deportation and death for the peasant. The peasants have remembered, however, most vividly the cruelties of the knights of the Teutonic Order (Lith. 12), the ravages of the bearded Swedes (Lith. 13), the loss of their girls to Tartar harems (Lith. 19, cf. Lat. 33), and these poems give indication of their oldest

dates. I could wish for confirmation of the statement (p. 33) that '*Dainos* were heard of in the ninth century', since the date is surprisingly early if the word is intended to mean poems identical with those now current; otherwise the earliest external evidence given by Mr Katzenelenbogen refers to the year 1512. The paganism of so many among them is not so conclusive of antiquity, since Lithuanian paganism was still official in the fourteenth century, and still rife in the seventeenth. It is a distinguishing mark of the Baltic folk-lyric, however, for which Perkunas the thunder-god, Laime and Nelaime (Luck and Noluck), Ruginis and Zvaginis, Ligho, Dekla, Vele, Yumis the corn-god, and the fairies are still the powers that count, though Laime is sometimes disguised as 'kind Mary' and Ligho as St John. Of Christian customs I have noted only the word 'indulgence' (Lith. 65). The poems sing of woods, lakes and shores, the pride and weariness of farming, the maiden's wreath of rue, wooing, wedding and family-cares, bride-stealing, the power of song, games, competitions, jibes, oppression, sorrow, toil and death. The humour is rough, but restrained; it has not the vast boisterousness of the *byliny*, though the Baltic and Russian singers shared some details in common—the adjective 'white', diminutives, intimacy with birds and beasts, and negative comparisons. In the technique of the *dainos* we should notice some very happy effects secured by parallelism. There is the ordinary line-for-line method, and there is a more subtle style in which one *daina* treats of the same situation from two different sides; as in Lith. 71, in which the first seven stanzas are built upon

I, little boy,  
I, a young fellow,  
am without a maiden,

and this is echoed in another seven built upon

I, little girl,  
I, a young maiden,  
am without a young fellow.

The effect is more subtle in Lith. 96, where there is no simple boy-girl antithesis, but nature anticipates humanity:

Two doves stood drinking by the stream,  
drank and cooed to one another:  
Where shall we two little doves  
find a lodging for the night?

\* \* \* \* \*

Two young fellows went riding over the field,  
rode and spoke with one another:  
And where shall we two fellows  
find a lodging for the night?...

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

*The Story of Parzival and the Graal as related by Wolfram von Eschenbach.*

Interpreted and discussed by M. F. RICHEY. Oxford: Blackwell. 1935. 221 pp. 10s. 6d.

Good literature becomes buried under commentaries, and the work of Wolfram von Eschenbach is no exception to this somewhat gloomy rule. Appetising though the commentaries may be to the expert, they offer poor fare to the mere lover of literature, a person whose tastes are rarely catered for by the academic critic. And even the expert, surrounded by his bibliographical material, is frequently so engrossed in tendencies, parallels, influences and sources that he is apt to forget the most important thing: the author and his work. Miss Richey is well acquainted with the scholarship of her chosen subject; indeed, there can be few critics who have such a detailed and accurate knowledge of the mediæval Graal poems and the literature that has sprung up around them. Her article on Ither von Gahewiez in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxvi, pp. 315-29, gave abundant proof of her technical equipment and original scholarship.

In this book the business of strict scholarship is reduced to a minimum. There is no elaborate argument for and against, conclusions are boldly stated and there the matter rests. Miss Richey's knowledge is always near at hand. It helps to give cohesion and balance to the argument, but it is never allowed to obtrude itself too much. The moment it would take us away from the central theme, the ethical interpretation of the epic, it is firmly dropped.

The Introduction (pp. 1-27) deals with Wolfram's place in mediæval literature, the biographical details that can be gleaned from his writings, the vexed problem of Kyot, the actual and ethical content of the epic. Some extravagant claims are advanced. None could quarrel with Miss Richey's statement that Wolfram is 'indisputably greatest among the poets of mediæval Germany'. How many critics, however, could subscribe to the opinion that 'he stands nearer to us than Dante, nearer even than Chaucer'? On p. 3 we hear of the 'unknown makers of the *Nibelungenlied*'. Is this a slip, and, if not, how many are there? The epitaph on Wolfram in the Liebfrauenkirche at Eschenbach: 'Hie ligt der Streng Ritter Wolfram von Eschenbach, ein Meister Singer' is described (p. 10) as fitting and true. No doubt, but what of it? Every epitaph of a knight of the period describes him as *streng*, and that Wolfram was a poet had never been forgotten. The epitaph, whether genuine or not, singles out the two things that interest us about Wolfram. But what else was there? The epitaph knows the two important biographical facts, it knows nothing more, and it is sheer romanticism even to hint that mason or reader knew anything more. The question of Kyot is left open; unless some unexpected material comes to light, it is likely to remain so. Nor does that matter. Miss Richey rightly argues that 'the individuality of Wolfram's work may be judged apart from its origins'.

Most of the book (pp. 28-176) is devoted to a retelling of the story, which briefly summarises subsidiary matter and concentrates on the story of Parzival. Thus, Books VII and VIII are dismissed in a little over three pages, and the later adventures of Gawan are merely related more

fully since they are more closely bound up with the main theme. In the Introduction (p. 21) we are told that Book VIII 'shows Chrestien at his best, Wolfram at his very worst'. There is much good writing in Book VIII; above all, there is admirable and mature handling of crowd scenes. The adventures of the dashing cavalier Gawan are treated more light-heartedly by Wolfram than the interminable quest after truth of his main hero, but what has that to do with the verse? It is excellent.

The translations from *Parzival* are sometimes too literal. Frequently the rendering is so near and the conceit of the mediæval writer is so closely adhered to that the modern version becomes unintelligible unless one knows the original. Thus *Parzival* 117, 29: *der site fuor angestliche vart* is difficult enough without being rendered 'The custom pursued its anxious course' (p. 31). All through, the translation is deliberately archaic, and on every page there are obsolete words, usages and constructions. Miss Richey has a fine sense of style, and the austere English in which she presents *Parzival* is a living reality to her. However, it remains a moot point whether diction often approaching to that of Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur* is suitable in a modern book. If Wolfram is superior to all other writers of romance, and if he is still important to the modern world, why present him in this outworn garb? In his own day his language was as live and nervous as that of any writer, and if he cannot make his appearance in living modern English he is unlikely to gain many converts. Still, this is admittedly a matter on which opinions may differ.

An excellent chapter on Wolfram's interpretation of chivalry (pp. 177-93) and a scholarly investigation of Wolfram's account of the Graal (pp. 194-216) are added by way of an appendix. On pp. 217-18 there is a short discussion of the manuscripts and editions. There are said to be an 'immense number of fragments' of the MS.-group G. A little over forty, in fact.

F. NORMAN.

LONDON.

*Die Grundlagen des Meissnischen Deutsch: ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der deutschen Hochsprache.* By THEODOR FRINGS. Halle: Niemeyer. 1936. 24 pp. + 8 maps. 2 M.

This reprint of an address gives a summary of the new Leipzig school's investigations of the East Middle German dialects. When in Bonn, Professor Frings in collaboration with historians and folklorists established the Rhenish school of linguistic research and fixed, probably once and for all, the methods by which the data of the German Sprachatlas is to be interpreted. All that remains now is to modify the approach in dealing with the special circumstances which have moulded the speech of other districts. The Rhenish districts have for the time being received adequate attention, and Frings is justified in leaving them to turn his experience to account in less explored fields. The problems which face the linguist in the German East are more complex. Here he has to deal with colonial dialects, to which immigrants from different parts of Germany have

contributed. Nor can the historian give the same help as in the Rhenish field.

The present booklet, which is essentially an interpretation of eight carefully chosen maps, will be followed by a more comprehensive work, *Kulturräume und Kulturströmungen im mitteldeutschen Osten* by Frings and collaborators, on which any detailed account of the findings of the Leipzig school would have to be based. It may, however, be stated at once that the more immediate object of these investigations is to determine the origins and present nature of the East Middle German dialects; the ultimate problem to be elucidated being the exact dependence of Luther and the modern German standard language on the written *koine* of the Chancery of Meissen in the pre-Reformation period. It will be interesting to learn what is the attitude of the new school to the views of Burdach and Bernt.

F. P. PICKERING.

MANCHESTER.

*Hartmann von Aue. Studien zu einer Biographie. Bd. I.* By H. SPARNAAY. Halle: Niemeyer. 1933. viii+179 pp. 8 M.

There are no real facts around which a biography of Hartmann von Aue could be built. He mentions himself in his works, and other poets refer to him, yet these references do not take us very far. From them we can at most establish that Hartmann was dead not long after 1210 and that he was neither a Bavarian nor a Frank. Dr Sparnaay constructs the following life: Hartmann was a Swabian and belonged to the noble family of Wespersbühl. He was born about 1168 and spent most of his life in the service of the Lords of Tengen (or Aue) at Eglisau on the Upper Rhine, in territory that now belongs to Switzerland. He was educated at a monastery school, probably Reichenau. His overlord died about 1195, and Hartmann joined the crusade 1197-8. He was probably married, and died about 1210. Admittedly, Hartmann was a Swabian, and since the term was used in a wider sense in the Middle Ages he may have lived at Eglisau. Whether he belonged to the Wespersbühl family is another matter. Dr Sparnaay states that the coat of arms given to Hartmann in the B and C *Liederhandschriften* is identical with that of the Wespersbühl family. The identity has been disputed. Nor can it be proved that the Wespersbühl family acknowledged the Tengens as their overlords. Most scholars are agreed that the crusade referred to must be the one of 1197-8, not the earlier one of 1189-90. The assumed marriage is rather doubtful, the evidence from the epics in support is hardly conclusive. Humorous allusion to female loquacity is not unknown in bachelors. Dr Sparnaay argues, in agreement with most scholars nowadays, that the larger works were written in the following order: *Büchlein* (1188), *Erec* (not long after 1190), *Gregorius* (1195-6), *Der Arme Heinrich* (1199), *Iwein* (completed by 1202). If *Iwein* was completed by 1202 we have to account for the long silence of this unusually productive author between the completion of *Iwein* and his death. By 1202 he was a famous poet, and it is most unlikely that later works would have been lost without

trace. Dr Sparnaay thinks that he may have been ill and thus prevented from writing. This is, of course, possible, but there is no evidence. Now the accepted date of *Iwein* rests on the reference to Lunete in *Parzival*, Book v. There is little doubt that Book v of *Parzival* was written by 1203, but Wolfram's reference may well have been to Chrestien's version, and if that is so 1202 is no longer a necessary date. The date of composition of German epics round about 1200 is so circumstantial, and the dates are so interdependent, that it will not do to be too dogmatic. Scholars continue to repeat much traditional dating of earlier investigators, and the whole question needs to be re-examined.

The greater part of the book is devoted to a discussion of *Erec* (pp. 63-125) and *Gregorius* (pp. 126-79). *Erec* is analysed and compared in great detail to the other versions. Dr Sparnaay insists that the adventures in *Erec* arise from two different backgrounds: (a) tests of the fidelity of Enite, (b) tests of the prowess of Erec. The two types of test he holds to have been originally distinct. An attempt to fix time and place of the original *contes* leads to too much hypothesis.

The sources of *Gregorius* are discussed at length. The story of *Œdipus* is rightly rejected as a source, and Dr Sparnaay refers to the account given of Darab in the *Shah Nameh* of Firdausi. It is, of course, possible that Persian material reached Europe during the age of the crusades. For the moment, however, the theory rests on nothing more than one of the frequent guesses of Konrad Burdach. Dr Sparnaay is convinced that he has tracked down the source on the following evidence: both children are supplied with precious stones to pay for their education when they are exposed, both children quarrel with their base-born playmates and wish to be leader, both children are unwilling to adopt the calling of their foster-parent, both children wish to become warriors. Incidentally, the stories in which these 'significant' details occur are very different. Supplying an exposed child with possessions can be paralleled from countless stories, and the other three traits merely stress the noble origin of the children. The Middle Ages believed in nature, not nurture.

The second volume will discuss *Der Arme Heinrich*, *Iwein* and Hartmann's æsthetic and ethical development. It will contain a complete bibliography.

F. NORMAN.

LONDON.

*Orendel*. Herausgegeben von HANS STEINGER. (*Altdeutsche Textbibliothek*, 36.) Halle: Niemeyer. 1935. xxxii+171 pp. 4 M. 40.

The reconstruction of the original *Orendel* cannot be attempted with any exactitude from the means at our disposal. The only MS. (H), apparently written in 1477, was edited by v. d. Hagen in 1844 from a copy taken in 1818. Judged by v. d. Hagen's print, the MS. was corrupt and unreliable. However, like many far more valuable MSS., the *Orendel* perished in the disastrous fire that gutted the town library of Strasbourg during the 1870 bombardment. There is, further, a print of 1512 (D) and

a prose redaction (P) of the same year. In 1512, the *grāwe roc*, said to have been brought to Treves by Orendel, was first publicly exhibited, and the two prints were no doubt brought out to commemorate the occasion. Both P and D differ largely from v. d. Hagen's print, and the family tree of the MSS. given by the editor on p. vii looks too simple and straightforward for the chaotic state of preservation. Since the authority for the text is so doubtful the editor has wisely refrained from interfering unless it was absolutely essential. He admits that many of his reconstructions are uncertain and it would be useless to argue with him about his text, since frequently one guess is as good as another. Readings of H, D and P are quoted unless the deviation in the text is purely orthographical.

A few notes would have been helpful. Thus v. 370 and v. 394 refer to the *clebermer(e)*, clearly the fabulous *leber-mer*. Lexer does not give *cleber-mer*. Is the word due to the influence of *leben*, since this ocean was said to be composed of a sticky fluid in which no ship was able to move? The editor agrees with E. H. Meyer and later critics that the source of *Orendel* must be a lost version of the well-known *Apollonius*, which was more closely related to the French *Jourdain de Blainvies* than to extant Latin *Apollonius* texts. He maintains (against S. Singer) that the name Orendel is Germanic. That is probably so, but unlike earlier scholars the editor is unwilling to deduce an early Germanic story of Orendel, and he contents himself with postulating an *Orendellied* about the middle of the twelfth century. Schneider had thought of this *lied* as a purely secular poem, Steinger thinks that it may have been a *Liedlegende*. Ehrismann, in his authoritative *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, II, 1, p. 340, presupposes an original story of Orendel of a vague type related to the *Goldener-märchen* and bearing little relation to the *Orendel* as we know it. At most, a few names have crept in from this unconvincing and shadowy Germanic story, and the editor wisely refrains from arguing the point.

This edition is a great advance on the 1888 edition of Berger, and here at last we have a text that is as accurate as can reasonably be expected under the circumstances.

F. NORMAN.

LONDON.

*Hölderlin und seine Götter*. By PAUL BÖCKMANN. München: Beck. 1935. x+456 pp. 12 M.

A new book about Hölderlin is still in the nature of a literary event; for notwithstanding the valuable contributions made by Dilthey, Gundolf, Hellmuth and Böhm to the story of his spiritual development, and the light they have shed on his work, notwithstanding Lehmann's painstaking grouping and analysis of his poems and Könitzer's monograph on his conception of fate, Hölderlin, ambiguous, difficult, and sometimes profoundly obscure, still awaits his ideal interpreter. Dr Paul Böckmann's book is the outcome of ten years of devoted study and deals with that aspect of Hölderlin's poetry which, although chiefly discernible in the later works, is of fundamental, indeed of paramount, importance—his

conception of the gods, and his attitude towards them, 'das feiernde Nennen', according to this, his latest critic. Dr Böckmann, whilst owning that his book had its inception in the last poems, has nevertheless, with characteristic German thoroughness, reviewed the whole course of Hölderlin's poetic development. Had he concentrated more closely on his actual theme, his thesis would have gained in clearness and in interest what it might have lost in exhaustiveness. Not only this, but the reversal in the book of the author's mental process—the fact that he appears to begin at the beginning, whereas in reality he started at the end—is probably responsible for his failure to realize that Hölderlin's final inclusion of Christ in his spiritual pantheon was not a logical development of his religious views, but a tragic break with the past. This at least is the impression created by a perusal of the works in their chronological order, in connexion with the letters and other biographical material. It is true (as Dr Böckmann points out and as has always been realized) that already in *Empedokles* (1799) the hero has many features which recall the person of Christ. But as his tragic guilt is the spiritual *hybris* which made him declare himself to be a god, this resemblance tells against rather than for the assumption that Hölderlin underwent no conflict before surrendering himself to Christ as the 'Only One' to love and worship. Dr Böckmann ignores this conflict completely, and by so doing robs some of Hölderlin's crucial poems of their greatest beauty. Nevertheless his sober, balanced and reasonable book contains what is perhaps the most satisfactory attempt yet made to describe those mysterious powers whom the poet addressed as gods:

Hölderlins Götter sind nicht zu fassen als ein 'den Gott verleiben und den Leib vergotten' wie bei George und auch nicht als ein Erfassen der Lebensmächte in menschlicher Gestalt wie bei Goethe.... Unsere Darstellung hat gezeigt, wie die Götter für Hölderlin etwas Übergeordnetes sind, dem der Mensch verpflichtet ist, dem er dient, das er verehrt und in Wort und Handlung preist. Sie sind also gerade nicht das Menschliche. Von den Göttern spricht Hölderlin nur da, wo der Mensch in Zusammenhänge verwoben ist, die über ihn hinausgreifen und ihn als Mächte des inneren und äusseren Daseins bestimmen.... Vielmehr wird das Verhältnis des Menschen zu den Göttern nur durch das feiernde Ansprechen bewältigt und untersteht dessen besonderen Formmöglichkeiten.

Not all Hölderlin's admirers will share Dr Böckmann's enthusiasm for *Hyperion*; but his analysis of *Empedokles* will repay a close study, and his pages on *Germania* are particularly sympathetic and acute. His English readers will wish that compression and not expansion had been his technical ideal; but this is a reproach which applies to German critics generally and not to Dr Böckmann particularly, whose book is refreshingly free from any political flavour and from the current psychological jargon.

E. M. BUTLER.

CAMBRIDGE.

## SHORT NOTICES

In *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, Literary and Historical Section* (Vol. III, Part VI, July 1935), we have to all intents and purposes an overflow from the series of *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages*, containing five interesting and informative articles, four of which should certainly not be overlooked by students of English and Icelandic. Most prominent of all is the article by Mr G. Turville-Petre on *The Cult of Freyr in the Evening of Paganism*; this type of work, which discusses the relations of Freyr and Fróði, the spread of the cult of Freyr, and its appearance in the sagas, might with advantage be extended. Mr A. S. C. Ross shows his versatility by discussing Greek and Hebrew roots, and contributes considerably to the study of Middle English lexicography in re-editing *The Middle English Poem on the Names of a Hare*, which is full of words hitherto unnoticed, or lightly dismissed as of doubtful genuineness. Finally, Mr R. M. Wilson points out, forcibly and correctly, that the study of the development of æ¹ and æ² in Middle English can be extended with advantage, and Professor Bruce Dickins rounds off with a compact and valuable list of *Latin Additions to Place- and Parish-Names in England and Wales*, though one might add to the list of parallel forms that of Cramond Regis (Midlothian). It is to be hoped that these studies from Leeds will continue.

A. MACDONALD.

The second volume of *Lund Studies in English*, issued under the editorship of Professor Eilert Ekwall, consists of a dissertation by Hilding Bäck entitled *The Synonyms for 'Child', 'Boy', 'Girl' in Old English: an Etymological-semasiological Investigation* (Lund: Gleerup; London: Williams and Norgate. 1934. xvi+273 pp. 10 kr.). A thesis for the Swedish doctorate, this work is thorough and mature and, for a highly specialized investigation of this kind, it is remarkably free from dullness. Unperturbed by issues raised by C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, Bäck follows Gustav Stern in his *Meaning and Change of Meaning* (Göteborg, 1931) and he states that his subject was suggested by I. Pauli's '*Enfant*', '*Garçon*', '*Fille*' dans les langues romanes... (Lund, 1919). Freely but tentatively etymologies are discussed, and some of those advanced more dogmatically by Sievers, Holthausen and Wyld, receive staggering blows. Certain earliest datings in the *N.E.D.* are also anticipated, though here the evidence, interesting and noteworthy, is seldom conclusive. Bäck shows wide knowledge of his subject. For instance, in tracing the sense-development from O.E. *cniht* to N.E. *knight*, he is fully acquainted with the more recent works of G. G. Coulton and F. M. Stenton. Here and there he ventures into textual criticism, restores the reading *eadmæg* in line 352 of *Juliana* and (*pace* Dietrich, Cosijn, Trautmann, Tupper and Wyatt) he offers the one plausible solution to Riddle No. 44. This is a sound and well-ordered contribution to Old English lexicography. In its own field it would seem to be exhaustive.

Over two hundred synonyms are listed in the index. The bibliography is extensive and is itself a most useful compilation.

SIMEON POTTER.

In the latest addition to Methuen's *Old English Library* (*The Parker Chronicle* [832-900], edited by A. H. Smith. London: Methuen. 1935. viii + 72 pp. 2s.) there is maintained the high standard of work which was established by Dr Smith himself in *Three Northumbrian Poems*, the first text issued in the series.

The publication in this form of an extensive continuous section of the *Chronicle* is most welcome, for such has hitherto been available only in expensive editions, some of them now out of print, or in the selection (787-1001) of Plummer, which has little critical apparatus. Dr Smith's period is an admirable choice, covering as it does the records from the early Danish invasions to the triumphs of King Alfred. In the Introduction a clear and concise summary of the versions, origin and scope of the *Chronicle* is followed by a more detailed discussion of its chronology and the problem of the beginning of the annalistic year. The importance of this aspect of the work is apparent in the Critical Notes: e.g., cf. under 851, where it is shown that the wintering of the Danes in Thanet preceded their defeat at Aclea; under 871 for the approximate dating of the events recorded in that year; and under 886 for the probable date of the recapture of London by King Alfred. Also to be noted is the use made of the material supplied by the study of place-names: cf. the notes to 867 for the meaning of *on tune*; to 871 for the identification of *Meretune*; and to 892 for the retention of *fenne* in place of the usual reading *fæstenne*.

One would like to suggest that in a second edition, which will certainly be demanded before long, the numbers of the MS. folios should be given in the margins rather than in the Textual Variants; while, in the Glossary, the list of abbreviations should be printed instead of referring the reader to other issues of the series, and there should also be an explanation of the types used to show the relation of the O.E. word to its modern equivalent.

But these are, obviously, minor points and are insignificant in comparison with the value of this scholarly piece of work.

E. BLACKMAN.

Up to the present the Fillingham MS. of *Firumbras and Otuel and Roland* (ed. M. I. O'Sullivan, E.E.T.S. 1935. London: Milford. 18s.) was the only MS. of the English Charlemagne romances which had not been published. On this account, if on no other, an edition should have been welcome, but the present one leaves much to be desired. In the Introduction Dr O'Sullivan deals capably with the complicated question of textual relationships and with the origins of the romances, but the discussion of the phonology is quite unscholarly. The phonology of both texts is discussed together though there seems to be no justification for such a joint treatment and, to take only a single example, we are told that in these texts O.E. *ȳ* has become *y*. The difference between ortho-

graphy and pronunciation does not seem to have been realised by the editor. Concerning the text itself nothing can be said, but the frequent misprints found elsewhere are not conducive to confidence. No critical notes are given and the glossary, though full, is not etymological. Here, too, a certain number of forms have not been properly identified, e.g., *bey* 'yield to?' O 2262, is obviously an aphetic form of *obey*; *dent* 'dent' O 1512, is probably O.E. *dynt* 'blow'; *hende* 'ready' F 423, is O.E. *gehende* 'near'; *mone* 'many?' O 2215, may be a scribal error for *nome* 'name'; *vnredy* 'unready' F 449, is an obvious error for *vnryde* 'huge'. It is unfortunate that the edition was not thoroughly revised before publication.

R. M. WILSON.

The latest editors of the *Owl and the Nightingale* (ed. J. H. G. Grattan and G. F. H. Sykes, E.E.T.S. (Extra Series). 1935. London: Milford. 15s.) make no attempt to supersede the editions by Wells and Atkins. For full details Professor Grattan, throughout, refers students to these editions. Consequently in the Introduction and in the critical notes he is content, in the main, to summarise the conclusions of these editors and to incorporate the results of recent research. Diplomatic texts of the two MSS. are given and, as far as possible, their exact appearance is reproduced. Especially valuable is the retention of the variation in the use of *w* and *wynn*, the following of the MS. punctuation, and the attempt to reproduce the actual spacing of the MSS. Very detailed textual notes are given and several new readings are pointed out. A comparison with the facsimiles given by Wells and Atkins shows the remarkably accurate reproduction of the MSS. though there seems to be some confusion in the punctuation. In this, however, the fault may lie rather with the facsimiles than with the present editors. This fidelity to the MSS. is the special value of the present edition and is to be recommended, so far as is practicable, to all future editors of Middle English texts. There are a certain number of omissions in the bibliography (see the review in *T.L.S.* May 23, 1935) and no etymologies are given in the glossary—a too common fault of Middle English glossaries. As a companion to, and complementary on, the editions by Wells and Atkins, the present edition should prove of the utmost value to students of this poem.

R. M. WILSON.

In *The Authorship of the Ancren Riwe* (*Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, iv. 1934. Rome. Pp. 49–74), Fr. Vincent McNabb, O.P., returns to a problem he first attempted to solve a good number of years ago. The whole question is here dealt with in a summary form which has, at least, the merit of leaving no uncertainty as to the conclusions of the author. These and the arguments brought forward to support them may sound familiar to readers of this Review, who will no doubt recall an article by the same author on the same subject and the controversy which ensued here and elsewhere (see e.g., *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, Oct. 1920 and Oct. 1921). Fr. McNabb sticks to his guns and repeats—often *ver-*

*batim*—both proofs and statements, contending that the *A.R.* was written (1) by someone who followed the Rule of St Augustine; (2) by an English Dominican; (3) most probably by Robert Bacon. Many of his arguments are impressive, and on a number of points he agrees with other scholars who have tackled the question. But on others he differs widely from them, and contradictions and—surprisingly enough—even denials of facts have left him quite unmoved. It would be surprising, and certainly disappointing, if this article did not soon bring out some fresh reply from other specialists on this most difficult problem.

E. J. ARNOULD.

The first number of *Aus Schrifttum und Sprache der Angelsachsen* under the editorship of Professor Rudolf Hittmair and Professor Robert Spindler (Universitätsverlag von Robert Noske in Leipzig) is *Aus Caxtons Vorreden und Nachworten* by Rudolf Hittmair (1934, 120 pp., M. 5). The reader will remember Dr Hittmair's *William Caxton: Englands erster Drucker und Verleger* (1931) which was a useful sketch of Caxton's life and work as a printer and translator. He described that outline as preliminary to a more technical study of the materials for Caxton's biography contained in his prologues and epilogues; this is the work which he has now given to us. In it he prints the prologues and epilogues of *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, *The Historie of Jason*, and of *Eneydos* together with a full commentary which brings forward many new points and embodies the results of considerable research. Comparison with *The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton* by W. J. B. Crotch which was published by the Early English Text Society in 1928, will be inevitable for the English reader, and in many ways the latter work is superior to Dr Hittmair's, as it contains the text of all the prologues and epilogues and is accompanied by a brilliant biographical introduction whose value is in no way impaired by this newer study. But the student of Caxton will find much valuable information and comment in Dr Hittmair's book, which will form a useful companion to Mr Crotch's study. There is an excellent general index which in a work of this kind is indispensable. The volume augurs well for the new series.

J. P. OAKDEN.

Dr Maria Hagedorn's thesis (*Reformation und Spanische Andachtsliteratur. Luis de Granada in England. Kölner Anglistische Arbeiten*. Leipzig: Tauchnitz. 1934. 8 M. 80) is devoted to an examination of the influence of Luis de Granada, the Spanish mystic, in England during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, an influence attested by numerous translations, entries in library catalogues and echoes in religious and philosophical works. As might be expected, the most literal translations—*Of Prayer and Meditation*, *Of a Christian Life*, by Richard Hopkins and *A Spiritual Doctrine*, by Richard Gibbons—are the work of Catholic recusants; contemporary Protestant recensions, like the anonymous *Of Prayer and Meditation* (1592) or the *Devotion*, the *Sinners Guide* and the *Spirituell and heavenlie exercises* of Francis Meres (1598),

are duly adapted to suit the taste of orthodox English readers and, in the case of Meres' versions, based upon the Latin of Isselt. The English versions also include freer compilations like Thomas Lodge's *Flowers of Granada* and *The Paradise of Prayers*. From analysis of these translations Dr Hagedorn proceeds to a general estimate of Granada's influence upon devotional writers, including Parsons, Donne, Vaughan and Browne. The material she has collected supplements the work of Miss Helen White, whose *English Devotional Literature of the Seventeenth Century* has thrown much light upon the debt of religious writers to Catholic sources throughout this period; but Dr Hagedorn's thesis suffers through over-elaboration of detail as opposed to constructive criticism, and the absence of an index adds to the reader's confusion.

B. E. C. DAVIS.

With *England's Helicon 1600, 1614* (Vol. I, Text; vol. II, Introduction, Notes and Indexes, edited by Hyder Edward Rollins. Harvard and Oxford University Presses. 1935. Vol. I, 14+228 pp.; Vol. II, viii+242 pp. 12s. each) Professor Rollins completes his editions of the more important Elizabethan miscellanies, and he has kept the good wine until the last. Volume I contains the poems of the 1600 *England's Helicon*, followed by the additional poems from the 1614 edition, variant readings and misprints and an index of first lines. The text of 1600 is taken from the Rylands copy, which has been collated with the British Museum and Rosenbach copies; that of 1614 from the British Museum copy. Volume II contains Professor Rollins's Introduction, his notes and index, and six facsimiles. There have, as he says, been 'five complete scholarly editions' since 1812—by Sir Egerton Brydges in 1812, by Halliwell-Phillipps in 1865 (of the poems with Shakespearian connexions only), by Collier in 1866 (dated 1867), by Bullen in 1887 and 1899, and by Mr Hugh Macdonald in 1925. All of these take liberties with the text, usually by giving a more 'correct' reading than that of the original Elizabethan editor, and Professor Rollins was fully justified in preparing an edition which, though not an exact type facsimile, follows the original texts line for line, and, with certain exceptions, letter for letter. He has retained the many incorrect readings of 1600 and 1614, except unmistakable misprints, for which the list of variant readings in vol. I may be consulted, and reserved his corrections for the Notes in vol. II (cf. II, pp. 22-3 for an explanation of his methods). In the Introduction he discusses the early and the more recent editions, the authors of the poems, and the editorial questions connected with the early editions; in the Notes he annotates the separate poems. The result of all this editorial care is a noble pair of volumes, a fit tribute to the loveliest and most interesting of the Elizabethan miscellanies.

E. C. BATHO.

Dr C. B. Judge has compiled a collection of material in his *Specimens of Sixteenth-Century Handwriting* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1935. 23 Plates. 15s.) which will serve for

practice very well, within the limits of the scope of the material, though more help might have been given to the students for whom it is intended. There is a short Introduction, based on Mr Jenkinson's work on the subject, with a bibliography. The Glossary is very slight, and offers explanations of some words in the texts reproduced. But no help is given for the real difficulties which occur, e.g., in certain Latin Indictments. Dr Judge has thought it better not to give transcripts of the documents. This seems an unfortunate decision, in view of the purpose of the book, and the difficulty of some of the selected specimens. The notes upon the subject-matter and legal implications of the documents could have been more helpful. There is little comment upon the varieties of handwriting, which are not even mentioned after the first five specimens.

It is not easy to follow the plan governing the selection of specimens. It is not, for example, concerned with chronology. A 1622 text comes between two from 1580, and the last is dated 1563. Nor does it follow any scheme of arrangement according to types of hands or types of documents. The collection, in short, is somewhat haphazard, with a leaning towards legal documents, and excluding literary manuscripts, a very important class.

There is much inaccuracy in detail in the editorial material. Plate V A, dated 'circa 1580' by Dr Judge, bears clearly the date 13 August 1585. Plates XII A and XII C are dated 1569 and 1576 respectively, whereas the offences in question are dated July 1562 and April 1569. In Plate XX, 17 November 27 Elizabeth is read as 12 November 1585, instead of 1584. A Southampton inventory (Plate XXI) is given as of London provenance, without comment. Opposite Plate XVI, for 'builded', read 'buylded'. 'Legal brief' is hardly a satisfactory definition of 'breviat'.

The documents are admirably reproduced by the Harvard University Press, and the book is attractively designed and printed.

C. J. Sisson.

In *Ursprung und Entwicklung des Monologs bis zu seiner Entfaltung bei Shakespeare* (Bonner Studien zur Englischen Philologie. Bonn: Peter Hanstein. 1934. 168 pp. 6M. 90) Elizabeth Vollmann attempts to show that the soliloquy, so far from being a rather clumsy dramatic device for letting the audience into the secret, is a most natural, though primitive, human activity.

Chiefly by reference to South African folk-stories, of which she has made a special study, Dr Vollmann proves that soliloquy, either with himself or with an extended or imagined self, comes most naturally to primitive man; she tries to classify its varieties and occasions, and then applies this classification, with various amplifications and extensions, to the soliloquies of Shakespeare.

The study, which bristles with classifications and generalisations, has rather too much resemblance to a table of statistics, by which, as is well known, you can prove anything. The merits and defects of the method are, I think, sufficiently exemplified by the following rather ponderous heading to a section on p. 130: 'Personification of the dagger as source of

energy for the execution of a deed, and personal address to the dagger from a feeling of being united to it by destiny.'

J. B. LEISHMAN.

In *Shakespeares Cäsarbild* (Halle: Niemeyer. 1935. 32 pp. 1 M. 80) Professor Lorenz Morsbach endeavours to show that Shakespeare's presentation of the character of Julius Caesar has been generally misunderstood and misinterpreted, and that Shakespeare intended us to regard him, from the beginning until the end of the play, with unmingled admiration and sympathy. What we hear from Cassius and Casca is, he insists, evidence against themselves, not against Caesar; in Act II, scene i, Cassius declares that Caesar has grown superstitious and Decius that he is susceptible to flattery, but in the next scene Caesar dismisses Calpurnia's dream and her terrors, and finally yields only to please her, and Decius persuades him to go to the Senate, not by flattery, but by declaring that the Senate intend to offer him the crown and will assume that his absence is a sign of fear. He quotes Caesar's last speech, where he insists on his immoveable constancy, without any apparent perception of its obviously intended irony, and after referring to the appearances of Caesar's ghost and to Antony's words about 'Caesar's spirit ranging for revenge' he triumphantly asserts that *that* is how Shakespeare regarded the matter. Finally, forsaking his previously declared intention of sticking to the text, he refers to some of the passages in other plays where Caesar is glorified and his murderers execrated.

In all this there is a curious misunderstanding of Shakespeare's dramatic methods. Is it not obvious that during the first part of the play Shakespeare emphasises Caesar's weaknesses as a man in order to win our sympathy for the conspirators, and then, after one of the most brilliantly effective crises in all his plays, shows them hopelessly and disunitedly contending with the might of 'Caesar's spirit ranging for revenge'?

J. B. LEISHMAN.

Professor E. E. Stoll once called Hamlet 'healthy and sturdy'. His choice of adjectives in the present essay, *Hamlet the Man* (The English Association, Pamphlet No. 91. 1935. 29 pp. 2s.) is not quite so unexpected, yet in his desire to rescue the hero from the sentimentalities of romantic criticism he still seems to risk depriving him of much that makes him really interesting. It is all very well to protest against the languid, nerveless, dreaming Hamlet (Professor Stoll shows us, by apt comparisons, the kind of rhythm this Hamlet would have used), and to present us instead with a 'gallant gentleman', astute and formidable. It remains true, surely, that the Hamlet of the play is deeply troubled, and that in his trouble—whether it 'motivates' the plot at every point or not—lies much of his interest. What one misses chiefly in Professor Stoll's account is this sense of a nature profoundly disturbed. Professor Stoll's Hamlet, though he has a 'vein of melancholy meditation' which appears from time to time, never seems very seriously upset about anything.

Despite all this, Professor Stoll is really very sensitive to Hamlet's

individuality, and is especially interesting in what he has to say about the effect of his 'voice'—of those idiosyncrasies of rhythm and diction that in some mysterious way bring us so close to the central being of the man. Professor Stoll is very good on 'voices': we remember his words, some time ago, on Falstaff's; his description here of Hamlet's is as noteworthy.

A. J. A. WALDOCK.

Professor A. C. Judson's essay on Bishop Young and Spenser (*A Biographical Sketch of John Young, Bishop of Rochester, with emphasis on his relations with Edmund Spenser. Indiana University Studies*, 103. 1934. 75 cents) ostensibly supplements the articles of F. M. Padelford and P. W. Long concerning Spenser's relations with Young and their possible bearing upon allusions in *The Shepheardes Calender*, probably written while the poet was acting as Young's secretary (*Mod. Phil.* xi (1913), p. 103, *P.M.L.A.* xxxi (1916), pp. 713 ff.). On this subject, however, Professor Judson adds little beyond conjecture; his identifications of 'Dido' and 'Rosalind' with Grace and Susan Watts are unconvincing and he fails altogether to clear up the puzzling allegory of 'Roffyn' and 'Lowder'. Of more value are his notes on Young's life, character and literary remains, including the sermon preached before the queen in 1575-6, which combine to show Spenser's first patron as a cleric of moderate and humane temper, well worthy of his poet's eulogies.

B. E. C. DAVIS.

Professor Lowes' *Road to Xanadu* is bearing worthy fruit in the form of a series of studies of travel books of which Mr R. W. Frantz's book (*The English Traveller and the Movement of Ideas, 1660-1732. Studies of the University of Nebraska*, vols. xxxii-iii. 1934. 176 pp. \$1) claims to be one of the earliest. The idea is a happy one, for some of the most sumptuous English prose is buried in these records of journeys undertaken before the world was made a peep-show. His period also allows him to discuss a real change of ideas which was vividly reflected in the directions to travellers issued by the Royal Society in 1665-6. The collection of geographical and scientific data was now the idea, not buccaneering. Deism also begins to assert itself, *vide* the preface to *Madagascar* by Robert Drury, 1729, quoted by Mr Frantz, p. 85: 'It is with the most solemn delight I consider the devotion of these people, who seek God on every occasion.' The 'noble savage' of the philosophical eighteenth century also features strongly in these books. All this justifies Mr Frantz's subtitle. Could he not have taken in the more dubious matter of semi-fictional travelling and so brought Defoe into the picture? And would the discussion of travel parodies have unduly extended his scope? I should like to have seen *Gulliver's Travels* in the index.

G. KITCHIN.

In *Literatur- und Kunstkritik in ihren Wechselbeziehungen: ein Beitrag zur Englischen Ästhetik des 18. Jahrhunderts* (*Studien zur Englischen Philologie*, lxxxiv. Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1935. 125 pp. 4 M. 80)

Dr Karl L. F. Thielke has attempted to trace historically the relations between literary criticism and the fine arts (music and garden architecture excepted), and to interpret the main tendencies in English æsthetics of the classical and early romantic periods. These last, as one would expect, are found to be predominantly classical. A generous infusion of well-chosen quotations preserves the thesis from becoming too nebulous. The conflict of critical opinion on the rival merits of the classical and the Gothic in architecture and of the 'general' (*Universalkunst*) and the 'particular' (*Individualkunst*) in painting is neatly illustrated, the importance of moral and utilitarian values in critical evaluation is demonstrated, and the relationship between poetry and painting in the minds of critics respectful of Horace's *Ut pictura poesis* is carefully discussed. Reference is made to the heterodoxy of Burke and Adam Smith, who dared to proclaim the fitness of the mean and commonplace for pictorial treatment.

F. E. BUDD.

*Das Englische Kinderlied* (by Lotte Böckheler. Leipzig: Robert Noske. 1935. 114 pp. 4 M.) deals with 'rhythmische, gesungene oder rezitierte Produkte, in denen irgend eine Anschauungsweise in kindlicher Weise ausgesprochen ist'. Bibliographical data are listed on pp. 3-7 and 109-14. The material is considered under three headings: (1) Songs written by adults for children, (2) Songs adopted and adapted by children, (3) Songs originating amongst children. Content, language, form, rhythm and melodies are discussed, pp. 59-100. A comparison with the 'Kunst-kinderlied' is attempted pp. 101-6. The author comes to the conclusion that the earlier 'Kunstkinderalieder' are contemplative whilst the 'popular' type is active; the former is apt to be abstract, the latter is always concrete. There is no mention of Lewis Carroll or of the special type familiar from Mr Belloc's *Cautionary Tales*. Form and rhythm are dealt with superficially. Under these headings much work remains to be done in a thorough study of the survival of Germanic verse forms in nursery-rhymes.

F. NORMAN.

*Die Figur des Propheten in der englischen Literatur* (by Bernard Bamberger. Würzburg: Max Wolff. 63 pp. No date or price) gives a short characterisation of the prophet in antiquity, adopting the classification into two types, inductive and intuitive, proposed by A. Bouché-Leclercq. Occurrences of words for prophet in Old English are then listed, and it is shown that, with the possible exception of one gloss, inherited Germanic words for prophet bear a Christian meaning. Since our Old English remains are mostly composed and all transmitted by clerics that does not occasion any surprise. Various types of prophet are then analysed in Middle English literature (pp. 15-34), during the Reformation (pp. 35-48), during the eighteenth century (pp. 48-58). A great deal of useful material has been collected, and full references are given. The study is a preliminary survey rather than a full treatment, and it is to be hoped that

the author will return to the subject and present his conclusions in a more reasoned and less tabular form.

F. NORMAN.

It is a pleasure to welcome an extraordinarily cheap and compact dictionary, the product of two scholars who have had experience of the East and hence are able to approach English lexicography from a more detached standpoint than most. It is *The 'Rational' English Dictionary*, by Dr Michael West and Mr J. G. Endicott (London: Philip and Tacey, Ltd. 1935. 1s. 6d.). Based upon the principles lucidly set forth by Dr West in his *Definition Vocabulary* (Bulletin No. 4 of the Department of Educational Research, University of Toronto), the Dictionary successfully defines 18,000 words including the most modern with a 'definition vocabulary' of only 1490 words. The definitions of such words as fortitude, insulin, insure, latch, pledge, rayon, serum, subjective, syncopate, tact, torpedo and such combinations as 'infringement of copyright', are simple enough for a child to understand and yet fully adequate to bring out their specific meaning. It is but rarely the authors have to supply a definition within a definition, e.g., of cartridge within that of magazine, of endow within grammar school, for their well-tryed basic vocabulary (more copious than Ogden's by about 640 words) enables them to move freely and smoothly omitting nothing essential. Occasionally a difficult concept like hyperbola, or relativity, is clarified by the addition of an example illustrating its application. Altogether this is a pioneer piece of work both lexically and educationally.

W. E. COLLINSON.

As an introduction to the study of the musical treatment of Sacchetti's lyrics Professor Li Gotti has provided a careful biographical sketch (*Il Sacchetti e la tecnica musicale del Trecento italiano*. Per Ettore Li Gotti—Nino Pirrotta. Florence: Sansoni. 1935. 107 pp. 15 lire) in which use is made of documentary evidence that had not been exploited by previous biographers. It is followed by a careful study of the manuscripts containing Sacchetti's poems, and of the value of these poems. However modestly presented, it is a piece of work that, thanks also to the well chosen bibliographical information, must become the main authority on Sacchetti as a poet. In point of fact this book mainly aims at describing the poetic technique of Sacchetti and its connexion with the musical technique of the composers who set these lyrics to music. So far as I am able to judge in a field unfamiliar to me, the origin and scope of Italian fourteenth-century music (*ars nova*) are clearly explained for the first time and these impressions are confirmed by a comparison with Hermann Zenck's article, 'Die Musik im Zeitalter Dantes', in *Deutsches Dante Jahrbuch*, Bd. 17, 1935, pp. 1-19. It is shown that Italian fourteenth-century music mainly depended on French models; but there is much more in this section which only specialised historians of music will be able to evaluate, and there are views that will need a careful consideration

from all students of mediæval lyric poetry quite as much as from students of mediæval music. So that the importance of this book transcends the seemingly unambitious object the authors have endeavoured to attain, and they are to be congratulated upon a felicitous plan that they have successfully carried out.

C. FOLIGNO.

A work entailing a stupendous amount of labour has been compiled by Professor James Hutton (*The Greek Anthology in Italy to the Year 1800. Cornell Studies in English*, no. xxiii. Cornell: University Press. 1935. 663 pp. 13s. 6d.). After a study of the collections of Greek epigrams which were formed at various times, the author lists all the imitations and echoes of them in Latin, neo-Latin and Italian down to 1800; and he would be venturesome who hoped to be able to suggest any addition to so complete and well presented a list. It is interesting to read in the introduction (p. 61) that Francesco Robortelli, to whom the credit is due for the first commentary of Aristotle's *Poetics* (Florence, 1548), was also the first to give an elaborate theory of the epigram. Concise but adequate biographical notes of all the poets mentioned, a well-planned register and a careful index greatly add to the usefulness of a book that students of the subject will in future confidently as well as gratefully look up.

C. FOLIGNO.

It is to be assumed that all that has been written about art for art's sake as a guiding principle of creative literature could as cogently be repeated concerning bibliographies for the sake of bibliographies. And in glancing through the pages of the book compiled by Messrs Joseph G. Fucilla and Joseph M. Carrière (*D'Annunzio abroad: a bibliographical Essay*. Publications of the Institute of French Studies of Columbia University. Columbia University Press. 1935. ix+239 pp.) this grave question thrusts itself irresistibly upon my attention. There can be nothing but praise for the strict adherence of the authors to highest standards of the science of bibliography; but there might be some uncertainty concerning the value of a good proportion of the entries. And collectively these 2224 entries of articles and books in English, French and German, provide an impressive testimony as well to the place which must be assigned to D'Annunzio in the world of letters, as to the limitless zeal of present-day scholars. If the general public is ill-informed about D'Annunzio, it is certainly not the fault of contemporary men of letters; and ignorance will henceforward be even less justified since the publication of so careful a guide to the D'Annunzio literature.

C. FOLIGNO.

Dr Francisca Palau Casamitjana has taken the festive genius of Don Ramón de la Cruz for the theme of an essay which has all the stiff formalism of a thesis in *Ramón de la Cruz und der französische Kultur-einfluss im Spanien des XVIII Jahrhunderts* (Bonn: Röhrscheid. 1935. viii+159 pp. 4 M. 80). An introduction characterises the Spanish *siglo*

*de las luces*. The body of the work, after a brief summary of the dramatist's career as a petty functionary, considers the main problem under three heads: (a) Ramón de la Cruz as translator and mediator of French works, (b) his resistance to the denaturalisation of Spain in customs, language, social types and religious sentiment, and (c) the specific attacks he makes on neoclassical tragedy and French literary tendencies. A concluding couple of pages speak of Cruz as a champion and exemplar of what was truly Spanish and popular. There are many notes, and a well-nourished bibliography. Incidentally, Dr Palau analyses at some length the relation between Cruz's version and Ducis' *Hamlet*, and also his rendering of Beaumarchais' *Eugénie*. Our playwright opposed not only French innovations in Madrid, but also a smaller stream of Italian novelties.

W. J. ENTWISTLE.

Rousseau declared that he was ready to wager that the Letters of a Portuguese Nun were not written by a woman; and in this a good many scholars were prepared to agree with him. But he based his assumption on the theory that a woman could never have written so passionately; he had forgotten Sappho. These letters, of which no Portuguese original has ever been forthcoming, certainly contain a note of passion, of genuine emotion; but there is also much in which one may see 'a man's invention and his hand'. The genuine cries of the heart can be explained by the fact that Guilleragues, the French man of letters to whom the letters are now assigned, may have read letters from one or more Portuguese, laywomen or nuns, written to French officers after the French army had returned to France from Portugal. Mr Gonçalves Rodrigues has gone thoroughly into this intricate subject (*Mariana Alcoforado. História e crítica de uma fraude literaria*. Coimbra: Impr. da Universidade. 1935. 64 pp.) and after his able study, which contains a bibliography and several facsimiles, the number of those who believe in Mariana Alcoforado as a writer will surely be greatly diminished.

A. F. G. BELL.

M. J. Jehle in *Das deutsche Kunstmärchen von der Romantik zum Naturalismus* (*Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, vol. XIX, Nos. 1-2. 1935. 196 pp. \$ 2.50) brings to her task much zest and sensibility. She has sifted a mass of critical literature, the examination of which, however, somewhat interferes with the directness of the presentation. Rejecting the criterion of the *Volksmärchen* which biased such critics as Benz, she insists on the autonomy of the *Kunstmärchen*, its right to subjective elements and to contact with contemporary thought. In dealing with the Romantics the author lingers only over the too much neglected Eichendorff, while she finds the most enduring influence on later writers in E. T. A. Hoffmann. Dismissing most of the *Jungdeutsche Kunstmärchen* as overlaid with satire and allegory, she proceeds to trace the influx of reality into the fairy tales of outstanding writers up to the point when the Naturalistic Movement temporarily ousts a *genre* in which German nineteenth-century literature far outshines its neighbours. Her rigid division

into I, *Das vorrealistische Märchen* and II, *Das Märchen im poetischen Realismus* seems somewhat misleading and puts such works as *Peter Schlemihl* (I) and Storm's *Die Regentrude* (II) oddly out of place. Hand in hand with realism goes the influence of the folk-tale; this alone can account for the inclusion of Stifter's *Bergkrystall* in which there is no supernatural at all. Some misprints and minor infelicities of style mar an otherwise pleasantly written book.

W. E. DELP.

J. Müller's *Das Märchen vom Unibos (Deutsche Arbeiten der Universität Köln, No. 7. Jena: Diederichs Verlag. 1934. 128 pp. 6 M.)* is an investigation into the tale best known as Grimm's *Das Bürle* (No. 61) with the help of the historico-geographical method. Students of fairy tales have had a vested interest in this method of approach since the appearance of Bolte-Polivka's monumental annotations to the *Household Tales* which has proved hard to resist. Herr Müller's study appears under the ægis of Professor von der Leyen and follows the usual lines with somewhat more than usual efficiency. Criticism of his work must therefore be levelled at the method.

The geographical method remains scientific only so long as the data are collected over a wide area with ethnological precision. The historical method, dealing as it does with chance recordings through the centuries, is a literary discipline, and as such only obscurely connected with ethnology. Their hybrid, the historico-geographical method, would, therefore, only claim serious attention if it could present us with as many well-spaced and well-documented recordings per tale for each generation as an ethnologist would make for the present. As things are, the method smacks rather of pseudo-science. The mesh of the statistical net which it casts into the ocean of the past is so enormous as to offer little prospect of catching anything but whales.

To Herr Müller's knowledge the tale was first recorded in MS. Brussels Codex 10,084 as *Versus de Unibove*, in Flanders probably not long after 1050 (Grimm-Schmeller, *Lat. Gedichte d. 10. & 11. Jhs.* Göttingen, 1838). Comparisons with the Till Eulenspiegel Cycle reveal to our æsthetic satisfaction that several motifs were added to the purer chain of the Unibos tale 'proper'. (It is typical of the approach chosen to patch up the shortcomings of history and geography with an appeal to æsthetics.) In the malicious faking of the supernatural, the great charm of this refreshing tale, Herr Müller sees Late Hellenic influence. In lieu of the tale he traces its ironic attitude *via* Continental Celts to Ireland and from there *via* Irish missionaries to Flanders; which nobody would be so bold as to affirm or to deny.

A. T. HATTO.

Joseph Müller-Blattau presents in his work: *Zur Erforschung des ostpreussischen Volksliedes (Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten-Gesellschaft. Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1934. 50 pp. Sewn 4 M. 60)* a study of the tunes of folk-songs taken down recently by the author from peasants in a district of East Prussia, Masuren, where a mixed dialect, chiefly Polish, is

spoken. The words of the songs are in this dialect, and are not quoted in the present study, but the author proves that the tunes are of German origin and date mostly from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. He collected in this district alone some 250 tunes, most of which have been forgotten in other parts of Germany. There are some interesting notes on the cultivation of the folk-song as a living form of art by these conservative peasants. They sing them still at work and at play, and they regularly dance to them. A single peasant will often have a repertory of 100 songs, and at weddings the party will sing the whole night through without repeating one song. It is the tunes that keep the songs alive. Some tunes are never varied, others are constantly provided with improvised variants. Many types of tune are distinguished by the author, and their probable evolution is sketched. Though the study is mainly of interest to the student of music it throws light on the nature of the folk-song in general.

W. H. BRUFORD.

Some time ago Dr Silz published a study on 'Early German Romanticism', and the selection of *German Romantic Lyrics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1934. xx+319 pp. 7s. 6d.) which now follows must be considered as supplementing his earlier book. In regard to the number of poets whose names are included the anthology leaves nothing to be desired. From Hölderlin, Novalis and Eichendorff to Mörike, Lenau and Heine everything is represented which could in any way be regarded or interpreted as a foundation for the conception 'romantic'. Tieck's verses describing the 'mondbeglänzte Zaubernacht, die den Sinn gefangen hält', which stand as a model of romantic poetry, find a place here, as do Brentano's stanzas: 'Nach Sevilla, nach Sevilla!', which for many have attained the motto-status of 'Over the hills and far away'. Careful attention is paid to everything singable or in folk-song style. The editor feels variety in metrical form to be particularly characteristic of the romantic lyric. Unfortunately it is hardly possible to be in entire agreement with the ideas put forward on this subject in the introduction to the book. These ideas are principally directed by the consideration of ancient classical metrical models, and cannot therefore be immediately applied—even in comparison—to German examples. One might have expected that Dr Silz would have used here to more purpose Andreas Heusler's 'Deutsche Versgeschichte'—the standard work on the subject, and one that he himself mentions. The appendix attached to the anthology provides valuable notes and pointers for the reader interested in literary history and it is for readers of this kind that the book, both in design and scope, is principally intended.

K.-W. MAURER.

Dr S. D. Stirck, having made a study of the pages of the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* of 1833-4, has picked out a number of representative articles by Laube on literature in general and on Young German and other writers (including Jean Paul, Chamisso, Lenau, Immermann) in particular, providing a few remarks on each and a brief introduction on

Laube's critical beginnings and his association with that journal: *Kritiken von Heinrich Laube (1829-1835). Ausgewählt und eingeleitet als Beitrag zur Geschichte des 'Jungen Deutschland' von S. D. Stirk (Sprache und Kultur der germanischen und romanischen Völker, D, i., Breslau: Priebatsch. 1934. xxiii+105 pp. RM. 4)*. Several of the essays reprinted—those on Heine, Gutzkow, Börne and Mundt, for instance—were not included by their author in his less radical *Moderne Charakteristiken* of 1835, while those that he did choose to re-issue suffered a certain amount of pruning. This selection therefore claims to be more accurately representative of the Young German atmosphere than the latter work. Laube's programme, with its high-sounding references—after Herder—to the history of literature as 'die Seelenlehre der Menschheit' or 'Entwicklungsgeschichte der Menschheit' is far ahead of his achievement. For amid all his polemical vigour there is little profundity or power of concentration. A journalist's ease in composition takes the place of fibrous argument; superficial, at times trivial, talkativeness, with an occasional shadow of an epigram, that of systematic thought. He was too much the child of his age and felt too strongly the disharmony of its outlook to present anything really positive. A wise remark here and there on the theatre foreshadows the future Laube. To such a man a selection is normally a satisfactory approach and Dr Stirk's book is a perfectly satisfactory selection.

A. GILLIES.

#### EDITORIAL NOTE

The Editors intend, from time to time, to publish in the *Modern Language Review* approved articles of more than average length, in special enlarged numbers, with assistance from University Publications Funds or from other sources. They hope to meet in this way the need for a medium for scholarly work on a larger scale, which could not be included in ordinary numbers of the journal. The present issue of the *Review*, while containing the usual number of articles of normal length and of reviews, has been augmented in this manner, and other enlarged numbers will follow at intervals, as opportunity offers.

C. J. SISSON,  
General Editor.

## NEW PUBLICATIONS

January—March 1936

With the collaboration of Dr MARY S. SERJEANTSON (English),  
A. T. HATTO and F. NORMAN (German)

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- BONNEAU, G., *Anthologie de la poésie japonaise*. Paris, Geuthner. 40 fr.  
DOUVAL, M., *La Poésie et le principe de transcendance*. Paris, Alcan. 40 fr.  
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STANGE, E., *Das Wort und die Wörter*. Königsbruck, Pabst. n.p.  
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SPANKE, H., *Beziehungen zwischen romanischer und mittellateinischer Lyrik* (Abh. d. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl., 3, 18). Berlin, Weidmann. 12 M.  
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**Mediaeval Latin.**

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HEAVEN AND EARTH IN THE 'PARLEMENT  
OF FOULES'

It is remarkable that the published studies of the *Parlement of Foules* are, generally speaking, concerned only with attempts to elucidate certain historical allusions alleged to inform the allegory of the birds' debate. Chaucer's account of the *Somnium Scipionis*, which introduces it, is treated as a negligible excrescence. And while these persistent 'allegorists' grow less and less unanimous in their findings, their 'gravely impassioned academic quest of postponed betrothals'<sup>1</sup> takes us no nearer to the meaning and value of the poem considered as a whole.

The present attitude of the critics is thus judiciously summarized by Professor Wells. 'The *Parlement* exhibits the tendency to disproportion of treatment and lack of unity, that appears in much of Chaucer's work, especially that of his earlier years. There is the same difficulty in getting to the story. There is the same obsession of working in material from reading: the epitome from Cicero is extraneous, the elaborate description of the garden, though pleasing, is unnecessary.'<sup>2</sup> Even W. G. Dodd, who holds clearly that the *Parlement* 'is a tale of love', implies as clearly the irrelevance of the *Somnium* stanzas.<sup>3</sup> G. R. Stewart's essay on 'The Moral Chaucer' promises by its title some attention to the *Somnium*. He notes how serious, not merely conventionally 'moral', Chaucer can be, and how many of his later poems, notably the *House of Fame* and *Troilus*, show him 'greatly interested in the deeper problems of life to which he was able to see no solution except through religion'.<sup>4</sup> But of this most 'moral' dream he has nothing whatever to say.

Yet that Chaucer's mind was occupied with the moral aspect of poetry in general, and of his own work in particular, is a well-warranted assumption. It would be extraordinary indeed if this were not so.<sup>5</sup> Morality was an officious tyrant in the fourteenth century of Christendom, and poetry had still to be explained away, by Petrarch and Boccaccio, for instance, as an ingenious stratagem to doctor childish man for his own good. Chaucer was the more concerned as avowedly the poet of courtly

<sup>1</sup> J. L. Lowes, *Geoffrey Chaucer* (1934), p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> J. E. Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English* (1926), p. 646.

<sup>3</sup> *Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower* (1913), pp. 121 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See *Essays in Criticism* (1929), by Members of the Department of English, University of California, I, 91-109.

<sup>5</sup> See my introductory note to *Chaucer: Troilus and Criseyde* (O.U.P., 1935), pp. xiv-xviii.

love. His 'craft' was of doubtful moral standing, a sort of rival religion, a piece of worldly vanity certainly condemned by the official Christianity of the day. He could hardly hope to succeed both as 'clerk of Venus' and of the Church. There are many signs in Chaucer's work that show him conscious of this dilemma. Is it then likely that this dream of heavenly things, so carefully contrived by Chaucer to 'convey' his *Parlement*, is quite extraneous to his purpose in this particular poem?

Again, and on still more general grounds, may it not be assumed that every great poet does at least conceive his subject as an integral whole? Chaucer himself knows all the rules about keeping the subject in mind. We remember how he makes his learned Clerk censure Petrarch's elaborate introduction to his Latin version of Boccaccio's story of Griselda:

And trewely, as to my jugement,  
Me thinketh it a thing impertinent,  
Save that he wol conveyen his matere. (E 53 ff.)

It is true that Chaucer can defy the Lady Rhetoric on occasion. But at least we are justified in our reading of the *Parlement* in looking for something more than a merely conventional progression or mechanical connexion to link together its three chief parts: the epitome of the *Somnium*; the elaborate description of the garden; and, finally, the parliament of the birds. If, as Professor Lowes maintains, the 'complex weave' of the poem is indeed 'seamless',<sup>1</sup> is it not probable that these introductory stanzas bear their own share of significance in the pattern of the whole?

Now it is generally accepted that the *Parlement* is a poem belonging to the tradition of the *Roman de la Rose*, and that Chaucer deliberately chose to revert in it to the themes and devices of the love vision. This point need not be laboured. We may note here, however, certain parallels between the garden described in the *Parlement* and the paradise that makes the setting of the first part of the *Rose*:

For wel wende I ful sikerly  
Have been in paradys erthely. (Rom. 647-8.)

The *Rose* too has its catalogue of trees; there, too, are the birds:

Ther mighte men see many flockes  
Of turtles and laverokkes... (Rom. 661 ff.)

and it is of love they sing:

Layes of love, ful wel sowning  
They songen in hir jargoning. (Rom. 715-6.)

Nature, likewise, is the 'goddess' in the paradise of the *Rose*. And it is from this background that Chaucer moves forward to his story, his main

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 118.

thesis, so to speak, in which he humanizes the creatures depicted on Nature's robe, and endows them with voices and very earthly differences in their attitudes to love.

In both setting and story, then, 'love romance' is Chaucer's subject, and the dream vision his chosen vehicle. Where is he to find the appropriate dream opening, and one in accordance with the *Rose* tradition? Why should he not follow up the hint contained in the *Rose* itself? The *Somnium*, we remember, and perhaps Chaucer remembered, holds pride of place in that romance.

Many men seyn that in sweveninges  
Ther nis but fables and lesinges.... (Rom. 1, 2.)

runs the incipit; and 'Macrobes' is at once adduced:

That halt not dremes false ne lees,  
But undoth us the avisoun  
That whylom mette king Cipiou. (Rom. 8-10.)

Why not take this 'verray parfit' dream for his prologue? He will examine (or has examined 'not yore agon') its pertinence to his story—one of love, and of very earthly love.

Chaucer begins his poem by reminding us of his trade as a courtly love poet, and tells the difficulties of his craft. As elsewhere, he assigns himself a place outside the circle of lovers 'in deed', but, again as elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> writes of his assiduity in reading about Love's folk, and of the miracles and cruel ire of their lord. And so, he goes on, he takes up this old book of 'Tullius of the Dreme of Scipioun', for (and this too he notes elsewhere)<sup>2</sup> it is out of 'olde feeldes' that the new corn is so constantly and confidently to be expected. He had looked into the *Dream* for a special reason. 'Not yore agon', he writes:

hit happed me for to beholde  
Upon a boke, was write with lettres olde;  
And ther-upon, a certeyn thing to lerne,  
The longe day ful faste I radde and yerne. (18-21.)

Now it is noteworthy that Chaucer often uses the word 'thing' in a literary sense: in the Prologue to the *Legend*—'he useth thinges for to make'<sup>3</sup>—it is there equivalent to 'poems' or 'books'. Here then is an indication that Chaucer did look to the *Somnium* for 'literary material'.

Next follows Chaucer's account of the *Somnium* itself. But what a contrast it presents to the earthly paradise of bliss described in the *Rose*, and followed in his own poem! Here too are starry wonders and strange

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Prol. *LGW*, *HF*, 628, *TC*, I, 16; in all three contexts Chaucer denies first-hand knowledge of love, but emphasizes his zest for reading about it.

<sup>2</sup> Prol. *LGW*, 1-36, 73.

<sup>3</sup> 'B' 364; cf. *LGW*, 23, *CT*, E 54.

sights, but above and through all are heard the solemn warning accents of African Scipio. Only those

lered other lewed,  
That loveth comun profit, (46-7.)

can hope for happiness. Our present world is 'but a maner deth'. 'The litel erth' is seen in its eternal perspective:

Than bad he him, sin erthe was so lyte,  
And ful of torment and of harde grace,  
That he ne shulde him in the world delyte. (64-6.)

Man should know himself immortal, and once again he is enjoined to 'werke and wisse to comun profit' if he would attain

that place dere,  
That ful of blisse is and of soules clere. (76-7.)

In such an atmosphere Chaucer has indeed left his own world and its values. 'Lecherous folk', and so concludes his translation, must suffer the direst penalties before they can gain 'that blisful place'

To which to comen god thee sende his grace. (84.)

So the book is closed, and the poet resumes:

And to my bedde I gan me for to dresse,  
Fulfil of thought and besy hevinesse;  
For bothe I hadde thing which that I nolde,  
And eek I ne hadde that thing that I wolde. (88-91.)

Surely the meaning of the last couplet is clear, and refers to that 'certeyn thing', the material for his prologue, which Chaucer had been seeking? 'I had (found) something I did not want; I had not (found) what I wanted.' That is to say, he has discovered a real delight and paradise of bliss, but *not* the earthly paradise for which he looked; he has still to find that 'thing' which is to prefigure his poem of worldly vanity.

Skeat asserts that the couplet contains no 'personal reference' whatever: that Chaucer simply means that he *had* 'care and heaviness' and *had not* his 'desires'.<sup>1</sup> But this particular antithesis, as Skeat reminds us, is in fact a favourite one of Chaucer's; it is worth while therefore to examine its source in Boethius. In Book III of the *Consolation*, Philosophy has been arguing about the universal pursuit of the *summum bonum*; and in the second *prosa* considers the 'diverse studies' and various 'delights' through which men seek happiness on earth. Man, thus opens the third *prosa*, is an 'earthly beast', but dreaming always of his heavenly origin—'ye loken fram a-fer to thilke verray fyn of blisfulnesse.' Now supposing, Philosophy goes on to argue, you had all those riches which you thought would bring you 'bliss', would there not even then come moments when

<sup>1</sup> *Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, I, 508-9.



The whole of the *Troilus* may in fact be justifiably viewed as an epic tragedy of the essential transitoriness of earthly love:

But al shal passe; and thus take I my leve. (v, 1085.)

—and the transition to the epilogue—

Repeyreth hoom from worldly vanitee (v, 1837.)

is not a 'moral' artificially pegged to the story.<sup>1</sup>

Reverting to the *Parlement*: next follows the stanza adapted from Claudian on the fulfilment in dreams of men's native cravings:

The wery hunter, slepinge in his bed,  
To wode ayeen his minde goth anoon.... (99-100.)

So also

The lover met he hath his lady wonne. (105.)

And so, too, Chaucer the love poet sleeps, and the deferred fulfilment comes at last. For the African appears; and

thus seyde he, 'thou hast thee so wel born  
In loking of myn olde book to-torn,  
Of which Macrobie roghte nat a lyte,  
That somdel of thy labour wolde I quyte!' (109-12.)

A condescension this: the heavenly guide points the dreamer back to earth. And thus, returning full circle to his own world again, Chaucer ends his poem by invoking Venus, goddess of his proper craft, to help him in his rime.

The 'quiting of labour' by provision of material for the poet has an interesting parallel in the *House of Fame*. For in the first book of that poem occurs the dream of the ideal love story—the classical one of Aeneas, another much-ploughed 'field' of old romance, a story of love but of adventure as well. In Book II the Eagle tells Chaucer how Jove has decided, because of the poet's pains to praise Love's art (though he is no lover himself), to take him to the House of Fame. And he is promised 'tidings of Love's folk'. In Book III Chaucer sees in his dream all the minstrels

And gestiours, that tellen tales  
Bothe of weping and of game. (1197.)

These have achieved fame, but yet cannot afford Chaucer the 'tidings' he still seeks, his right material. 'But these', he says, 'be no such tidings as I mean' (1894-5). So he is borne to the House of Rumour 'ful of chapmen and pilgrims', and here at last he realizes his intention to delight and amuse himself, and hears the latest story

That shal not now be told for me. (2136.)

<sup>1</sup> Note that *Troilus*, like the 'wel y-thewed' men of the *Somnium*, is depicted as having regard always to the 'common profit': he studied 'the townes goode' (iv, 553).

The *Hous of Fame*, then, tells a story—the poet in search of his material—similar to that discoverable in the proem to the *Parlement*. There is the same ‘ideal’ background set up to serve as starting point; the same service and ‘study’ of love performed by the outsider craftsman; the same ‘heaviness’ of spirit that is rewarded.<sup>1</sup> But whereas, in the *Hous of Fame*, the story proper and the realistic ‘adventures’ which Chaucer seeks are related incidentally as part of his search; in the *Parlement*, the meaning comes by way of contrast. The antithesis set up between the heavenly paradise of the *Somnium* and the earthly paradise of the *Rose* is not solved. To fulfil his purpose Chaucer must humanize the bleak asceticism of Scipio’s dream. And the final resolution of this antithesis, so strikingly pictured in its opposing outlines in the *Parlement*, abstract moral theory on the one hand and vital human art on the other, though it was presaged in the *Troilus*, was never fully achieved in Chaucer’s mind till he came to write the *Canterbury Tales*. But in making this final resolution Chaucer ushered in the Renaissance.

R. C. GOFFIN.

LONDON.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *HF*, 2011.

## THE FIRST ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE 'DECAMERON'

ALTHOUGH a version of the tale of Guiscardo and Ghismonda was undertaken in the first half of the fifteenth century<sup>1</sup>, the *Decameron* as a whole made a belated appearance in English. Germany had its complete translation about 1473, France in 1485, Spain in 1496,<sup>2</sup> but England had to wait until 1620. Even then the path of the translator was beset with difficulties. The sanction of the Bishop of London was given in 1620, but the Archbishop of Canterbury intervened and revoked the licence.<sup>3</sup> If the book nevertheless was published that year, one may reasonably surmise that something had been done to meet the archbishop's objections.

In examining a work which saw the light in these peculiar circumstances it may be of vital importance to determine what source the translator used. The problem is not straightforward and the views of scholars have clashed when attempting its solution. Emil Koeppel<sup>4</sup> claims that the translation of 1620 is based on the Italian text of Lionardo Salviati, while Edward Hutton suggests tentatively that it had as its starting point the French version of Antoine Le Maçon.<sup>5</sup> I hope to prove that the translator availed himself both of Salviati<sup>6</sup> and of Le Maçon.

When we are considering the Englishman's relation to the latter, there

<sup>1</sup> It is sometimes erroneously stated that no translation of isolated stories from the *Decameron* appeared until 1566. Cf. E. Hutton, Introduction to *The Decameron*, Tudor Translations, ed. W. E. Henley, London, 1909, I, cxxii, and again in his *Giovanni Boccaccio*, London, 1910, p. 313. In point of fact a metrical version of the tale of Guiscardo and Ghismonda occurs in Add. MS. 12524 at the British Museum (first half of the fifteenth century); another of the same tale in MS. Rawlinson, C. 86 at the Bodleian Library (second half of the fifteenth century); and a third in MS. R. 3. 19 in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge (second half of the fifteenth century). And even if we confine the term 'appeared' to printed books, mention may be made of William Walter's verse translations of the tales of Guiscardo and Ghismonda and Titus and Gisippus, both of them printed by Wynkyn de Worde, the former in 1532 and the latter presumably about the same time, and each preserved in a unique copy in the Duke of Devonshire's collection at Chatsworth. Further, in 1531 Sir Thomas Elyot's adaptation of the story of Titus and Gisippus was printed in *The Governour*, and lastly, in 1562 Edward Lewicke published his metrical version of the same tale, a unique copy of which exists in the Henry Huntington Library at San Marino.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, Leipzig, 1925- , IV, 262-3. A Catalan MS. translation was completed 5 April 1429 (ed. 'Els Nostres Classics', Barcelona, 1926).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. E. Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers*, 1875-94, III, 311.

<sup>4</sup> *Studien zur Geschichte der italienischen Novelle in der englischen Litteratur des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Strassburg, 1892, p. 86.

<sup>5</sup> Introduction to *The Decameron*, p. cxxiv, and also in his *Giovanni Boccaccio*, p. 315.

<sup>6</sup> Quotations from the Italian in the following article are always taken from the edition of Salviati published at Florence in 1582, except where the passage in question was excluded by Salviati from his text. In such cases the edition of V. Martinelli, London, 1762, has been used.

is yet another complication to take into account, namely, which of the numerous editions<sup>1</sup> of Le Maçon's rendering was at his disposal. It is hardly possible to arrive at absolute certainty on this point, but at any rate the first edition of 1545 may be ruled out, as may be seen from two passages in the fifth tale of the ninth day. Calandrino, describing the beauty of Niccolosa, says that she is 'piu bella, che vna Lammia'. Le Maçon in 1545 translates 'plus belle que vne raine', whereas the later editions<sup>2</sup> read 'plus belle qu'vne faee',<sup>3</sup> to which the English translator approximates when he says 'much fairer then the Queen of Fairies her selfe'. And among the requisites which Calandrino is told to provide himself with to win the love of Niccolosa is 'vn poco di carta non nata', which Le Maçon in 1545 translates 'vng peu de parchemin auorton'. On the other hand, the later versions from 1551 onwards have the more intelligible rendering 'vn peu de parchemin vierge',<sup>4</sup> which the English translator adopts, when he says 'a piece of Virgin Parchment'.

The influence of Le Maçon is noticeable in the names of persons and places. It is true that the English translator is by no means consistent; indeed, his practice varies from tale to tale and even within the same tale. Consequently such a place as Salerno may appear either as Salerne or Salerno. But, however arbitrary his practice may be, the following list proves beyond all doubt that he must have had the French text before him:

No. of day and tale	1620 version	Le Maçon	Italian text
I, 1	Chappelet du prat	Chappelet du Prat	Ciapperello da Prato
I, 2	Iehannot de Cheuigny	Iehannot de Cheuigny <sup>5</sup>	Giannotto di Cuigni
I, 5	Gennes <sup>6</sup>	Genes	Genoua
	Montferrat	Montferrat	Monferrato
I, 8	Genes	Genes	Genoua
	Guillaume Boursier	Guillaume Boursier	Guiglielmo Borsiere
II, 2	Chasteau Guillaume	Chasteau Guillaume	castel Guiglielmo
II, 3	Thebaldo	Thebalde	Tedaldo
II, 5	Perouse <sup>7</sup>	Perouse	Perugia
	Maupertuis <sup>8</sup>	maupertuis	Malpertugio

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. C. Brunet, *Manuel du libraire*, 5th ed., Paris, 1860-5, I, 1006. There were no fewer than fourteen editions published at Paris and Lyons between 1545 and 1614, as well as one at Amsterdam. Of these I have examined all but the edition which Brunet records as having been printed by Estienne Roffet at Paris in 1548. No copy of this edition is in either the British Museum or the Bibliothèque Nationale or the Bibliothèque de Sainte-Geneviève. Quotations from the French text in the following article are taken from the edition of 1551, except where otherwise stated.

<sup>2</sup> That is, other than the edition of 1548, which I have been unable to examine.

<sup>3</sup> In some instances, by a typographical error, 'faee'.

<sup>4</sup> Occasionally, as in the edition published by Jean le Fevre at Lyons in 1597 and in that which appeared at Amsterdam the same year, owing to a printer's blunder, 'chemin'.

<sup>5</sup> In the edition of 1551, by a misprint, 'Cehuigny'.

<sup>6</sup> Once 'Genoua'.

<sup>7</sup> On one occasion the text says 'Perouse or Perugia'.

<sup>8</sup> Corrected from the misprint 'Naupertuis'.

No. of day and tale	1620 version	Le Maçon	Italian text
II, 6	Henriet Capece Iehannot de Procida Nicolas Grignan	Henryet capece Iehannot de Procida Nicollas de Grignan	Arrighetto Capece Giannotto di Procida Nicolò da Grignano
II, 7	Churiacy	Churiacy	Churaci
II, 8	Gualtier, Counte D'Angiers	Gualtier conte d'Angiers	Gualtieri, Conte d' Anguersa
II, 9	Bernardo Geneura	Bernard Geneure	Bernabò Zinevra
III, 5	Ricciardo, surnamed the Magnifico	Le Magnifique Richard	Ricciardo... chiamato il Zima
III, 9	Bertrand Roussillon	Bertrand Roussillon	Beltramo Rossiglione
IV, 3	Candie	Candie	Creti
IV, 6	Gabriello	Gabriel	Gabriotto
IV, 8	Siluestra	Siluestre	Saluestra
V, 1	Chynon Candye Hormisda	Chymon Candie Hormisde	Cimone Creti Ormisda
V, 2	Thunis	Thunes	Tunis
V, 3	Angelina	Angeline	Agnolella
V, 4	Iaquemina	Iaquemine	Giacomina
V, 5	Bernardino	Bernardin	Bernabuccio
VI, 9	Saint Michael d'Horta	saint Michel d'horté	Orto San Michele
VI, 10	Gerrardo di Bousy	Guerard de Bousy	Gherardo di Bonsi
VIII, 10	Biancafiore	Blanchefleur	Iancafiore
IX, 4	Aniolliero Francesco	Aniolher Francois	Anguilieri Cecco
IX, 5	Nicholetta	Collette	Niccolosa
X, 2	Ghinotto di Tacco	Guinot de Tacco	Ghino di Tacco
X, 4	Potestate of Modena	potestat de Modene	Podestà di Modona
X, 8	Athens	Athenes	Achaia
X, 9	Thorello	Thorel	Torello

Frequently a word or a turn of phrase gives an equally clear indication. Thus in I, 8, when Guiglielmo Borsiere advises the miserly Grimaldi to have the picture of 'la cortesia' painted in his house, Le Maçon's translation 'la liberalité' has its counterpart in 'the lively picture of Liberality'. In I, 9 the King of Cyprus who became 'rigidissimo persecutore' figures in Le Maçon as 'tresrigoureux iusticier' and in the English version as 'a most sharpe Iusticer'. In I, 10, when Alberto da Bologna declares that he has often chanced into divers places where he has seen ladies disposed to 'a Collation or rere-banquet after dinner', the connexion with 'le me suis trouué plusieursfois en des lieux ou i'ay veu les dames faisans collation apres disner' is much closer than with 'Io sono stato piu volte gia la, doue io ho veduto merendarsi le donne'. In II, 3, when accommodation is so scarce at the inn, the landlord makes up a bed for Alessandro on some corn sacks in the same chamber as the abbot. In the English translation he tells him: 'Neuerthelesse, next adioyning to my Lord Abbots Chamber, there are certaine Corn-lofts, whether I can closely bring you', which corresponds to Le Maçon's rendering: 'toutes-

fois il y a tout ioignant la chambre de mōsieur, certains greniers, ou ie te meneray bien.' In II, 4 the 'poore shirt of Maile' left to Landolfo Ruffolo by the robbers bears a greater resemblance to 'vn petit haubergeon' than to 'un pouero farsettino', and when he 'is led in to the Towne' by his rescuer we are reminded of Le Maçon's 'en la ville' rather than of 'nella terra'. And in II, 9 the 'sillie Chapperone' borrowed by the unfortunate heroine was suggested by Le Maçon's 'chaperon'. In III, 1, when the nun exclaims 'Aue Maria', she is using the same words as in Le Maçon, whereas the original reads merely 'Oime', and in III, 5 the scarf which is employed as a signal for the lover is reminiscent of the 'deux couurechefz' rather than of the 'due asciugatoi'. In IV, 2 the Berto della Massa who 'si fece frate Minore' is more remote from the man who took on himself 'the profession of a *Franciscane Cordelier*' than is he who 's'en alla rendre cordelier'. In the same tale, when the English translation says '*Venetians* are presumptuous, vaine-glorious, and witted much like to their skittish Gondoloes', it is following Le Maçon's 'les Veniciens sont tous presumptueux, glorieux, & legiers (comme leurs petites Gondolles)...' and not 'Viniziana era, e essi son tutti bergoli'. In IV, 6 the hero dreams that when hunting he catches a young hind, which corresponds to Le Maçon's 'vne Biche' and not to 'vna cauriuola'. In V, 6, when Restituta walks from rock to rock on the seashore with a knife in her hand, opening 'such Oysters as shee found among the stones', we recall Le Maçon's 'auec vn cousteau au poing pour arracher des huystres d'auecques les pierres' rather than 'marine conche con un coltello dalle pietre spiccando'. In V, 10 the original describes the lover cramped within the hen-coop and adds 'carpone gli conueniua stare'. Le Maçon, misunderstanding 'carpone', translated 'il estoit contrainct d'estre couché sur son ventre comme vne carpe', and the error is reproduced in the English translation: 'he being constrained (like a Carpe) to lie flat on his belly'. In VI, 10 Frate Cipolla tells how he arrived at 'the Mountaines of *Bacchus*', which one might well regard as a misinterpretation of 'alle montagne de' Bachi' by the English translator, if Le Maçon's 'aux mōtaignes de Bachus' did not suggest that he was the intermediary. And certainly Cipolla's claim 'I saw Serpents fly' is more easily explained as a careless rendering of 'ie vys voller les serpettes' than of 'i'vidi volare i pennati'. Similarly, it is difficult to understand how anyone could evolve 'Maso de Saggio... whom I found cracking Nuts, and selling Cockles by retale' out of 'Maso del Saggio, il quale... io trouai là, che schiacciaua noci, e vendeua gusci a ritaglio', but it is made intelligible at once by 'Maso del saggio... que ie trouuay en ce pais la cassant des noix: & vendant les coquilles en detail'.

In VII, 1 the Italian text describes how Gianni Lotteringhi 'era molto spesso fatto capitano de' Laudesi di Santa Maria Nouella' and how he possessed a house at Camerata, 'e Gianni alcuna volta vi veniua a cenare, & ad albergo, e la mattina sene tornaua a bottega, e talora a' Laudesi suoi'. Le Maçon fought shy of the word 'Laudesi' and translated these passages thus: 'il estoit souuentesfois faict capitaine de ceulx de son mestier au quartier de sainte Marie nouuelle' and 'Iehan y venoit quelque fois soupper & coucher: puis s'en retournoit le lendemain à sa boutique: & quelque fois y demouroit avec ses cōpagnons', which accounts for the English translation: 'Hee was many times made Captain of the Woollen-Weauers,<sup>1</sup> in the quarters belonging to Santa Maria Nouella' and 'Camerata, whether Iohn resorted somtimes to Supper, and lodge for a night, returning home againe to his City house the next morning; yet often he would stay there longer with his owne companions'. In VII, 8, when the English translator writes 'Our blessed Lady be with vs (quoth *Simonida*) . . .' he evidently has before his eyes 'Dist alors ma dame Simone, Nostre dame que sera ce?' and not 'Disse allora Monna Sismonda: Ora che uorrà dir questo?' and similarly in VII, 9, the barber whom Nicostratus wishes to employ bears a closer resemblance to the 'barbier' of Le Maçon than to the 'maestro' of the original. In VIII, 2, when Panfilo talks of exacting retribution from the priests and the English translation makes him speak of doing 'our deuoire in iust reuenge', we can find a parallel in 'nous faisons bien nostre deuoir de nous en venger' but none in the Italian. And in the same tale the priest of Varlungo carries round to his female parishioners not only holy water and pieces of hallowed candles but also chrisom cakes, which points to 'leur portant iusques à la maison du gasteau, & de l'eau beneiste, & quelque moucheron de chandelle' rather than to 'portando loro della festa, e dell' acqua benedetta, e alcuno moccòlo di candela'. Moreover, the error contained at the close of this tale, when the priest gives to Belcolore 'Sonnets which she would sweetly sing to her Cimbale', can be explained as a daring modification which was more likely to arise out of 'il luy fit renfoncer son cimbal, & y mettre vne petite sonnette' than out of 'le fece il Prete rincartare il ciembal suo, e appiccarvi un sonagliuzzo'. In VIII, 3, when the translator alluded to the house of Calandrino as being 'neere to the corner of the Milles', he must have been rendering 'prochaine du coing des moulins' and not 'vicina al canto alla Macina'. In VIII, 5 the 'Potestates and Officers, belonging to the Marquesate of Anconia' recall 'des potestatz de la marque d'ancone' rather than

<sup>1</sup> It has previously been stated in the tale that he was a woollen weaver.

'rettori Marchigiani', and in VIII, 7 the scholar is led 'into the base Court', which has a parallel in 'vne basse court', whereas the Italian reads only 'vna corte'. In VIII, 8 Spinelloccio's wife exclaims 'Our blessed Lady defend me', which can be accounted for by 'Nostre dame...que weult dire cecy?' but not by the ejaculation 'Oime...que uuol dir questo?' In VIII, 9, when the credulous physician is told by Bruno 'noi andiamo in corso' and gulled by the prospect of 'l' andare in corso', we should be puzzled on encountering 'we trauayle to *Corsica*' and 'the Pyrats voyage to Corsica', but for 'nous allons en Corse' and 'cecy s'appelle entre nous...Aller en Corse'. In VIII, 10 the 'Waxe Taper' which the slaves leave behind is reminiscent of 'vne bougie' rather than of 'un torchietto'. Again, when we are informed that the old pander was 'perfectly instructed in the Art of a *Maquerella*', it would seem that there is a more intimate connexion with 'qui scauoit parfaitement le mestier de macqueleraiage' than with 'la quale ottimamente l' arte sapeua del ruffianesimo'. Moreover, there is a curious mistake in the English version of this tale to explain which we must turn to Le Maçon. According to the original and also to Le Maçon, the slaves cleanse the bath in preparation for the coming of the lady who, on her arrival, washes Salabaetto. But as the English translator describes the incident, the slaves wash Salabaetto and later the lady washes him again. It is likely that the blunder arose from the misinterpretation of '& apres cecy, s'estans despouillées & entrées au lieu ou l'on se baigne, elles le lauerent & nettoyerent tout' rather than from the misunderstanding of 'Et appresso questo spogliatesi, & entrate nel bagno, quello tutto lauarono, e spazzarono ottimamente'. In IX, 8 'a Porter' or 'burthen-bearer' has more affinity with 'vn suffisant gaignedenier' than with 'vn saccente barattiere'; and 'the Hal-house' of the Cavicciuli recalls 'la halle' and not 'la loggia'. In X, 6 there is a strange error when Ginevra and Isotta appear before the King, 'hauing Chaplets (made like prouinciall Crownes) on their heades', and, if we take the passage as a whole, it seems to be based on 'auec les cheueulx tous tressez, & vn chapellet deslié de prouenche' rather than on 'co' capelli tutti innanellati, e sopr' essi sciolti vna leggier ghirlandetta di prouinca'. The likelihood is all the greater because a little further on, when the maidens are described as 'attyred in goodly Roabes of Carnation Sattin, formed after the Turkish fashion', the translator was evidently following, not 'in due giubbe di zendado bellissimo', but 'les deux Damoysselles vindrent en cotte, d'vn taffetas turquin fort beau'. In X, 8 Gisippus' unhappy lot is touched upon and we learn that, 'partialities happening among the common people', he was banished from

Athens. This bears a greater resemblance to 'par brigues & partialitez de ville fut dechassé de Athenes' than to 'per certe brighe cittadine...fu d'Atene cacciato'. And lastly, at the close of this tale, the words 'doue tutto il contrario far si vede all' amico' were expanded by Le Maçon thus: 'la ou l'on voit que l'amy faict tout le contraire, & satisfait par seule amytié à l'obligation de tous les degrez de parentage & d'alliance', corresponding to which we find in the English version: 'Amity and true friendship is of a quite contrary nature, satisfying (in that sacred bond) the obligation due to all degrees, both of parentage, and all alliences else.'

The above evidence establishes the familiarity of the English translator with Le Maçon. His acquaintance with the text of Salviati is also manifest, but before we proceed to demonstrate the truth of this statement, it will be appropriate to point out the chief features of Salviati's edition. It arose from the need for a new version of the *Decameron* after the Council of Trent had indicated its disapproval of a work which contained such violent attacks on monks and friars. Here and there Salviati's text avoided a phrase which seemed blasphemous, or modified a situation which was thought too indecent, but in the main it passed over these matters lightly and contented itself with the elimination of anything subversive of the Church. In a word its aim was to preserve the ecclesiastical organization rather than to safeguard ethics or religion. The adoption of the name Narnaldo Ciuada,<sup>1</sup> which incorporates a typographical error derived from Salviati's edition, and the use of the form 'Norniera'<sup>2</sup> afford an indication of that intimacy which a close scrutiny corroborates. However, the translation of 1620 is far from agreeing with Salviati's main object in suppressing all criticism of priests, monks and friars. On the contrary, it conforms to Boccaccio's intention by exhibiting their greed and hypocrisy, their luxurious living and extravagance in dress, their sensuality and lasciviousness, and the wantonness of nuns is exposed with equal candour. As a general rule it ignores the ingenious devices of Salviati, and the monks, friars and priests of Boccaccio are not transformed into judges, pedagogues, physicians, pilgrims or notaries; a convent is not changed into a seraglio, nor the monastery ruled by an abbot into a temple governed by a chief priest.<sup>3</sup> Again, unlike Salviati, the English translator shows no concern to screen the Pope and the cardinals from the consequences of their worldly living,<sup>4</sup> and he makes no attempt to remove all suggestion that Papal authority may not be

<sup>1</sup> Cf. iv, 3. The correct form is 'Ciuada'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. viii, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. i, 4 and 6; ii, 5; iii, 3, 7 and 8; iv, 2; vii, 3; viii, 2 and 4; ix, 2 and x, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. i, 2.

omnipotent and that regions exist where interdicts and excommunications are set at defiance.<sup>1</sup> Nor does he reveal any anxiety lest ridicule should be cast on Paradise<sup>2</sup> and Purgatory, confession, canonization and holy relics, prayer and worship.<sup>3</sup>

¶ In these circumstances, the omission in III, 7 of that part of the denunciation of the friars which related to their corruption of women may be safely ascribed to an artistic desire to prevent this extraneous matter from overshadowing the tale rather than to any tenderness for the victims of Boccaccio's contempt. And the following of Salviati in the substitution of 'the greatest Lords' for 'i frati minori' among those who pay tribute to 'the faire Countesse of Ciullari' cannot be regarded as having any wider significance.<sup>4</sup> But perhaps the agreement of the English translator with Salviati in transforming Gianni di Barolo into 'an honest man' may be due to a reluctance to see any one bearing the name of priest involved in so lewd a jape.<sup>5</sup>

In some tales at any rate the purpose of the English translator in submitting to the guidance of Salviati may be clearly discerned. Though the Italian editor did not go far enough for him in moralizing the relations of Ricciardo Manardi and Caterina,<sup>6</sup> he did tone down one passage describing their intercourse, and this example was followed in the translation of 1620. The intrigue of Ricciardo Minutolo, by which he took advantage of Catella, the wife of Filippello Fighinolfi,<sup>7</sup> seemed to Salviati to call for a different ending from that devised by Boccaccio. Far from subsequently continuing her clandestine amours with Ricciardo, Catella broods over her folly, and is overcome by so grievous a melancholy that she falls ill and dies, while Ricciardo, repenting his sin, retires to a wilderness and ends his days there. Another moralizing change was made by Salviati when he depicted Ermellina as a widow, the daughter of Aldobrandino Palermini, and not his wife as did Boccaccio,<sup>8</sup> so that Tedaldo instead of a secret lover became the husband of Ermellina. By this alteration a tale of illicit relations was transformed into a reunion of husband and wife. In both these instances the English translator gives the story the same turn as did Salviati.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. x, 2.

<sup>2</sup> In x, 7, when Lisana felt the touch of the King's hand, 'she thought her self translated into Paradise'. This is in accordance with what Boccaccio wrote, but Salviati substituted for it 'pur sentina inestimabil piacer nell' animo'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. III, 8, I, 1 and VI, 10, and note the reference in VII, 1 and VIII, 2 to the *Te lucis, Intemerata, Kyrie and Sanctus*, which are passed over in silence by Salviati.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. VIII, 9.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. IX, 10.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. V, 4. On this occasion Salviati was seized with an unwonted scrupulousness and even suppressed the reference to the 'molti basci' exchanged by the lovers. The English translator refused to discard so harmless a display of feeling.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. III, 6.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. III, 7.

The procedure of the Italian editor was useful in other tales which were open to criticism on moral grounds. Thus the conduct of Paganino da Monaco in carrying off the wife of Ricciardo di Chinzica was obviously an act of violence, even though there were extenuating circumstances, and Salviati resorted to the device of a non-Christian setting, which explains why we read in the translation of 1620 'some hundred yeeres before *Tuscanne* and *Liguria* came to embrace the Christian faith'.<sup>1</sup> Another modification in the setting was made by Salviati in order to gloss over a particularly disgraceful episode in the amorously eventful career of Alatiel, the Sultan's daughter. Whereas she had originally been shipwrecked on the island of Majorca and subjected to the temptations of Pericone da Visalgo, who plied her with wine to which she as a Mahommedan was a stranger, she is now cast ashore among the Turks, and it is an unorthodox Turk named Baiaset, 'che non sen' asteneua', who presses on her the liquor brought to him by a Genoese vessel. The English translator naturally enough felt that there was something infamous in the attempt of Pericone to exploit the inexperience of a foreigner in distress, and he avoided the difficulty in the same way as Salviati. On the other hand, he saw no reason to substitute the Duca di Figena for the Duke of Athens or to change Constantine, the son of the Emperor of Constantinople, and Emanuell his nephew, into Lorcùt, the son of the Emperor of the Turks, and Selim his nephew. But at the close he again conforms to the narrative of Salviati when he makes Alatiel devote herself to the service of chastity instead of to the very different saint mentioned by Boccaccio.<sup>2</sup> Salviati once more shifts the scene to the near East in III, 1. The background is oriental instead of Italian, and the convent governed by an abbess is metamorphosed into a seraglio belonging to 'il Signor della contrada, a cui diceuano l'Ammiraglio', whence three of the recluses are sent every third year as tribute to the Sultan of Babylon. The gardener who works such havoc among the nuns becomes a robust Hebrew peasant. The English translator, apparently thinking the exotic environment better suited to the amorous fervour of the tale, follows the example of Salviati, but he terms the seraglio a monastery and refers to its inmates as 'nuns' and to their superior as the 'Lady Abbess'. Moreover, he adds a passage explaining that the nuns are permitted to sleep after midday because of their early rising to matins, alludes to their dedicating their virginity to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. II, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. II, 7. The composite nature of the English version leads to a bizarre medley of names of persons and places.

God<sup>1</sup> and makes one of them exclaim 'Aue Maria!' In consequence the oriental disguise wears thin and the English version lacks the consistency of Salviati.

A greater unity also marks Salviati's account of Fra Alberto's doings.<sup>2</sup> They take place in a pre-Christian era, and it is therefore quite natural that so evil a man should array himself in the guise of Cupid to achieve success in his designs on Lisetta. The English translator keeps to the original and retains Alberto as a friar in a Christian setting who, instead of being arrested by the officers of the court as in Salviati, is apprehended by the brethren of his own order. But Alberto's posing as the angel Gabriel evidently gave offence to the Englishman, who on this ground borrowed the figure of Cupid from Salviati. In yet another tale he displays reluctance to contaminate Gabriel with the affairs of earthy mortals. The malpractices of Fra Cipolla<sup>3</sup> were glossed over by Salviati with the aid of various devices. He becomes a sham friar, whose thriving trade in false relics is abruptly terminated when the Bishop of Florence has him cast into prison, where he ends his life wretchedly. The English translator saw no cause to imitate Salviati in this respect, but he did pay heed to him in others. Instead of claiming to possess a feather from the wing of Gabriel, which remained in the chamber of the Virgin when he came to make the Annunciation at Nazareth, the friar asserts that he has 'one of the Feathers of the same Phoenix, which was in the Arke with the Patriarch *Noah*'. The English translator shows himself equally sensitive about St Laurence and again conforms to Salviati when he describes how the friar produces, not the coals on which St Laurence was burnt, but 'those Coales, wherewith the Phoenix of *Noah* was roasted'.<sup>4</sup> Apparently he considered an even more radical change desirable in the tale of Puccio and Felice,<sup>5</sup> in accordance with the alterations to be found in Salviati. Instead of being a tertiary of the order of Saint Francis with a great zeal for religion, Puccio is presented as a layman with a passion for alchemy. Monna Isabetta figures, not as his wife, but as his daughter, and she, being a widow, is pursued by Felice, who is not a monk but a

<sup>1</sup> Not to the Sultan, as in Salviati. It is to be observed that Salviati links ix, 2 with this tale when he tells how 'una giouane' belonging to this same seraglio became enamoured of 'un bel giouane' and how she, like the other inmates who followed her example, contrived to hide her dongs from the Admiral. On this occasion the English translator rejects the device and, as if less scrupulous about such matters than earlier on, retains the convent and the amorous intrigues of nuns and abbess alike, as in the original.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. iv, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. vi, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Having thus excluded St Laurence, the English translator is forced to allude to the approaching festival of St Anthony. Salviati, in his anxiety to prevent ridicule from being cast on such holy celebrations, suppresses all reference to a festival.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. iii, 4.

young scholar from Paris. Instead of explaining to Puccio how to become a saint, Felice promises to reveal to him a necromantic device, by which he will learn how to manufacture the philosopher's stone; for this purpose, instead of standing in the form of a cross from compline till matins, gazing at the sky and saying the Paternoster and Ave Maria, Puccio is to place himself with his back against a table and rivet his gaze on the alchemist's furnace until the approach of dawn.

Bearing in mind these scruples of the English translator in religious matters, one cannot feel surprise that he should have thought it advisable to remove anything which might be interpreted as atheistic. There was one tale<sup>1</sup> which was open to question on this head, for in its reference was made to the Epicureanism of Guido Cavalcanti and to his doubts concerning the existence of God: 'e perciò che egli alquanto tenea della opinione degli epicuri, si diceva tralla gente volgare, che queste sue speculazioni erano solo in cercare, se trovar si potesse, che Iddio non fosse.' Salviati permits no mention either of Guido's Epicureanism or of his religious speculations,<sup>2</sup> and the translation follows him in excluding the latter, though it retains the former, as may be seen from this passage: 'and because he retained some part of the *Epicurean* Opinion, their vulgare iudgement passed on him, that his speculations tended to no other end, but onely to finde out that which was neuer done.' It is also fully comprehensible that an Englishman living in the reign of James I should agree with Salviati in deeming it necessary to add to the tale of Nastagio degli Onesti<sup>3</sup> a warning against the wiles of the devil as manifested in the form of ghostly apparitions. Hence we are told how Nastagio stood 'like a simple silly man, hoodwinkt with his owne passions, not knowing the subtle enemies cunning illusions, in offering false suggestions to the sight, to worke his owne ends thereby, & encrease the number of his deceived seruants', and at the close we read: 'Thus the diuine bounty, out of the malignant enemies secret machinations, can cause good effects to arise and succede.' On the other hand, it must seem to the modern reader an excess of zeal on Salviati's part when, in his eagerness to distinguish the ninth tale of the tenth day from the canon of Biblical narrative, he makes Solomon King of Britain, and it appears no less strange that the English translator should accept this amazing change of nationality.

Apart from these incontrovertible proofs of Salviati's influence on the

<sup>1</sup> vi, 9.

<sup>2</sup> 'e perciò si diceua tra la gente volgare, che queste sue speculazioni, eran solo in cercare, se trouar si potesse cio, che non fosse.'

<sup>3</sup> v, 8.

translation of 1620, there are numerous features which point to an Italian source, though it is not possible to determine whether that source was the original text of Boccaccio or the expurgated edition of Salviati. The frequent occurrence of names in their Italian forms and the occasional appearance in the vocabulary of such words as 'Mocharones' and 'Raiuolies'<sup>1</sup> or 'Gelsomine'<sup>2</sup> are unmistakable signs. Moreover, the anonymous jealous husband in the fifth tale of the seventh day, to whom the Italian text alludes merely as 'Il geloso', is given the name of Geloso in the English version, and in another tale we even encounter such a phrase as 'the whole *Culattario* of humane generation'.<sup>3</sup> Again, 'the Chapters del Caprezio' which Fra Cipolla claimed to have given to the Patriarch of Jerusalem must be explained as coming from an Italian text, and an error in this tale<sup>4</sup> can only be accounted for in this way. It is to be found in the passage where the friar says: 'And I had receiued charge by expresse command, that I should seeke for (so much as consisted in my power to do) the especiall vertues and priuiledges belonging to Porcellane, which although the boyling thereof bee worth but little, yet it is very profitable to any but vs.' How the mistake arose may be seen from a glance at the corresponding words in Italian: 'e fummi commesso con espresso comandamento che io cercassi tanto, che io trouassi i priuilegi del Porcellana, li quali, ancorache a bollar niente costassero, molto piu vtili sono ad altrui, che a noi.' We perceive at once that the translator cannot have looked at Le Maçon, who correctly rendered 'bollar' by 'séeller', but that, misled by 'Porcellana', he considered 'boyling' a suitable equivalent. Yet another error must be attributed to a misapprehension of the Italian source. When Lambertuccio is taken unawares by the speedy return of Isabella's husband, he passes him with furious looks and menacing words.<sup>5</sup> The translation of 1620 describes how the husband 'wondring extraordinarily at his threatning words, made offer to imbrace him, and vnderstand the reason of his distemper'. Once more the clue must be searched for, not in Le Maçon,<sup>6</sup> but in the Italian: 'Il marito della donna, gia nella corte smontato... e uolendo su salire, uide Messer Lambertuccio scendere, e marauigliossi, e delle parole, e del viso di lui.' Possibly there was confusion in the English translator's mind between 'salire' and 'salutare'. Certain

<sup>1</sup> Cf. VIII, 3. In Italian 'maccheroni' and 'raiuoli'; in Le Maçon 'crousetz' and 'rauyolles'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. VIII, 10. In Italian 'gelsomino', in Le Maçon 'iassemin'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. VIII, 9. The Italian runs: 'tutto il Culattario dell' umana generazione'.

<sup>4</sup> VI, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. VII, 6.

<sup>6</sup> His correct translation '& voulant monter la hault' offers no support for 'made offer to imbrace him'.

of the passages that have just been touched upon were in all probability derived from Salviati's edition, because they occur in tales which, as their contents prove, cannot have come from the unexpurgated text of Boccaccio. On the other hand, we cannot reject the theoretical possibility that the translator had the full version of the Italian original before him. In any case, as his blunders amply demonstrate, his mastery of Italian was not complete and he must have thought the faithful translation of Le Maçon invaluable.

The inaccuracy of the English translator is a serious defect and so is his diffuseness. Moreover, in other ways he widened the gap between Boccaccio and himself, for quite apart from the changes made under the influence of Salviati, he introduced many concessions to decency and morality. Not infrequently tales are given a turn which is entirely foreign to the spirit of Boccaccio. Nevertheless, his version did provide the reader with a rough idea of the nature of the *Decameron*, and it was a remarkable success. Five editions appeared in the seventeenth century, and though other translations were subsequently published, it continued to be read and was in fact the medium through which Keats became familiar with the great Italian narrator.<sup>1</sup>

HERBERT G. WRIGHT.

BANGOR, NORTH WALES.

<sup>1</sup> In the fifth edition published by Allan Awnmarsh, London, 1684. Cf. S. Colvin, *John Keats*, London, 1920, p. 397, note 1.

## 'MICHING MALICHO' AND THE PLAY SCENE IN *HAMLET*

MALONE's emendation of the Quarto readings 'Mallico' and the Folio 'Malicho' (*Hamlet*, III, ii) is widely accepted, in spite of the *N.E.D.*'s cautious reservations and reminders of some difficulties. The difficulties seem to me even greater than the *N.E.D.* suggests. *Miche* is a verb used only with agent nouns; Spanish *malhecho* signifies 'a (particular) misdeed' (from Latin *malefactum*). If, therefore, we take the words literally we have 'this is skulking misdeed'; obviously an indefinite article must be supplied, and we are still left with the difficulty that *malhecho* is the act and not the agent (*malhechor*) and cannot, therefore, *miche*. If we paraphrase (as most editors do) 'this is skulking mischief', we are substituting for the particular (*malhecho*) the abstract idea of crime (*maldad*). Further, to fulfil the requirements of *miche* we must assume a personification; the *N.E.D.* records only one example of this, 'miching covetousnesse' (1621). Whatever course we take, therefore, presents difficulties. They are at once apparent if we substitute 'miching malefactum' for 'miching mallecho' or 'miching hoard' for 'miching covetousnesse'.

In view of these difficulties I would suggest that the Quarto and Folio readings are right, that the capitals indicate a proper name, and that the reference is to Malichus (or Malchus), the poisoner of Antipater. The allusion would be particularly apt: Antipater's son Herod discovered the crime and revenged his father's murder by instigating Malichus' assassination.

This interpretation removes, I am afraid, one of the links in Professor Dover Wilson's ingenious reconstruction of the *Hamlet* play scene. That the line (whatever 'Mallico' or 'Malicho' means) does not express the feelings of a man boiling over at a malapropos interpolation is shown by the opening word 'marry'. The tone and associations of this oath can be gathered from its use by Dogberry and Elbow, by 'tedious old fools' like Polonius or simpletons like Slender. It is not the oath of an angry Hamlet. Had Hamlet regarded the dumb-show as a stupid and disastrous interpolation by the players, he would have greeted it (as he greeted the Poisoner's damnable faces) with a 'good mouth-filling oath'—'swounds' or 'pox'.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hamlet's oaths and ejaculations throughout the play mirror faithfully his changing moods. In deadly earnest he swears *by Heaven* and *by the rood*; in a towering passion he vents his anger with 'swounds', 'blood' or 'pox'; in calm and pleasant mood he uses the milder oaths 'faith', 'God's bodykins', *by'r lady* and *marry*. The last as used by Hamlet, and in Elizabethan

We appear, therefore, to be back at the point from which Professor Dover Wilson's enquiries about the play scene started, and I should like to make a tentative suggestion which has not, I think, been advanced concerning this scene: that Claudius did not understand the dumb-show. Two series of facts lend some support to this assumption. First, the modern reader approaches the *Hamlet* dumb-show with an explicit verbal score, the knowledge that the dumb-show foreshadows the plot of the following play, that Hamlet knows of Claudius' crime, and that the play has been staged to catch the conscience of the king. Not one of these facts was known or suspected by Claudius who had no reason, at this stage, to fear a 'mouse-trap'. Secondly, the audience has been prepared for the fact that dumb-shows are 'inexplicable'. If, therefore, Shakespeare despised dumb-show as an inadequate and contemptible method of dramatic presentation, the *Hamlet* dumb-show was probably presented in such a way as to leave no one much the wiser concerning its significance. That it did, in fact, prove 'inexplicable' is stressed by Ophelia's three questions concerning its meaning. There is, therefore, some warrant for assuming that an 'inexplicable' dumb-show left the unsuspecting Claudius equally unenlightened. This would, of course, explain why the *Hamlet* dumb-show is unique in providing nothing more than a synopsis of the following play; it is quite unnecessary to the understanding of what follows, and its garbling would entail no loss to the audience.

To the inevitable question as to why a dumb-show, if 'inexplicable', was included in the play there are two answers. First, its function was dramatic. What is significant is the absence of a Propounder, which provides Hamlet with the opportunity of slipping into this role and unfolding the plot in a far more subtle manner than any set, explanatory piece could have done. By this means it is not until immediately before the climax of the play scene that Claudius learns the play's theme and begins to suspect that it is something more than a harmless pastime. Secondly, the dumb-show filled a critical function. *Hamlet* belongs to the years when feeling ran high between boy and adult actors, between rival adult companies and rival dramatists. We hear of the first of these controversies when the players arrive at Elsinore and probably of the second in the play scene. Professor Dover Wilson has suggested that the Gonzago troupe was probably intended to portray the rival company of the Admiral's men, and it is, perhaps, significant that of the 1590-1602

English generally, is an oath of good-humoured raillery. Hamlet uses it thrice elsewhere: (1) as a somewhat cynical affirmative to Horatio (I. iv. 13); (2) in complacent enjoyment of his own cleverness, to the King (III. ii. 232); and (3) in his amused ironical reply to the gravedigger's information that the mad Hamlet has been packed off to England (v. i. 145)

plays containing dumb-shows in Mr Pearn's list (*R.E.S.*, October, 1935) the majority have some connexion (or a suspected connexion) with this company. In the Pyrrhus speech and the *Murder of Gonzago* Shakespeare is playing one of his most characteristic roles, that of dramatic critic. *Hamlet* is Shakespeare's last and most explicit commentary on the kind and medium in which he worked. The stream of linguistic and dramatic criticism that runs through his early work, wherever an inset play, a 'very false gallop of verses', an undramatic pun or a 'fustian riddle' provides an outlet, runs deeply and steadily up to *Hamlet*, and then disappears. The *Dido and Aeneas* piece and the *Murder of Gonzago* are mimicry of the same order as the scene between Hamlet and Osric. There is no need to label them as 'burlesque' or even 'parody'. In the setting of the sensitive blank verse of *Hamlet* an outmoded phase in the development of dramatic craftsmanship could be left to parody itself. The Pyrrhus speech is an ironic commentary on the dangers of 'overwriting', as the dramatist ('who but to sink the deeper, rose the higher') stands poised on the heights of undramatic epic simile and sustained apostrophe and then plunges to the bathos of the 'o'er teemed loins' of the 'mobled queen'. The *Murder of Gonzago* is an essay in triviality and 'under-writing'. Lines such as

But woe is me, you are so sick of late,  
So far from cheer and from your former state,  
That I distrust you. Yet, though I distrust,  
Discomfort you, my lord, it nothing must

illustrate the effect of ten low words that creep in one dull line and can only have been intended as an exhibition of verbal and dramatic inadequacy. With the entrance of the Poisoner the *tempo* changes. Metre and language take on a new colour. The wearisome succession of heavy, monosyllabic, masculine rhymes gives place to two couplets with feminine endings which give the lines both weight and suspension. The paltry superfluity of monosyllabic words which make the lines of the Player King and Queen so threadbare is succeeded by a quick succession of succinct and telling phrases which compress into three couplets more than the spendthrift sententiousness of the preceding actors has said in over seventy lines. That these are Hamlet's lines is shown by the change to a different technique, both in acting and verbal effect. The change took Claudius by surprise. At the same time all the facts he had not known when the dumb-show was presented were revealed. He now knew that the play had been staged for his undoing and that Hamlet knew of his crime. At the same time he was unexpectedly confronted with an acting and writing technique that held the mirror up to nature and showed vice

its own image. The Poisoner (after Hamlet's sharp reprimand) spoke his lines as Hamlet had insisted they should be spoken, and Hamlet's quick and pointed conclusion of the chorus work, occasioned by an 'inexplicable' and Propounder-less dumb-show, completed the role begun with his reply to Ophelia, 'Marry this is miching Malicho'.

Irony and puns were Hamlet's most characteristic expression, and an ironic *double entendre* runs through the inset pieces in *Hamlet* as well as through the rest of the play. *Dido and Aeneas* and the *Murder of Gonzago* play their obvious part in advancing the main plot movement, but behind this lies a subtle ironic commentary on the apprentice days and journeyman hands of Elizabethan dramatic craftsmanship. The Elizabethan audience probably saw in these pieces more than we can to-day—perhaps a likeness to particular plays and, almost certainly, a mocking exhibition of a rival company. We ought, at any rate, to perceive that the rhetoric of *Dido and Aeneas* and the winter-starved lines of the *Murder of Gonzago* are poetry and drama of a kind which Shakespeare could never have written seriously, even in his apprentice days. Hamlet's advice to the Players is apposite. If the purpose of playing was to hold the mirror up to nature and acting 'overdone' or 'come tardy off' was a source of grief to the judicious, the warning held good for the dramatist as well.

In conclusion, I should like to draw attention to a problem arising out of this scene which has attracted little notice. Attention has been focused on the dumb-show's failure to catch the conscience of Claudius. Is it not equally remarkable that Claudius, Gertrude and the whole court sit calmly through some fifty lines on the subject of second marriages without registering a protest that the topic was at least in very bad taste? If we pursue Dr Greg's logical method of tackling the dumb-show problem, we must conclude that the Ghost was not only a liar when he declared that Claudius had poisoned him but also when he claimed that Gertrude was his former wife, that she had remarried, and that Hamlet was his son; 'which is absurd', as we are left not only with the problem of the Ghost's identity but with an inexplicable genealogical tangle as well. If we apply Professor Dover Wilson's theory, we must assume that Claudius, Gertrude and Polonius were still so busy exchanging opinions on the cause of Hamlet's peculiar behaviour that they missed not only the dumb-show but the bulk of the play as well. The only explanation that will cover all these difficulties is that the play until the Poisoner's entry was meant to prove so lacking in cogency that no one was disturbed, and it is significant that it was not the play but Hamlet's omniscient chorus work that roused Claudius' suspicions. I am by no means confident that our text of

*Hamlet* necessarily contains the key to the play-scene problems. In exercising our rational, logic-loving twentieth-century minds upon it we are, perhaps, not only arguing on insufficient evidence but guilty, as well, of too modern a point of view. Possibly we ought to accept Claudius' failure to blench at the dumb-show as we accept, for example, the credulity of Othello or Gloucester. If, however, a rational solution, based on textual evidence, must be found, the only answer is that the 'inexplicable' dumb-show, the prologue jungle and the frost-bound lines of the Player King and Queen were a deliberate exhibition of the dramatically inept which not only failed to catch Claudius' conscience but even failed to arouse his suspicions.

ALICE WALKER.

SOUTHPORT.

## DIDEROT AND THE TECHNIQUE OF MODERN LITERATURE

It is good evidence of Diderot's authenticity as a thinker that, whether in biological or aesthetical speculations, he so easily proceeds from his own time into futurity, towards us. As an amateur biologist, his genius for conjecture from a solid ground of vigilant empiricism brings him abreast of evolutionist theories—chance mutations, emergence, etc.—a century and a half younger. In literary aesthetics, which we want to consider here, we get the same impression of swift, sometimes lightning excursions, surprisingly far into lands which he is powerless to occupy.

Diderot was said to have the most German of French brains. Yet he approximates much nearer to the later eighteenth-century English mind. He has long ago<sup>1</sup> been shown as a *disciple of English thought*. With discipleship, as often, went affinity; and, in fact, if we reach back to the English background it becomes much easier to see Diderot's philosophical empiricism, his moral and artistic realism and his premonitions of romantic and later poetry as a harmonious whole, not a disjointed plurality of aspects. As familiarity with his versatile genius becomes closer, the impression of versatility becomes less, the sense of organic affiliation becomes greater. Testing him by his own standards, one might say that what finally refuses to cohere is spurious, is the unimportant legacy of tradition or other outside influences, too strong to be resisted yet alien to his individual nature, and unassimilated.

Let us now investigate the organic connexion between the varied parts of this Hogarthian unity: Diderot, a disciple of the English sensualists and phenomenists, a friend and perhaps inspirer of Condillac, is one of the first theorists to formulate the chief principles of the realistic novel; which could be expected. The same disciple of the sensualists and theorist of realism, not another man in him, hints at the theory of romantic and later suggestive poetry: which is worth considering.

Alas for John Morley—who deplored the individualistic, therefore morally loose, bias of one in whom he would have liked to see, pre-eminently, the utilitarian encyclopaedist<sup>2</sup>—individualism is at the heart

<sup>1</sup> *Diderot as a Disciple of English Thought*, by R. L. Cru, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> 'In contrast to the method of our best English writers from Milton down to Mill in impressing new ideas on the individual and exacting a vigorous personal answer to the moral or spiritual call. . . ' (*Diderot*, II, 12–13). Shocked by the *Supplément au Voyage de Bougainville*, which although distressingly lacking in uplift is characteristic Diderot, John Morley again states: 'The movement if progressive must be in the direction of greater subordination of appetite.' Marriage, he asserts, is nothing to what it will be.

of Diderot's attitude. Man comes to life for him, to reality, as he stands apart from the mass and if needs be against the mass, as he wields his share of energy alone, instead of pooling it with others. That is character or rather *caractère*—a word which implies less self-control or steadfastness of purpose than striking, bold distinctness. By all *caractère*, all manifestations of individual energy, a fine gesture, a bold action—be it a bold crime—Diderot is fascinated to the brink of anarchism.<sup>1</sup> He is thrilled by the heroic death of Damiens the regicide.<sup>2</sup> Again, while protesting his disgust, under cover of Rameau's nephew he goes to the extreme end of his dialectic personality and acknowledges, as in his letters—these, where all caution is thrown to the winds, provide a priceless test of all the opinions he has some time held—the unpleasant, giddy yet real lure of what may be termed *absolute crime* or evil as a fine art,<sup>3</sup> the perfection of callous cruelty with its element of strength.

To Diderot's perfect detachment the openly immoral, even criminal individual, following genuine unrepressed impulses, has *caractère*, has reality, compared with the negative average man, the conforming social unit. The former is at least the direct product of his organic complexus,<sup>4</sup> defective, unadapted and unadaptable as that may be. The other is as often as not the product of cautiousness and a desire to get on, two very anonymous instincts. The former pleases the artist, particularly the French artist, as more expressive of individuality in his very defectiveness.<sup>5</sup> Diderot is an artist as he is a realist, much more naturally than a socially minded philosopher. He has the artist's taste for things as they

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Sophie Volland, 30 September 1760: 'la plupart (des hommes) naissent moitié sots ou moitié fous, sans caractère comme sans physionomie; ils ne sont décidés ni pour le vice ni pour la vertu... je ne pouvais m'empêcher d'admirer la nature humaine; même quelquefois quand elle est atroce... si les méchants n'avaient pas cette énergie dans le crime, les bons n'auraient pas la même énergie dans la vertu... en cherchant à l'amender (l'homme) d'un côté, vous le dégradez de l'autre... on est en général assez mécontent des choses, et l'on n'y toucherait pas sans les empirer.' Here the philosophic faith in reality as evolved, as organic, absolutely dismisses theoretical reform. Yet it has been said that eighteenth-century French philosophy ignored the weight of reality.

<sup>2</sup> 15 October 1760. He adds: 'Au reste les hommes destinés par la nature aux tentatives hardies ne sont peut-être jetés les uns du côté de l'honneur, les autres du côté de l'ignominie que par des causes bien indépendantes d'eux.'

<sup>3</sup> The story of the Avignon Renegade, in *Neveu de Rameau*.

<sup>4</sup> As Rameau's nephew says of his son: 'si la molécule voulait qu'il fût un vaurien comme son père, les peines que j'aurais prises pour en faire un homme honnête lui seraient très nuisibles. L'éducation croissant sans cesse la pente de la molécule, il serait tiré comme par deux forces contraires et marcherait tout de guingois dans le chemin de la vie comme j'en vois une infinité... C'est ce que nous appelons des espèces. Un grand vaurien est un vaurien mais n'est pas une espèce.'

<sup>5</sup> The idea of defectiveness as connected with individuality is typical of the passage from traditional beauty to the beauty of the characteristic. Diderot writes *à propos* of Shakespeare: 'C'est que le sublime par lui-même, j'ose le dire, n'est pas original, il ne le devient que par une sorte de singularité (mélange inimitable, he has said above, de choses du plus grand goût et du plus mauvais goût, mais surtout... *bizarrierie de celles-ci*) qui le rend personnel à l'auteur' (vol. II, p. 331).

are with all their roughness of surface; and that agrees quite well with the scientist's, the determinist's, respect for the necessary and universal chain of cause and effect in the world of organisms, which comprises moral reality, as well as in the world of pure physics.

The scientist in Diderot, the artist, the man endowed with too much *esprit de finesse* to neglect the powerful imponderabilia, all push back the not very convinced, not very convincing reformer—alas for John Morley. The typical pre-utilitarian encyclopaedist is not Diderot but Helvetius, who in *De l'Esprit* and again in *De l'Homme* asserts that the individual can be indefinitely modified, that all men can be made equal by education. Diderot bristles revealingly, and reasserts<sup>1</sup> what Rameau's nephew had asserted: men are what they are, what their physical organization made them: education can only either unfold or disguise. Indeed, the world as a whole is what it is, an evolutive organization, a historical reality submitted to change, but perhaps the less to be interfered with artificially by reforming theorists.<sup>2</sup>

'You know it, my Sophie, a whole is beautiful, when it is *one*; in this sense Cromwell has beauty, so has Scipio, so has Medea', etc. This beauty of the whole, of organic unity revealed, of coherence made visible and turned to harmony, has been a favourite formula of Diderot's, a lively derivation from Shaftesbury's soft, sentimental idealism. The formula is illuminating: the individual seen above, who has the courage of his idiosyncrasy, of being himself, coheres from the inside and is *one*; the downright rogue is *one*; there is between his feelings, his reflexes, his actions, a perfect consistency, wherein the conscious and the impelled do not ravel up the unconscious, the spontaneous.

Diderot takes pleasure in perceiving this perfect connexion, as multiplied yet direct and perceptible connexions please him in all things. We come to his very important definition of the beautiful: *perception of relations*. A foundation of modern aesthetics could be hailed here.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Réfutation de l'ouvrage d'Helvetius intitulé de l'Homme* (vol. II, ed. Assézat) Diderot has a deep sense of the absolute individuality of inner reality 'est-il possible que l'organisation étant différente, la sensation soit la même? Telle est sa diversité que si chaque individu pouvait se créer une langue analogue à ce qu'il est, il y aurait autant de langues que d'individus.' The stress on sensation, the personal element, foretells all modern literature.

<sup>2</sup> Rameau's nephew as usual indulges in pleasant exaggerations, contrived to persuade us that Diderot only sees his position as absurd paradox. The nephew wants to get rid of men of genius: 'Ce sont eux qui changent la face du globe, et dans les plus petites choses la sottise est si commune et si puissante qu'on ne la réforme pas sans charivari. Il s'établit partie de ce qu'ils ont imaginé, partie reste comme il était; de là deux évangiles, un habit d'arlequin.' Cf., if there is still reluctance to associate Diderot to such odd sayings of his disreputable character, the letter to Sophie Volland quoted above (p. 519, n. 1).

<sup>3</sup> Diderot often expresses himself like one of our contemporary psychological critics. As early as 1751, in his essay *Sur l'Origine et la Nature du Beau*, he gives a purely psychological account of the beautiful: we were born with needs, to satisfy which we must combine,

Perception of relations within an expressive whole, or, to put it otherwise, analysis of the characteristic, is one of the forms which Diderot's realism likes to take in practice.

In other words he tends towards the *physiognomical* realism which with Balzac was destined for such a high fortune. For, while Diderot, as we have seen, was interested in the relations forming the moral unity of character, he was more and more fascinated by those other relations which together form a physical or rather physiological unit; by the correlation of parts in an organism, which is such that for the practised mind every single part is like a concrete sign or symbol of the whole, and that a sufficient number of them suggest the whole, unconsciously, even to the unpractised. The hunchback, so Diderot finds, bears throughout his body the concomitant marks of his hump,<sup>1</sup> just as your true rogue, in the most remote connexions, should give some mark that he is a rogue. They are both characteristic: Diderot proclaims this part of the realistic evangel, the beauty of the characteristic, of the thing strikingly revealed as it is. It will be readily seen that the principles of literary suggestion, of oblique and partial communication, etc., are closely bound with revelation of the characteristic.

Physical character may be due to some dominant outside influence, a way of life, for instance: 'un dos devenu voûté, des épaules devenues larges, des bras raccourcis et nerveux, des jambes trapues et fléchies, des reins vastes à force de porter des fardeaux, feront le beau crocheteur.'<sup>2</sup> We are on the way to physiognomy proper, which so much occupied Diderot's mind that he even plays a game of physiognomical imagination, conjecturing what physical features can go with the moral portrait he has been given of a man: 'Je me suis fait une physionomie de l'abbé Marin tout à fait singulière. Je veux qu'il ait la tête ronde, un peu chauve sur le haut; le front assez étendu, mais peu haut, les yeux petits mais ardents, les joues...'<sup>3</sup>

The identification of the beautiful with the characteristic may be termed modern, although we in our time may pretend to be outstripping it. In reaching it, Diderot had to overcome an enormous weight of

organize, make machines; wherein the arrangement and proper relation of parts is vitally important; hence *through sense and from experience* we derive the ideas of order, proportion, unity which we seek to assign in all things. Diderot goes on: '*J'appelle beau hors de moi tout ce qui contient en soi de quoi réveiller dans mon entendement l'idée de rapports.*' Never was objective reality more clearly or absolutely denied to the beautiful.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. x, p. 462: 'Ces pieds sont ceux d'un bossu..'. Also, p. 461: 'Cela, c'est le cou, ce sont les épaules, c'est la gorge d'une femme qui a perdu les yeux dans sa jeunesse.'

<sup>2</sup> *Corresp.*, 2 September 1762, xix, p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also *Essai sur la Peinture*, x, p. 484: 'L'expression est en général l'image d'un sentiment... Un peintre qui n'est pas physionomiste est un pauvre peintre.'

classical criticism from Plato onwards; and he was no revolutionary—revolt makes bold progress so much easier—he did not strike an attitude, raise a flag, beat a drum, as the romantics were to do. It does not tell against the authenticity of his many modern views that, when personal impetus failed him, he fell back contentedly on tradition, on classical idealism: he granted, for instance, that imitating particularized nature was imitating an imitation, being *tertius ab idea*; he speculated admiringly on the essence of the Greek's ideal beauty: the gospel of realism and the characteristic was left to take care of itself.

From the psychological, not metaphysical, notion of the beautiful as a perception of relations, many other points follow: this perception like all others is experience, a vital function evolved and perfected in the course of living. A disposition to perceive more, and more significant, relations, may be more natural to some individuals than to others, but the quickness, the instantaneousness of it, we have seen, comes from practice, from the fading out from consciousness which marks the progress of habit; the final instantaneous stage being commonly called intuition.<sup>1</sup> We could dub this view aesthetic empiricism, the most important point being that the sense of beauty is a form of experience.<sup>2</sup> Empiricism is the philosophical form of Diderot's realistic outlook.

The positive, psychological attitude accounts for Diderot's proneness to consider the work of art as communication from mind to mind, to propose to the writer, for instance, calculations of forces, of means to be used and effects to be aimed at. It explains in a word that Diderot should have busied himself so much with the technique of literature.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. again the essay *Sur l'Origine et la Nature du Beau*. This perception, says Diderot, appears to be a matter of feeling, yet rightly belongs to judgement: 'c'est l'indétermination des rapports, la facilité de les saisir et le plaisir qui accompagne leur perception, qui ont fait imaginer que le beau était plutôt une affaire de sentiment que de raison.' J'ose assurer que toutes les fois qu'un principe nous sera connu dès la plus tendre enfance, et que nous en ferons par habitude une application facile et subite aux objets placés hors de nous, nous croirons en juger par sentiment.' Thus Mr I. A. Richards remarks, in *Principles of Literary Criticism*, that judgement quickened by habitual experience, and with the intermediate connexions slurred over, conveniently passes by the name of intuition.—Again, cf. *Corresp.*, 2 September 1762, concerning 'instinct'. 'je prétendis que ce n'était en nous que le résultat d'une infinité de petites expériences qui avaient commencé au moment où nous ouvrîmes les yeux à la lumière jusqu'à celui où, dirigés secrètement par ces essais dont nous n'avions pas la mémoire, nous prononcions que telle chose était bien ou mal, belle ou laide, bonne ou mauvaise sans avoir aucune raison présente à l'esprit de notre jugement favorable ou défavorable.' In the *Essai sur la Peinture* he writes: 'Qu'est-ce donc que le goût? Une facilité acquise par des expériences réitérées à saisir le vrai ou le beau, avec la circonstance qui le rend beau, et d'en être promptement et vivement touché.'

Si les expériences qui déterminent le jugement sont présentes à la mémoire, on aura le goût éclairé; si la mémoire en est passée, et qu'il n'en reste que l'impression, on aura le tact, l'instinct' (x, p. 519).

<sup>2</sup> Michel-Angelo, seeking to make the dome of St Peter's beautiful, gives it the curve of greatest resistance—instinctively so, but, so Diderot says, from accumulated experience of resistance in his sensitive organism. The example, of course, may be more significant than good.

He was early attracted by all the possibilities of illusion which literary creation can bring into play. Be it understood that in illusion once created he sees a reality of the mind: the *malade imaginaire* is really sick, as he points out to Falconet. Writings are to be read. Speculations as to what is going to occur in the reader's mind will henceforth become a habit of the intelligent writer: instead of facing back to a model, he will face forward to an impression.

For Diderot's philosophical mind literature is a subtle game, an Indian magic, a means of throwing ropes into the air and holding them there. The receiving mind must be treated as shy game, its habits known, its distrust lulled. To coax it is a main object of the realist. For instance, life is infinitely, wastefully detailed. Story-telling is sparing in its choice of detail, economical. Perhaps from reading the very wasteful Richardson (cf. *Éloge de Richardson*: 'sachez que c'est à cette multitude de petites choses que tient l'illusion'), Diderot finds that there is a point in wastefulness: 'comment s'y prendra donc ce conteur-ci pour vous tromper? . . . Il parsèmera son récit de petites circonstances si liées à la chose, de traits si simples, si naturels, et toutefois si difficiles à imaginer, que vous serez forcé de vous dire en vous-même: Ma foi, cela est vrai, on n'invente pas ces choses-là . . .' As we have seen, the real is *defective*. Take the painter's ideal head: 'que l'artiste me fasse apercevoir au front de cette tête une cicatrice légère, une verrue à l'une de ses tempes, une coupure imperceptible à la lèvre inférieure; . . . une marque de petite vérole au coin de l'œil ou à côté du nez, et ce visage de femme n'est plus celui de Vénus; c'est le portrait de quelqu'une de mes voisines'.<sup>1</sup> Story-tellers are advised to put in the wart and the scar. The resources of realism, to him, are already varied: one is, staging a fiction in several planes, one of which comes out of the frame into daily reality, somehow linking the rest with it. As early as 1757 Diderot pretends to be meeting Dorval, the hero of his drama, *Le Fils Naturel*; to be talking to him about the weather, hearing from him finally how he has put his life's crisis into dramatic shape; they then argue how best it can be made good drama. An easy trick, of course, and so unsophisticated that a much more fascinating parallel can be found in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*. Yet if it is not enough to help the play it adds a curious fascination to the dialogue on drama: that does come alive, as Diderot's essays constantly do.<sup>2</sup>

In *Jacques le Fataliste* such practices have become richer, more com-

<sup>1</sup> *Les Deux Amis de Bourbonne*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. in these short dialogues, the use of the weather, clouds, mist, the anticipation of rain. The total lack of connexion with the subject of the dialogue, the very *uselessness* of it, make it real.

plex. Taken as a philosophy of things in themselves, Jacques' fatalism is negligible; taken as a philosophical analysis of appearance, of things as they impress us currently, as a study in direct impressionistic portraiture of life consciously reacting against literary convention, this 'fatalism' is one of Diderot's bold excursions towards us. Thereby he outstrips the crude logic of the novelist's constructions. Unpredictable chance, Jacques' true master, is the approximation of an artist-minded philosopher, or a philosophically minded artist, to reality in the concrete: a figuration of the enormous complexity of causes coming to effect from all sides in the corner segregated by the novelist.

Sterne was to a great extent Diderot's model in *Jacques*; but the waywardness of narrative and caprice of digression which is with Sterne a portrait of the mind as it runs on, is with Diderot a portrait of life, of reality, as it appears: a substantial and significant difference. As for the inserted tales of past adventures or episodes of elaborate narrative (such as the story of Madame de la Pommeraye), they give depth and recession to the prospect, throwing forth towards us, into *our* reality, the persons and the daily lives of the narrators: not least their mental lives of which those very narratives are shown as incidents, the outcome of association of ideas in talk or rambling thought.

Diderot frequently puts his philosophy into dialogues with a setting; talk with a setting, varied with some amount of dramatic incident, is the medium of *Jacques*' intellectual realism. Conversation comes to Diderot as the easiest and perhaps the most genuine realistic medium. It is the meeting point of life and literature. There is no boundary between the free and easy talk at Grandval, the confluence of the living thought processes of a few happy spirits, and Diderot's report of it to Sophie Volland; nor from that to Diderot's invention of talk anywhere in his works. Talk fosters a form of mental life less automatic than uncontrolled association of ideas, more spontaneous than set thinking, and with a good deal of the fruits of chance thrown in.

C'est une chose singulière que les conversations surtout lorsque la compagnie est un peu nombreuse. Voyez les circuits que nous avons faits; les rêves d'un malade en délire ne sont pas plus hétéroclites, cependant comme il n'y a rien de décousu ni dans la tête d'un homme qui rêve ni dans celle d'un fou, tout se tient aussi dans la conversation; mais il serait quelquefois bien difficile de retrouver les chaînons imperceptibles qui ont attiré tant d'idées disparates. Un homme jette un mot qu'il détache de ce qui a précédé et suivi dans sa tête; un autre en fait autant, et puis attrape qui pourra. Une seule qualité physique peut conduire l'esprit qui s'en occupe à une infinité de choses diverses. Prenons une couleur, le jaune, par exemple: l'or est jaune, la soie est jaune, la bile est jaune, la paille est jaune; à combien d'autres fils ce fil ne répond-il pas? La folie, le rêve, le décousu de la conversation consistent à *passer d'une chose à une autre par l'entremise d'une qualité commune*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Corresp.*, 20 October 1760, xviii, p. 514.

Diderot has started from conversation and, without naming it, is getting close to poetry. He has, by significant chance, met not only the subject of the first *symboliste* poem, Sainte-Beuve's *Les Rayons Jaunes*, but a *processus* of modern poetry, based on subjective reality. Later<sup>1</sup> he muses again 'what a strange machine a head is: nothing in it but does stick fast by some corner, no two signs so dissimilar that they do not adjoin'. 'Combien de choses heureuses amenées par la rime dans nos poètes.' Diderot is the first philosophical critic—Valéry is the latest—to perceive the part thus played by rhyme in starting, in multiplying sub-conscious processes of association, ending in those sometimes miraculous *rapprochements*, chance become the inevitable.

Diderot's personal thinking in these matters of literary aesthetics, with an acute sensitiveness superadded, is that of a sensualist of the English school: empiricist and associationist. Associationism is a key to modern imaginative literature which Diderot was one of the first to hold, and to try on poetry. He came to this by degrees, through considering the medium of literature, that is, language, words.

In the *Lettre sur les Aveugles* (1749) Diderot adopted the sensualist position: that our modes of thinking are the outcome of our senses; he tried, starting from sight and the effects of its loss, to appraise and assign their contributions. Such speculations had, Diderot realized, an important bearing on the arts, which involve sense impressions and, more essentially, memories of sense impressions, variously intricated and associated. That is and even then was obvious; but the case of literature among the arts had its interesting differences. There direct sense-impression was purely menial (Mallarmé, Guillaume Apollinaire and Mr Cummings have changed all that) and diverse associations, the rich secondary content of words and words groups, were almost everything.

How near can words have been to things, to the real? How far can they recede from it, how near again can they be brought? Such problems exercised Diderot's mind from the *Lettre sur les Sourds et Muets* (1751) onwards.

The primitive reality of language is that of a set of very concrete signs in the order of mental representation, as extant, Diderot remarks, even in Latin: *Pomum da mihi*. Latin, indeed, retains the advantage of expressive, of what we may term poetical, order: the most effective to the reader's, or hearer's, immediate perception: contrary to the *logical* order of French it is *oratio sensitiva*.

The language and diction of poetry, however, transcend the logical

<sup>1</sup> *Salon de 1767*, XI, p. 78.

frame and build up a subtler suggestion. They are, as Diderot very finely puts it, *hieroglyphic, emblematic*:

Il passe...dans le discours du poète un esprit qui en meut et vivifie toutes les syllabes...c'est lui qui fait *que les choses sont dites et représentées* tout à la fois...et que le discours n'est plus seulement un enchaînement de termes énergiques qui exposent la pensée avec force et noblesse, mais que c'est encore *un tissu d'hieroglyphes entassés les uns sur les autres qui la peignent*. Je pourrais dire en ce sens que toute poésie est emblématique.<sup>1</sup>

Critical excellence depends on the necessity, inevitableness with which critical principles are applied to a particular case. Now, Diderot's ready sensitiveness was apt to be unexacting and to run away with him on a slight stimulus; the times, too, were such that a taste for poetry might well tend to be easy-going. Hence Diderot often appears less good a critic than an aesthetic theorist. Texts were pretexts for him to be moved: his instance of a poetical hieroglyph is somewhat disappointing. His poet happens to be Voltaire:

Le poète dit

Et des fleuves français les eaux ensanglantées  
Ne portaient que des morts aux mers épouvantées.

We may well smile when Diderot, in pride of his subtle perception, adds:

Mais qui est-ce qui voit, dans la première syllabe de *portaient*, les eaux gonflées de cadavres, et le cours des fleuves comme suspendu par cette digue? Qui est-ce qui voit la masse des eaux et des cadavres s'affaïsser et descendre vers les mers à la seconde syllabe du même mot, etc...<sup>2</sup>

Poetry is a joint creation of author and reader. Diderot's enthusiasm here makes the reader almost all-sufficient, which is no doubt excessive. Yet he is the reader modern poetry requires, he is on the way to Baudelaire's or even Mallarmé's conception of the literary hieroglyph.—A foreign poet like Keats may see one Boileau as the ruler of *classique* taste, Diderot cannot ignore the artist in him, remain insensitive to the concrete, plastic expressiveness that is an important part of the poetry of any language. He subtly admires such a line

Soupire, étend les bras, ferme l'oeil et s'endort:

Combien il est heureux pour un poète qui a le soupir à *peindre*, d'avoir en sa langue un mot dont la première syllabe est sourde, la seconde ténue, et la dernière muette? On lit *étend les bras*, mais on ne soupçonne guère la longueur et la lassitude des bras d'être représentés dans ce monosyllabe pluriel; ces bras étendus retombent si doucement avec le premier hémistiche...le poète a quatre actions à *peindre* et son vers est divisé en quatre membres...<sup>3</sup>

Other analyses convince us that Diderot has in mind something else than our old school-friend, imitative harmony: a much more mystical image-and-symbol value: in *Aeneid*, ix, 433-37, '*demisere* est aussi mou

<sup>1</sup> *Lettre sur les Sourds et Muets*, I, p. 374.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 374-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

que la tige d'une fleur, *gravantur* pèse autant que son calice chargé de pluie...'. A slight but sufficient concrete, *physical* stimulus has to be present, helping to build up a concrete and emotional impression.

Celui à qui l'intelligence des propriétés hiéroglyphiques des mots n'a pas été donnée... ne verra pas que dans l'*it cruor* de Virgile l'*it* est en même temps analogue au jet du sang et au petit mouvement des gouttes d'eau sur les feuilles d'une fleur.

This time the comment is poetry. We shall not be surprised that Diderot comes to the conclusion which is on its level undeniably true, that poetry cannot be translated:

l'emblème délié, l'hiéroglyphe subtil qui règne dans une description entière, et qui dépend de la distribution des longues et des brèves dans les langues à quantité marquée, et de la distribution des voyelles entre les consonnes dans les mots de toute langue: tout cela disparaît nécessairement dans la meilleure traduction.<sup>1</sup>

To satisfy the imagination, or to awaken it only, give it a first impulsion, then launch it on a free career: here is a dilemma of literary technique of which Diderot has shown himself aware, setting forth now thesis, now antithesis; once both—when considering epithets: 'un homme de lettres qui n'est pas sans mérite prétendait que les épithètes générales et communes, telles que *grand*, *magnifique*, *beau*, *terrible*, *intéressant*, *hideux*, captivant moins la pensée de chaque lecteur à qui cela laisse, pour ainsi dire, carte blanche, étaient celles qu'il fallait toujours préférer'.<sup>2</sup> Now comes the dialectic retort: 'Mais quand on a de la verve, des concepts rares, une manière d'apercevoir et de sentir originale et forte, le grand tourment est de trouver l'expression singulière, individuelle, unique, qui caractérise, qui distingue, qui attache et qui frappe'.<sup>3</sup> A sentence which, word for word, could have been written by those determined impressionists, the Goncourts.

Such a passage foretells the Flaubert-Goncourt deep-seated, if discrete, disagreement: the quarrel of the suggestive and the picturesque: shall literature cultivate its separate technique, or shall it always remember painting? We very seldom find Diderot in favour of confusing the arts,<sup>4</sup> which is all the more interesting because he did so much to multiply their relations. He had to become aware that in literature it is not 'word-painting' which builds up the most striking reality for the imagination:

<sup>1</sup> *Lettre sur les Sourds et Muets*, I, p. 376.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. two stages of Sainte-Beuve (in *Pensées de Joseph Delorme*) 'au lieu du mot vaguement abstrait, métaphysique et sentimental, employer le mot propre et pittoresque... au lieu de lac mélancolique mettre lac bleu...' with the later note: 'Lamartine a dit admirablement:

Assis aux bords déserts des lacs mélancoliques....

Il n'y a pas de lac bleu qui équivaille à cela.'

<sup>3</sup> *Salon de 1767*, XI, p. 187.

<sup>4</sup> At least, not at the expense of literature. Diderot's literary influence on the painting of his time was not to the good.

this likes to work on its own, obliquely, to build a whole from some small significant part, to be given some reflection and recreate the object. It must be kept going yet not feel the push; on that depend poetical quality and illusion-strength:

Le vrai goût s'attache à un ou deux caractères, et abandonne le reste à l'imagination. Les détails sont petits, ingénieux et puérils. C'est lorsqu'Armide s'avance noblement au milieu des rangs de l'armée de Godefroy, et que les généraux commencent à se regarder avec des yeux jaloux, qu'Armide est belle.... Si une figure marche, peignez-moi son port et sa légèreté, et je me charge du reste. Si elle est penchée, parlez-moi de ses bras seulement et de ses épaules.... Si vous faites quelque chose de plus vous confondez les genres: vous cessez d'être poète, vous devenez peintre ou sculpteur. Je sens vos détails, et je perds l'ensemble.<sup>1</sup>

The assimilation of painting and poetry—*ut pictura poesis*—had been a familiar feature of criticism. The dissimilation began early: the very able Abbé Dubos<sup>2</sup> already noticed that the painter does not work in time; which simple remark, if he had had Diderot's genius for drawing consequences, would have left less for Diderot, Burke and Lessing to say.

In the *Lettre sur les Sourds et Muets* Diderot, after speculating on the poetical hieroglyph, reflects that a fine poetical vision may come to nothing in pictorial representation. He takes for his instance Virgil's Neptune rising from the deep, lifting his head above the waves: 'Pourquoi le dieu ne paraissant alors qu'un homme décollé, sa tête, si majestueuse dans le poème, ferait-elle un mauvais effet sur les ondes? Comment arrive-t-il que ce qui ravit notre imagination déplaît à nos yeux?'

To the question so clearly set forth here, through some deficiency in energy, it was not Diderot who gave the first full answer, but Burke, whose little book *On the Sublime and Beautiful* came out in 1756-7 in its revised form. Part v of this brilliant *Essay* was given to the consideration of *Words*. Burke who was then, like Diderot, of the psychological school of Locke—with a difference—remarked that 'many ideas have never been at all presented to the senses of many men but by words, as God, angels... To represent an angel in a picture, you can only draw a beautiful young man winged: but what painting can furnish anything so grand as the addition of one word, "the angel of the Lord"...'. Priam, he went on, murdered at the altar foot might make a fine picture, but that would convey nothing of the tragic meaning of

Sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacraverat ignes.

Had Burke read the *Lettre sur les Sourds et Muets*? The wise young man, who speaks of Saunderson rather as if he had read the *Lettre sur les Aveugles*, keeps his own counsel. Not so, when his turn comes, babbling Diderot. Burke is written large across the *Salon de 1767*, although his

<sup>1</sup> *Salon de 1767*, xi, p. 328.

<sup>2</sup> *Réflexions sur la Poésie et la Peinture*, 1719.

name is not once mentioned. We read<sup>1</sup> a long passage about terror and the sublime, the effect of a plain contrasted with that of an ocean; then about obscurity: 'la clarté est bonne pour convaincre; elle ne vaut rien pour émouvoir... Poètes... soyez ténébreux.' Then he goes on to the effect of sound alternating with silence. All of which is coolly lifted from Burke's *Inquiry*. More to our purpose there is also a subtle and modern analysis of the nature of words as psychological reality, of their loss of concrete content, noticeable in poetry, almost total in some forms of prose.<sup>2</sup> It comes straight from the same source. Burke, to show that we do not realize pictorially the words of a discourse, imagines the reading of a geographical description of the Danube, with Germany, Austria, Vienna, Hungary thrown in: a lumbering instance which being too obvious proves nothing. Diderot improves on it, substituting some lines of Boileau after Homer, which introduce 'les Enfers, le Styx, Neptune avec son trident', etc. Diderot's remarks are presented as a digression in the midst of a conversation: 'j'aurais été à la fin de mon oraison,' he remarks, 'que vous en seriez encore au premier mot.' That is, if you tried to *realize* words. Burke had noticed: 'a train of thinking of this sort is much too long to be pursued in the ordinary ways of conversation'; but conversation is hardly the centre of the question. Words, they both conclude, have had in every mind their full intellectual-imaginative-affective meaning when we acquired them; then the meaning became more and more held in reserve, till only an instantaneous association is left, of affective impression with a sound: such is the psychological reality with which the writer has to deal, now startling and compelling the reader, through freshness, originality, striking angle of expression, into full realization, now making use of the dim suggestive power of words unrealized.

Diderot, if he had belonged to our crowded times, where it is so important that you should be the first to say your say, would have read with great dismay of Priam and the Angel of the Lord: for here was what he had meant to say, but had not said. Being a true philosopher, of care-free and happy disposition, he was content to borrow back with the increase. In quoting Lucretius besides Virgil, Venus after Neptune, he seems to be adding just one new to his old instance; but now he knows the Gods as the Gods:

Croyez-vous que l'artiste puisse rendre ce dais, cette couronne de globes enflammés qui roulent autour de la déesse? Ces globes deviendront des points lumineux... quelle comparaison entre ces globes du poète et ces petites étoiles du peintre? Comment rendra-t-il la majesté de la déesse?... comment la déesse versera-t-elle sur cet espace infini la fécondité et la vie?<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Salon de 1787*, xi, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> xi, pp. 132 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> xi, p. 78.

Even before Lessing, there now remained nothing really essential to be said about the relations of poetry and painting: Anglo-French psychological analysis had done the work. Yet, of course, Burke insidiously tends to mysticism, while Diderot keeps to the clear psychological opposition of free imagination to imagination bound by present perception. The former 'passe rapidement d'image en image... si elle discerne des plans, elle ne les gradue ni ne les établit; elle *s'enfoncera tout-à-coup à des distances immenses*'.<sup>1</sup> Diderot found as he must that, as regards play of imagination, drama is painting and poetry associated in various degrees: the narrative only is poetry almost unmixed; all that is representation is also painting:

Le récit me transportera au delà de la scène. J'en suivrai toutes les circonstances. Mon imagination les réalisera comme je les ai vues dans la nature. Rien ne se démentira. Le poète aura dit:

Entre les deux partis Calchas épouvanté  
L'œil farouche, l'air sombre et le poil hérissé,  
Terrible et plein du dieu qui l'agitait sans doute....

Où est l'acteur qui me montrera Calchas tel qu'il est dans ces vers... si quelque circonstance nous est donnée au dessus de la nature commune... l'exagération intellectuelle s'échappe au delà et se répand sur tout ce qui approche de cet objet.<sup>2</sup>

True, but it remains to be shown, and Diderot did not do it, that *le récit* is not even more satisfactory as poetry, *read*, than as actor's declamation.

Diderot's preoccupation with reality pervades his meanings. But this disciple of the English phenomenists does not very much worry about the thing in itself. Artistically if not metaphysically, *esse est percipi*. Communication from mind to mind is all that matters. All art is a system of signs, the interpretation and expanding of which into a new reality by the recipient mind must be accurately foreseen and prepared.<sup>3</sup> Literature as an art is, of all arts, the most fascinating to the psychologist, the relation of sign to signification being here so subtle and complex, the power of the sign—the *power of words*—being so great.

I have tried to show Diderot's work as a pioneer of modern literature centred in technique: a dry enough point of view to start from. But we may now say more precisely, technique of expression; and that involves more than technique, deep and live meanings. Man in modern literature obviously is not all he was before, is no longer the centre wherefrom all radiates. His motives and his actions in combination are no longer so

<sup>1</sup> *Salon de 1767*, xi, 72.

<sup>2</sup> *Dorval et Moi. Second entretien* (1757).

<sup>3</sup> Cf., concerning the actor, *Paradoxe sur le Comédien*: 'Qu'est-ce donc que le vrai talent? Celui de bien connaître les symptômes extérieurs de l'âme d'emprunt, de s'adresser à la sensation de ceux qui nous entendent, qui nous voient, et de les tromper par l'imitation de ces symptômes, par une imitation qui agrandisse tout dans leur tête.'

impressive. Man as sentient is a very different kind of hero, set in time and space, connected with the universe. His existence, including in vast numberless conscious or subconscious layers all being, and the modes of existence, have fascinated the modern artist. To express existence, to transmit it or rather to transmute it into the reader's consciousness, is no longer a matter of rational exposition like the development of motives in a classical play. Darker regions of the mind must be acted upon. Suggestion and higher realism go together. The developments of both in modern literature are an immensely important phenomenon; for all symbolism, including *surréalisme*, wriggle as it may, is still realism (subjective reality now free from space and time) and suggestion.

Diderot is a rich fountainhead of modern French realism. He has all Stendhal's liking for what may be termed romantic realism: the same warm curiosity, cool acceptance, precise and quasi-scientific analysis of human nature as it stands or—as it falls—following with the same fascinated interest the bold track of some reckless energy, be it towards a *beau crime*: he has created the Abbé Hudson and Desglonds and Madame de la Pommeraye. Much of Balzac is latent in his definition of the beautiful as born of relations and connexions clearly perceived, in his consequent passion for interrelated signs, for passing from a physical system of signs to a deeper reality by physiognomy; in his general liking for concrete symbol. And his view that artistic power, that is, the power of expressing things, lies in the head, not in the heart or soul, the view admirably set forth in the *Paradoxe sur le Comédien*, has it not its exact parallel in Flaubert's *Correspondance*, which to so many, as to George Sand, constitutes a 'paradoxe sur le Romancier'? In his view, the actor must be detached, coolly contemplate as if outside himself the character or emotion for which he has to create a subtly over-emphatic set of signs. The novelist, says Flaubert, must be detached, he must create emotion out of his imagination, not borrow it from his heart: in both cases, artistic sense has led the critic to react against the popular view.<sup>1</sup> Artistic sense, and a certain intellectual view of the literary art: that view, which belongs to all suggestive literature, is also strongly of our time.

J.-J. MAYOUX.

LIVERPOOL.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Baudelaire, to whom also the idea of art had so much meaning: 'De temps en temps la personnalité disparaît. L'objectivité qui fait certains poètes panthéistes et aussi les grands comédiens devient telle que vous vous confondez avec les êtres extérieurs.' (*Du Vin et du Haschisch*, ed. Conard.) 'Objectivity' in the method of the realist is, of course, consistent with his working on subjective mind-contents; in fact, it is required by it.

## ON THE 'HILDEBRANDSLIED'

THE story partly told in the incomplete Lay of Hildebrand is a sequel to events narrated toward the end of the *Nibelungenlied*, written some 400 years later, and two or three lines of the lay cannot now be properly understood without some acquaintance with the epic.

For example, the son's statement that his father was always too fond of fighting has led some commentators to regard *leop*, 27 *b*, as a noun (fond, but not too fond), though this involves tampering with the text. Yet if we turn to *Aventiure xxxviii* we find that Hildebrand did have the reputation of being too fond of fighting. Being entrusted by Dietrich with a peaceful mission to the Burgundians, he is strictly forbidden, as we learn subsequently, to indulge his aggressive propensities (*Nib.* 2310):

ich wæne ir mit den gestalten      zem hûse habt gestriten:  
ich verbôt ez iu sô sêre,      dô het ir'z pillich vermiten.

Hildebrand had yielded readily to the promptings of his hot-headed nephew, Wolfhart, not to go to the Burgundians unarmed (2248: *in sînen zûhten*, 'in knightly courtesy', A. S. Way) and had taken with him all of Dietrich's men, the whole company of the Amelungs, fully armed, sword in hand (2250). In the ensuing combat, when the 600 storm the hall of the Burgundians, old Hildebrand overtakes young Wolfhart, and is the first to cross swords with the guests (2274):

Swie wîter sprunge er pflæge      für des sales want,  
doch ergâhte in vor der stiege      der alde Hildebrant:  
er wolde in vor im lâzen      niht komen in den strîft.

It would be impossible to imagine a more perfect illustration for *Hild.* 27 *a* and *b* (he was always in the forefront of the warriors, he was always too fond of fighting):

her was eo folches at ente,      imo was eo fehta ti leop.

In that fight all the Burgundians or Nibelungs are slain except two, and all of Dietrich's men but one, Hildebrand. Dietrich is heart-broken in recounting his losses; his cherished hope of regaining his kingdom is destroyed (2322):

wer sol mir danne helfen      in der Amelunge lant?

Although no one seems ever to have put forward this view—who can doubt that the intensive plural *darba*, bitter need, *Hild.* 23, 26, has reference to that crowning disaster, or be greatly surprised that it is alluded to twice and without further explanation, as an occurrence well known to the audience? Line 26, usually, for illusory metrical reasons,

emended into the perfectly flat *miti Deotrichhe* (Wackernagel, Braune) which tells us nothing we did not know, is nevertheless straightforward and clear as it stands in the MS. Hildebrand was the favourite, most trusty liegeman until that bitter need befell Dietrich:

degano dechisto      unti Deotrichhe      darbā gistōntun

(three short lines; *unti* as in l. 67; *gistantan*, like *gistandan* frequently in the Heliand, in the sense of *widerfahren*, befall, e.g. 510, *iru thār sorga gistōd*, or 2989, *that iru wāri harm gistandan*).

After that disaster Hildebrand was in disgrace. Dietrich would have put him to death, but for the shame of it (2312):

het ih's niht immer scande,      ir soldet vliessen daz leben.

But Dietrich still had need of Hildebrand. We have *one* instance illustrating *Hild.* 23,

sīd Dētrihhe      darbā gistuontun  
fateres mines

in *Nib.* 2324, where Hildebrand, the only liegeman left, has to help Dietrich arm:

im half, daz er sich wāfent',      meister Hildebrant

as the previous order, 'bid them bring me my shining harness', 2317, could not be carried out.

In *Hild.* 23 *sīd* is not the conjunction *seit*, as Grimm took it, but the comparative adverb, *späterhin*, afterwards, later on, like the foreboding *sīt* (*sider*, *sint*) so very frequent in the *Nibelungenlied*.

Where the epic ends, disclaiming further knowledge (2379) of what happened to Dietrich, Etzel and Hildebrand—all the rest being dead—the Lay of Hildebrand and the story of Hildibrand and Alebrand in the *Thidrekssaga* (c. 1250, later than the *Nibelungenlied*) both begin—after the destruction of the Nibelungs and Thidrik's loss of all his 'Freunde und Männer' (Grimm, i.e., the 1812 edition by the brothers Grimm, p. 59). The two stories begin together and, unobserved by Grimm, immediately diverge, never to meet. One, we might say, is in the Greek Dorian mode, with the ethos of pure tragedy; the other, in the Lydian mode, amusing, trivial, with the happy ending admired by Grimm, p. 60. In the later German and Danish versions, fourteenth century on, the thing becomes burlesque, and the impending woe-weird of *Hild.* 49 proves to be nothing worse than the entertainment offered the two swashbucklers by Dame Oda-Gute-Utte-Judte. It will be a difficult but necessary task to free the Lay of Hildebrand from the contamination of that other story, which set in, apparently, at a very early date and continues to the present day.

One gross example of this interference can be dealt with in summary fashion. In *Herrigs Archiv*, 144, p. 161 (1922), the fact that in the later *Hildebrandslied* (Grimm, p. 54) young Alebrand remarks on old Hildibrand's dazzling armour, fit for a prince, is regarded as evidence that *Hild.* 46-8 should be taken from Hildebrand and given to Hadubrand, as had indeed already been done by Wadstein, Ehrismann and others. One straight question pricks this bladder. Hadubrand knows that his father went into exile some thirty years previously, and by Hildebrand's own account this time was spent on active service. Some allowance must be made for wear and tear. So *how on earth* could Hadubrand tell from his opponent's equipment what had happened to this man *thirty years earlier*, whether he then became an exile or did not? Of course it is Hildebrand speaking. The splendid accoutrements of the younger warrior make Hildebrand reflect with some bitterness on his arrogant son's good fortune compared with his own misfortunes at about the same age. Line 48 should be printed with a dash after *wurti* and read with emphasis on *du* and with the voice kept up on the last syllable, not with a final cadence, since 'as I did' is not expressed:

dat dū noh bi desemo rīche      reccheo nī wurti—

Then follows that grand, marvellous line 49:

Wēlaga nū, Waltant Got,      wē-wurt skihit.

L. 13. Taking *heriuntuem*, l. 3, as a participial noun, *den Heerenden*, where the now accepted reading is *heriun twēm*, Grimm found no difficulty in the vocative *chind*, l. 13. It agreed with Ths., where Thidrik declines Attila's help, and after thirty-two years of exile sets out for Aumlungaland to regain his kingdom, accompanied only by his wife Herad and by Hildibrand, who knows that Duke Alebrand of Bern is his reputed son. Hildibrand rides on to Bern, where he finds Alebrand out hunting with hawk and hound. This staging of the encounter is entirely different from that of the Lay, where Hildebrand has accepted Attila's help both in gold and men, and is apparently bent on making good his disastrous blunder and winning back the kingdom for Dietrich by invading Italy with an army of Huns. The two champions ride forth to the place of contest, between the two armies in battle array. They meet like two Homeric heroes, or like David and Goliath in sight of the two hosts of the Israelites and of the Philistines, 1 Sam. xvii. Unless the identity of his opponent comes upon Hildebrand's impulsive nature as a tremendous surprise, throwing him for the moment off his balance, his offer of gold looks like the act of a lunatic, as if at a big prize-fight, when the combatants

enter the ring with the eyes of all spectators on them, after the preliminary formalities, one should offer the other a wad of bank-notes to call the fight off! It is all very well to say that *chind* must mean *junger Mann*, but how should the original audience know that? In M.H.G. *kint*, like *hearn* in O.E., occasionally in a clear context means *warrior*. But how could the listeners whom the maker of the Lay had in mind be supposed to dissociate the word entirely from its usual meaning? In Braune's glossary it stands invariably for *Kind*, *Sohn*, *Knabe*, and we must not forget that Hadubrand is thirty years old. Hildebrand's *suasat chind*, l. 53, signifies *mein eigener Sohn*. In the *Ludwigslied* 3, *kind* designates a boy of 14-16. Moritz Heyne's glossary to the *Heliand* books *kind* a score of times, including compounds, in the sense of N.H.G. *Kind* with one exception, 2101, where it applies to the centurion's servant, Matt. viii, 8, *παῖς*, like *boy* in colonial English, Lat. *puer*.

Any suggestion of intentional mystification or poetic irony must be set aside as entirely out of place. The vocative *chind* is a false note, not in the Dorian mode. It is my belief that at some stage in the writing down or copying of the Lay, the word *chind* with the rest of Braune's l. 13 was wrenched out of its proper position by the influence of an analogue in which, as in Ths., the father already knows his opponent to be his son. But the conclusion that l. 12 should come after *irmindeot*, 13, was arrived at by reasoning along quite another line:

If the Lay of Hildebrand is written out in some 130 short lines—the more usual way of editing O.N. and O.E. chiming verse before Grimm—we find, beginning at l. 6 in Braune's numbering, five (2+3) consecutive short lines chiming on *h*. If the fourth of these is held to be an interpolation, we have to wait for Hadubrand, l. 44, to introduce Hildebrand in proper style. This seems unlikely.

Then follow five short lines on *f*, and in Braune, not in Mansion, who follows v. Grienberger, we come upon the two rows of dots introduced by Lachmann in 1833. For just over a hundred years they have invited scholars to fill an imaginary lacuna of two half-lines without eliciting anything but inane padding. In the Lay of Hildebrand there is no padding: every word tells. Surely, as far as this poem is concerned, it is time for Procrustes to go to his bed and stay there! L. 26 has already been discussed. L. 61 is to my mind better taken as three short lines on *h*. So, too, l. 50, with a double chime or cross-alliteration as in l. 18. The last word of 39 chimes on *sp* with 40; that of 46 on *h* with 47; and that of 63 on *sk* with 64. This can hardly be fortuitous. In the same way 64 chimes with 65 on *st* (*stōnt*, *stōptun*, *staimbort*), and, supporting my 1924

contention, *M.L.R.* xix, 219, that *chludun* stands for *hlūdun*, 65 with 66 on *h*. Then again, *ūserē* in l. 15, which is otherwise chimeless, like 46, is linked by its initial vowel to *alte* and *ērhina* in l. 16; and finally, from this point of view, *ort wīdar orte*, l. 38, may be regarded as the first of another series of three short lines forming a vowel chime *ō, ā, ū*, and the need for filling in a 38 *b* becomes less urgent.

Now if we transpose 12 and 13 we find that, in the same way, *irmindeot* takes part in the vowel chime *ē, ō* of the following line, while *cnuosles*, hitherto supposed to be isolated, also chimes in on *k* with *chund*, *chuninc-rīche*, *chūd*. The transposition gives better sound and better sense, with a new reading, in which *chind* is no longer vocative, but complement to *sīs* (or of what house, family, thou art the scion):

eddo welihhes cnuosles      dū sīs chind.  
in chuninc-rīche      chūd ist mī al irmindeot;  
ibu dū mī ēnan sagēs,      ik mī dē ōdre wēt.

For the genitive depending on *chind*, cf. *Hel.* 1264,

   sie wārun fon swestron twēm  
cnōsles cumana,      Krist endi Jākob.

The curious transition, *not* abrupt, as *Hel.* 4973, but in two steps, from indirect through semi-direct to direct speech, does not appear to be considered in Behaghel's *Histor. Syntax.* Is it unique?

L. 35 *b*. The sentence accompanying the impulsive offer of arm-rings is brought to life by Th. v. Grienberger's comma after *dat*—the best thing in his book, 1908. The comma rids us of that incredible dependent sentence, dependent on nothing expressed or understood before or after; translated by Grimm 1812 and Ehrismann 1918 'daß ich dir es nun... gebe!' with a subjunctive (?) for indicative *gibu*; ignored, as far as I can see, by Paul in 12 pages and by Behaghel in 24 pages on the history of *daß* sentences. It is natural that the first word should point to the preferred gift, as in *Nb.* 1634, where Hagen offers Eckewart six gold rings, *sehs pouge rôt*, with the words:

die habe dir, helt, ze minnen,      daz du mīn friunt sīst.

Eckewart, by the way, accepts the gift with gratitude, 1635: 'Got lōne iu iuwer pouge', being unacquainted—as was Hildebrand evidently, although he was the older, more experienced man (*Hild.* 7)—with that 'erzgemeißelte Sprichwort' which comes so pat to Hadubrand, ll. 37, 38.

The line now compares with *Hel.* 4434, which shows an anacrusis of 1+6 syllables against 1+5 (not 6, as Heusler 218 and 373) in *Hild.* 35:

gumōno gōdes?      Hwat, sie it al be thīnun gebūn ēgun  
Hūneo truhtīn:      'dat, ih dir it nū bi huldi gibū.'

The four pronouns, in order as they stand, go readily into French: 'Ça, je te le donne...', but not into idiomatic German or English: Mansion suggests *da* to render *dat*.

It must now be pointed out that when the brothers Grimm had finished their literal translation and proceeded to a free rendering, p. 7—standing back, so to speak, for better perspective—they no longer regarded *dat* as a conjunction, but expressed the above sense by 'nimm sie hin, ich gebe sie dir zu Hulden!' They would have welcomed v. Grienberger's comma.

L. 33. Another improvement effected by a slight change, but in the MS. this time, is Möller's *ab arme*, adopted by Saran and Heusler, for dittographic *ar arme* (cf. *fatereres*, l. 24; intrusive *r* in *werdar*, l. 61, Goth. *hwaþar*, O.S. *hwedar*, O.E. *hwæðer*; and possibly intrusive *er* in adjectival *sceotantero* for consonantal *sceotanto*, l. 51). Hildebrand did not wind the coiled gold out of his arm, *aus dem Arm* (Ehrismann), but off, from his arm.

The Pickwickian decipherment, *ik mideo dre-wet* for *ik mi de odre wet* (Lachmann) may explain why Grimm failed to recognize three other principal sentences with the verb last, in ll. 6, 23, 35, and parsed a pronoun and two adverbs all as subordinating conjunctions. 23 and 35 have been dealt with.

L. 6 *b*. Here Wadstein, followed by v. Grienberger, Mansion, Kluge, 1919, removed a difficulty with the tenses by showing that *dō* begins a principal sentence, like *thō* several times in the Heliand, e.g., 231, *Thō he nāhor geng*: 'Then he went nearer.' So we must translate: 'Then they rode' not 'as they rode'; *Dann ritten sie not da sie...ritten*.

L. 60 *b*, *niuse de motti*. The clear delineation of the two warriors as champions brought out by the Braune-Holthausen interpretation of l. 2 is smudged and blurred by those who try to hark back in the direction of the Ths. story, as Ehrismann, 1918, with 'sich herausforderten... bei der Begegnung'. Kluge, 1919, intent on his advocacy of Lachmann's *Begegnungen* for *muotin*, l. 2 and *motti*, l. 60, found *motti*, regarded as a subjunctive, inexplicable—a surprising admission from the editor of a well-known *Angelsächsisches Lesebuch*. Since we know, from Holthausen, *Alts. Elementarb.* 524 *b* and Braune, *Ahd. Gr.* 287 A 2, 3 that in O.S. and O.H.G. the relative particle *the*, *de* might stand alone as a relative pronoun, the grammatical analysis of *niuse de motti* really presents less difficulty than that of 'try who may'. The O.E. inflexions in 'understande sē ðe wille' or 'gecnāwe sē ðe cunne' from Wulfstan's sermon, xvi in Sweet's *Reader*, plainly show us, if we wish to know, that in such a phrase

as 'come what may' or 'deny it who dare' we employ two subjunctives. *Hel.* 224, *he niate ef he mōti*, sometimes adduced, as by v. Grienberger, p. 75, to help with *Hild.* 60 *b*, is hardly to the point (cf. Wulfstan's 'dō mære gyf hē mæge.' Kluge, by the way, need only have consulted p. 80 of his own book to find four examples of the 60 *b* construction), but *Beow.* 1386-8 offers a perfect illustration of the grammar, as well as an interesting metrical comparison:

Ūre æghwylc sceal      ende zebīdan  
 worolde lifes;      wyrce sē þe mōte  
 dōmes ær dēape.

While the regular **a x. a x** (Heusler's notation) of l. 1387 is in keeping with Beowulf's solemn admonition, the controverse **x a : x a** in

gūdea gemeinun:      niuse de mōtti

may be thought well suited to Hildebrand's now desperate resolve to fight, son or no son.

W. PERRETT.

LONDON.

## THE RELIGION OF FRIEDRICH SCHLEGEL

### I

It now seems to be generally accepted that Friedrich Schlegel's conversion is not a complete break in his career. The persistent unity of his thought is recognized. But there seems to be little clarity or agreement as to what this unity is. The following is an examination of what the term 'religion' meant for Schlegel at various stages. It is an attempt to reveal the nature of the unity of Schlegel's religious thought.

In 1796, in his essay on Jacobi's *Woldemar* (Minor, *F. Schlegels Jugendschriften*, Wien, 1882, II, pp. 72 ff.), Schlegel gives what is probably his earliest definition of religion. It is, he says, 'Andacht, ehrfurchtvolles Vertrauen auf den Allgerechten, liebevoller Dank zu dem Allgütigen', a definition that says little more than that religion is confidence in a fixed order of things. But he goes on: religion is further 'der reinste Erguss und der schönste Lohn höherer Sittlichkeit'. Already here there seems to be a sign of development beyond the ethical creed of Fichte, in spite of Haym's opinion. ('Die Schlegel'schen Äusserungen...gehen im wesentlichen nicht über den Standpunkt der Kantschen und Fichteschen Philosophie hinaus.' *Die Romantische Schule*, Berlin, 1928, p. 538.) A year later, in the review of the first four volumes of Niethammer's *Philosophisches Journal* (Minor, II, pp. 100 ff.), the same theme is pursued. Religion is no aid to morality but rather its reward. Among all religions the most excellent is the Christian, for it has the virtue 'allen alles sein zu wollen'. For every stage of moral culture, from that of the semi-beast to that of the sage, it has a message. It is a product of freedom, and he adds with a characteristic turn 'je freier je religiöser'. In his essay on Lessing of the same year (Minor, II, pp. 140 ff.), he reproaches Lessing with the fact that the latter represents one type of religion in his *Nathan* as a superior type. For the Romantic religion of the Romantic, Friedrich Schlegel must have above all the quality of freedom. It is nearer to the truth in and behind reality than the negative Kantian ethic.

Schlegel came to religion in a way more intellectual than emotional. In this he differs from his friend Hardenberg. 'Hat Hardenberg mehr Religion, so habe ich mehr Philosophie der Religion', he writes to his brother (March, 1798. O. Walzel, *Friedrich Schlegels Briefe an seinen Bruder...*, Berlin, 1890, p. 368). But when it comes to considering their common position in the world of their time, he does not hesitate to

group himself and Dorothea with Novalis as having the same mission. 'Mir kommt es vor, als ginge die moderne Geschichte noch einmal an und als teilten sich alle Menschen von neuem in Geistliche und in Weltliche. Wir sind Geistliche, Hardenberg, Dorothea und ich' (Letter to Caroline, October 1798, *Caroline. Briefe aus der Frühromantik*, hrsg. von E. Schmidt, Leipzig, 1913). He thinks they must found a new religion. 'Das ist der Zweck aller Zwecke und der Mittelpunkt.' It is interesting to note here that part of the group consciousness of the German Romantics is founded on what they believe to be their common religious mission.

Those of the 'Fragmente', appearing at this time in the *Athenäum*, that deal with religion show unmistakably the influence not only of Novalis but also now of Schleiermacher. Schleiermacher had told the Romantics in his *Reden*, with all the authority of the professional theologian, that their religious dilettantism was of the very essence of true religion. So Schlegel can now confidently assert (*Athenäum*, I, 2, p. 125) that the relationship of the true artist to his ideal is religion, an 'innerer Gottesdienst' of which the artist himself is the priest. It is one-sided in Schlegel's opinion to admit of only one mediator, 'Mittler'. 'Für den vollkommenen Christen, dem sich in dieser Rücksicht der einzige Spinoza nähern dürfte, müsste wohl alles Mittler sein' (*Athenäum*, I, 2, p. 63).

Schlegel's religion throws significant light on Romantic religion as a whole. It is born of an æsthetic need. In the desire to see all things as 'Mittler' we see the need of a mythology.

The essay on Philosophy, dedicated to Dorothea, whilst generally too vague, does contain the assertion that religion is possessed by him who experiences the world of true 'Begeisterung' (*Athenäum*, II, 1, pp. 1-38). 'Enthusiasmus est principium artis et scientiae' was the wording of Schlegel's thesis before the faculty at Jena (Walzel, *Deutsche Romantik*, Leipzig, 1923, I, p. 25). There is little of additional value in the criticism of Schleiermacher's *Reden*.

At the time of the *cause célèbre* that developed round the alleged atheism of Fichte, Friedrich Schlegel resolved to write a pamphlet in his defence. In this pamphlet we find: 'solange es noch viele gibt, die weltlich gesinnt leben, und andre wenige geistlich Gesinnte, wird es wohl auch schlechthin entgegengesetzte Religionen geben, wenn die Religion eines Menschen nichts andres sein kann, als das Innerste und Eigenste in ihm, sein Erstes und Höchstes.' Religion and the innermost meaning of a man's personality are apparently one. The free individual nature of religion is also emphasized here. Finally, there is an echo of the Romantic group

consciousness, as of a small group of 'geistlich Gesinnte' in a world of realists.

The 'Ideen' appeared in the fifth 'Heft' (third volume) of the *Athenäum* and are almost exclusively devoted to religion and its problems. Here religion is the soul of 'Bildung'. It is no mere component part but the animating centre of all things (see Walzel's note on 'Mittelpunkt' in *Deutsche Romantik*, I, pp. 45, 52). 'Durch sie (Religion) wird aus Logik Philosophie, aus unvollkommener Poesie vollendet' (*Athenäum*, III, I, p. 6). If the 'Organismusgedanke' is the key to Romantic thought (Walzel, *Deutsche Romantik*, I, p. 15), then the vital principle of the organic is religion. Poetry and philosophy are forms in which religion is revealed, but they are also factors in true religion, out of the two is religion made (Schlegel is thinking here perhaps of his own relationship to Novalis). 'Ohne Poesie wird die Religion dunkel, falsch und böse, ohne Philosophie ausschweifend in aller Unzucht und wollüstig bis zur Selbstentmannung' (*Athenäum*, III, I, p. 31). Religion has a thousand and one forms and is present in most extremes of emotion (*Athenäum*, III, I, p. 32). Even the great revolutionaries of the French Revolution, because of their extreme of enthusiasm, he dignifies with the name of 'mystics' (*Athenäum*, III, I, p. 10).

There must be mutual interpenetration of poetry and religion. That religion should appear, in the world of language, i.e. of poetry, as mythology, he takes completely as a matter of course. He looks on the Bible as mythology. Taking a leaf out of the book of the most instinctively mythological of all the Romantics—Novalis—Schlegel sees Christianity as a religion of death. The central fact of Christian mythology is the interpretation of death as the gateway to the true life. It gives this phenomenon of natural existence a symbolical meaning in the same way as the 'alte Religionen der Natur und des Lebens'. He sees the value of Christianity as a religion in a quality it shares with the primitive natural religions.

In the *Gespräch über die Poesie*, particularly in the section entitled 'Rede über die Mythologie und symbolische Anschauung', there are many significant remarks. It was written in Jena, in the winter of 1799–1800, and of it Schleiermacher says that it is the clearest of all that Schlegel had written up to that date (Dilthey, *Aus Schleiermachers Leben*, Berlin, 1860–3, IV, p. 61). Here we find drawn into the discussion other aspects of the intellectual movement of the time. The Naturphilosophie of Schelling and his disciples and all their pseudo-scientific concepts mingle with the religion and poetic philosophy of Romanticism.

Our author feels the approach of a rebirth: that mankind is struggling to recover its lost centre of gravity (*Sämtliche Werke* (Wien 1846), v, pp. 198 f.). But this 'Rückkehr der Wahrheit und des geistigen Denkens' is not to be attained until the distant future (*op. cit.*, p. 201). In the meantime we must be satisfied with a new realism, born of the contemporary idealism, which will rely on phantasy as the organ of perception and whose organ will be poetry, developed to its best advantage in a mythology (*op. cit.*, p. 200). This poetry will be 'das eine Gedicht der Gottheit', expressing that which 'sich in der Pflanze regt, im Lichte strahlt, im Kinde lächelt, in der Blute der Jugend schimmert, in der liebenden Brust der Frauen gluhet'. God is the eternal poet and all nature his poem. How can we understand his language save through poetry alone? (*op. cit.*, p. 168).

## II

It would be easy to presume overmuch from the evidence we have collected so far. Glawe (*Die Religion Fr. Schlegels*, Berlin, 1906) draws at this point, I think, an unwarranted conclusion. He sees in the demand for a mythology, 'bei aller Vorliebe für die subjektivste Willkür doch das Bedürfnis nach einer festen, substantiellen Unterlage', and this, he thinks, Schlegel was bound to find in the Catholic Church. But such a conclusion surely misunderstands the nature of Schlegel's problem. The 'Vorliebe für die subjektivste Willkür' and at the same time the 'Bedürfnis nach einer festen, substantiellen Unterlage', these two had always been main tendencies of Schlegel's thought. Their reconciliation was his problem as it was that of all his contemporaries. The 'substantielle Unterlage' they sought was indeed that 'Substanz' which was the final reality of neo-Platonism and in all the 'subjektive Willkür' of the world of appearance they saw it expressed. Had Schlegel been a poet he would never have been converted any more than Novalis. But Schlegel the philosopher had to seek his solution in a system. His was not that primitive mythological view of things.

In the so-called 'Windischmann Vorlesungen' he offers us a system which claims to be an 'Entwicklung der Philosophie in zwölf Büchern' (*Friedrich Schlegels philosophische Vorlesungen aus den Jahren 1804-1806*, etc., hrsg. von C. J. H. Windischmann, Bonn, 1836-37). He offers an 'Idealismus' that rejects the concept of substance in the realistic 'Aufklärung' sense and recognizes nothing as truly real save the activity of the spirit. Alone under the rule of the spirit can what he calls 'Ich-heit' express itself. Religion is the striving to get back to the first principles of

one's being as a man, to the essential 'Ich-heit' (Windischmann, I, p. 337 f.). God is the all-embracing 'Ich', the eternal spiritual being, for whom everything has spiritual significance, being therefore an expression of Himself. For God there is no 'Nicht-Ich'.

• The problem of revelation seemed to Schlegel to require special attention. The first revelation of the Divinity was bound to be misunderstood, for it was a revelation of the Godhead in all its splendour. Primitive philosophy is misapprehended revelation. It left its traces in the symbolism of early language, in the adoration of the starry firmament by archaic man. The second revelation, the appearance of the Son, helped men over these misconceptions. Thus was founded the Church through which 'die hergestellte Offenbarung in ihrer Reinheit fortgepflanzt... werden sollte' (Windischmann, II, pp. 238 ff.). In the Church we have a kind of continuous third revelation. It keeps alive in man the knowledge of his own and all the world's one-ness with the divine 'Ich-heit' (Windischmann, II, p. 355 f.). The Church expresses its message in symbols. The Protestants are sadly astray when they reject all symbols and stick so stubbornly to the written word (Windischmann, II, p. 252 f.). The poet and his art have a great role in the service of the Church. It is 'jene älteste Tradition der Mythologie, die... unverkennbare Spuren der ersten Offenbarung enthält, lebendig fortzupflanzen... in ihrer ganzen Mannigfaltigkeit zu entwickeln und durch die reichste Blüte und Schönheit der Darstellung zu erheben und zu verherrlichen' (Windischmann, II, p. 243 f.). Poetry is not merely the memory of the first revelation, it is the 'Ahnung' of the heavenly future, the common medium, the language of the Church. The unseen kingdom of God becomes visible through the arts. Art is a 'sichtbare Erscheinung des Reiches Gottes auf Erden, auch schon jetzt, ehe die Natur ihrer Fesseln entledigt ist' (Windischmann, II, p. 244 f.). For Schlegel all poetry must be both 'mythologisch' and 'katholisch'. In this juxtaposition we have the meaning of our author's conversion. He fought all his life for the idealistic, poetic view of the world: he fought for a mythology. In the Catholic Church he found a social organ of mythology. He sought religion out of an æsthetic need. That need was mythology. There is no change in Schlegel after the conversion, therefore, because religion, mythology and Catholicism are practically identical for him. As he said two years after his official conversion (1808), to become a Catholic is merely to give religion true recognition.

## III

Friedrich Schlegel and his contemporaries were dissatisfied with the world about them. They exalted at its expense the Middle Ages. The difference between their own times and the Middle Ages lay in the fact that the Middle Ages were 'organic'. In their own time they attacked the matter-of-fact realism of the 'Aufklärung'. This latter is inorganic because it denies the vital principle which is phantasy. The Middle Ages were organic because they had the spiritual view of life, because they saw in life symbols of eternal meaning: they had a mythology. All the Romantics wanted a 'Rückkehr des geistigen Denkens' (see above, p. 542). To them as poets such a manner of thought meant a mythology. They realized that without the prevalence of such a view of existence, poetry, they themselves would be impossible. They occupied themselves with the philosophical problem of the realness of reality in self-defence against the 'realism' of their times.

f ALFORD.

J. WELTMAN.

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

### A SUGGESTED SOLUTION OF RIDDLE 61<sup>1</sup>

Various solutions of this riddle have been proposed, such as a reed-pipe, a reed-pen, a reed-flute or some form of rune-staff. Another suggestion is that Riddle 61 is not a riddle at all but forms part of the poem which follows it in the *Exeter Book*, the 'Husband's Message'. But even if the poem is not a riddle at all the difficulty of interpretation still remains.<sup>2</sup>

The riddle is almost certainly based on Symphosius's 'Arundo' enigma, and there is little question as to the solution of the latter. It is a reed which is used both as a reed-pipe and reed-pen. Naturally, therefore, the O.E. riddle has been interpreted as either one or the other or else as both, though neither of these interpretations is satisfactory. A reed-pipe for instance cannot be described as 'mouthless' (l. 9). But the fatal objection to both solutions is that the reed does not grow in the sea. It grows in fresh water, sometimes in very slightly brackish water, but never actually in the sea itself. But the plant described in the riddle obviously does grow in the sea—'each dawn the brown wave played round me with its watery embrace' (ll. 6, 7). Its native home is 'æt merefarope', which seems to mean 'sea waves' rather than 'sea-shore'. If we could interpret the riddle as referring to some sort of rune-staff, the solution would be the most obvious one, and the connexion between the riddle and the succeeding piece in the *Exeter Book* would be strengthened if not established. Various commentators from Morley<sup>3</sup> onwards have suggested this explanation, but hitherto the difficulty has been, as Miss Wardale says,<sup>4</sup> that 'the description does not fit any tree from whose bark rune-staves could be cut'.

The suggestion we have to offer is that the poem refers not to a reed but to the kelp-weed, *Laminaria digitata*, which is an alga. This plant grows by the shore at the edge of the sea, just as described in the poem. It has a thick stem which is firm but not hard, on which a runic message could easily be cut. In a few days the stem dries up, but, if soaked in water, the inscription once more becomes easily decipherable. This we have found by actual experiment. The kelp-weed grows just below low-

<sup>1</sup> Riddle 60 in Mackie's edition of the *Exeter Book*, E.E.T.S., 1934, pp. 190-1.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of the various interpretations see F. Tupper, *The Riddles of the 'Exeter Book'*, 1910, pp. 193 ff. and N. Kershaw, *Anglo-Saxon and Norse Poems*, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 37 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *English Writers*, II, 38.

<sup>4</sup> E. E. Wardale, *Chapters on O.E. Literature*, London, 1935, p. 55, No. 2.

tide mark on rocky coasts ('near the sea-cliff', l. 1). It is common around all rocky coasts in cool temperate and arctic regions, but reaches its greatest size in the north. The strong stalk is firmly anchored to the rock by root-like hold-fasts and can only be removed by exerting great force, so that it can accurately be said to 'remain firm' in its 'original home' (ll. 2-3). It is cast up on the beach in rough weather, and its long stalk may be six feet in length and an inch or more in diameter. A smaller variety of kelp-weed with short slender stalk and large frond is common in rock-pools, but the big kelp-weed grows exclusively below low-water mark. 'Very few human beings looked upon' its 'dwelling-place in the solitude' (l. 5), simply because it means a scramble over slippery rocks to get near it and its stalk is never out of the water. At low tide the top portion—the brown frond—is visible, and these fronds often cover the surface of the water for many yards, heaving up and down in brown waves. This seems to provide an adequate explanation of ll. 6 and 7 quoted above. The kelp-weed thus fits the description given in every detail. The only weak point is that apparently there is no other literary reference to the kelp-weed stalk being used as a rune-staff. But this is scarcely an insuperable objection.

If we accept the solution of the O.E. riddle as a single and not a double one, there seems to be less objection to supposing that the author was following, even though at a distance, the enigma of Symphosius; Symphosius's 'Arundo' enigma (no. 2) runs as follows:

Dulcis amica dei, ripae vicina profundae,  
 Suave canens musis, nigro perfusa colore.  
 Nuntia sum linguae, digitis stipata magistri.<sup>1</sup>

We may suppose that the writer deliberately omitted the reference to *Syrinx* because he was not dealing with the reed; Symphosius's *ripa* becomes the sea-shore, whereas in the Latin enigma it probably means a river-bank. The music of the pipe becomes a 'mouthless discourse' because the O.E. poet is describing the rune-staff throughout. In both the idea of the announcement of the message is present, though the writer of the riddle seems to have taken the more natural way of making the actual runic message, instead of the pen, the announcer. In the last half line the O.E. poet, perhaps puzzled by the difficult 'stipata', conveys the notion of pressing by the word *geþýwan*. It may be noted that *geþýwan* is used in the *Homilies* of impressing footmarks upon a stone (cf. Bosworth-Toller, s.v.). So it could quite reasonably be used for carving runic letters on the kelp-weed stem. Thus the poet is enabled to twist some sort of a meaning out of Symphosius's difficult last phrase.

<sup>1</sup> Tupper's version based on Riese's edition, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

Considering the number of materials that were used for runic inscriptions there seems to be no reason why the kelp-weed stem should not be among them. It was suitable for such a use, readily available, especially in the north, and easily transportable. The solution makes a unity of the poem, fits in with the piece following and, so far as we can see, raises less difficulties than any of the solutions hitherto offered.

B. COLGRAVE.

B. M. GRIFFITHS.

DURHAM.

‘WIDSITH’: ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

The following additions and corrections may be of interest to readers of my recent edition of *Widsith*.<sup>1</sup> P. 9: Sweet, 1871, 13, identified Widsith with Odin, and Phillpotts, 1931, 237, pointed out the likeness of the minstrels Widsith and Gestr. P. 57: the section on alliteration which was to have been included at this point had to be left out because of contractual limitations of space; I therefore published it separately, in *E.L.H.* II (1935), 291–3. To this *E.L.H.* article let me add the observation that the alliterative pattern *abbc*, exemplified in *Widsith* 57, is largely restricted, in the Icelandic thulas, to the beginning of a strophe; this restriction, if old, may serve to explain the unique occurrence of the pattern in the three thulas of *Widsith*. My *E.L.H.* article wants a further addendum: from the list of interpolated lines (p. 291), l. 118 was inadvertently omitted. I return now to the edition proper. P. 58: the Chadwicks, 1932, 278, pointed out in the *Getica* of Jordanes two possible parallels to the Second Thula.

P. 64: the off-verse of l. 6 means only that the scop’s ‘first journey’ to the Gothic court started from Ongel; later journeys to the same court presumably had other starting-points. P. 85: Chadwick, 1912, 56, included ll. 88–108 in ‘the kernel of the poem’, which he dated in the fourth century. P. 99: the second edition of Kemble’s *Beowulf* is reported by S. Low, *English Catalogue* (London, 1864), p. 60, as having come out in 1837, and only the first edition is noted in Peddie and Waddington’s *English Catalogue*, which ends with the year 1836. P. 101, l. 15: in Sedgfield’s third edition (1935) of *Beowulf* the text of *Widsith* is given on pp. 95–8. P. 102: to the list of editions should be added H. Naumann, *Frühgermanisches Dichterbuch* (1931), pp. 108–13; the text of this edition is based on Kluge, 1902, collated with Schücking, 1919. To the list of selections should be added (1) M. Förster, *Beowulf-Materialien* (5th ed.,

<sup>1</sup> Methuen’s Old English Library, Series A (Poetic Texts), No. 5.

1928), p. 3, where are printed ll. 18, 24–49, and (2) G. Schütte, *Gotthiod und Utgard*, I, i (1935), 95–6, 116–18, 137–8, where are printed ll. 18–49, 50–81, 88–108, 109–30, with a German translation in parallel columns. P. 105: between ll. 7 and 8 insert the following item: 1871, H. Sweet, 'Sketch of the history of Anglo-Saxon poetry', in Hazlitt's edition of Thos. Warton's *History of English Poetry*, II, 12 f. P. 109: Berendsohn's paper of 1915 is reprinted on pp. 284–94 of his *Zur Vorgeschichte des 'Beowulf'* (1935). P. 112: to the items of 1931 add Bertha S. Phillpotts, *Edda and Saga*, p. 237; to the items of 1932 add H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, I, 19 f., 25 f., 28, 42, 65, 74, 80–2, 135, 140–2, 200–2, 231, 277 f., 280, 286, 368, 574 f., 589, 597 f., 629. P. 113: to the items of 1935 add (1) R. H. Hodgkin, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, I, 6, 29–31, 35, and (2) M. Förster, *Anglia*, LIX, 298. P. 125: in an Icelandic thula, *Atli* occurs as a *þórsheiti* (see *Skjaldedigtning*, p. 660). P. 132: the name *Suþrdanir* occurs in the Danish runic inscription of Sædinge in the sense 'natives of Lolland' (see *Aarbøger*, 1935, pp. 170 ff.). P. 138: Professor Max Förster in a personal letter (dated 29 May 1936) writes: 'in Old British vulg. Lat. \**Etālia* might be made into \**Etōl* and perhaps this gave rise to O.E. *Etol* > *Eotol*, *Eatul*.' P. 141: in an Icelandic thula, *Jörmunrekr* occurs among the *œrnaheiti* (see *Skjaldedigtning*, p. 669). P. 144: Jessen, 1862, 50, identified Fífeldor with 'floden Fivel i Groeningen'. P. 150: in Icelandic thulas, *Goti* occurs among the *vargsheiti* and the *hestaheiti* (see *Skjaldedigtning*, pp. 670, 675). P. 153: in an Icelandic thula, *helsingr* occurs as a sword *henti* (see *Skjaldedigtning*, p. 664). P. 167: in an Icelandic thula, *hnefi* occurs as a sword *heiti* (see *Skjaldedigtning*, p. 663). P. 170: the *Ranni* of Jordanes, put into O.E., gives a dat. pl. \**Rennum* if the base vowel is short, \**Rénnum* if it is long. P. 171: it is hardly well put to say of the name *Hundgar* that 'the element -gar is reminiscent of the spear by means of which... Lamicho saved himself from drowning in the fish-pond.' In all likelihood, *Hundgar* was the true name of the Langobardish king, and the spear story (or, better, trait) is aetiological. P. 174: in an Icelandic thula, *langbarðr* occurs as an *ormaheiti* (see *Skjaldedigtning*, p. 675). P. 175: *Mearc* cannot come from Latin *Marcus*, since the base vowel of the Latin name is long. On the method of formation exemplified in *Moiðe*, see also O. Ritter, *Vermischte Beiträge*, p. 88. P. 189: Sigarr is mentioned in the *Snorra Edda*, but his father's name is not there given; this name is given in *Hversu Noregr Bygðist*, otherwise known as *Frá Fornjóti* (ed. Rafn, p. 10). P. 192: in an Icelandic thula, *þrændr* occurs as a *galtarheiti* (see *Skjaldedigtning*, p. 670). P. 193, l. 16: the *é* of *Unwén* (< \**Unwōni* < WGmc \**Unwāni*) is not

Anglian; if early enough to be dialectal, it is rather West Saxon, since it was in this dialect that the *i*-mutation of *ó* first became unrounded, P. 199: in an Icelandic thula, *ylfingr* occurs as a *konungaheiti* (see *Skjalde-digtning*, p. 671).

<sup>\*</sup> I have noted the following misprints: p. viii, l. 4: *Stefàn read Stefán*; p. 41 verses: *set a full stop at the end of verse 6*; p. 44, l. 11 from bottom: *delete the first comma*; p. 56, l. 10: secondary and late *read* scribal errors; p. 57, l. 22: *insert a colon between wiolane and wilna*; p. 65, l. 15: *difficulty read difficulty*; p. 80, l. 24: as here *read the*; pp. 104, 105, 106, ll. 6, 4, 7: *ZdfA read ZfdA*; p. 107, l. 12 from bottom: *du read der*; p. 130, l. 1: 33, it *read* 33), it; p. 134, l. 2: *con read con-*; p. 140, l. 10 from bottom: *uspendit read suspendit*; p. 151, ll. 5 and 8 from bottom: *delete the double quotes*; p. 156, l. 9: Old *read* old; p. 161, l. 16: legend *Häche* (Aki) *read* legend *Häche* (Aki); p. 180, l. 9 from bottom: *Ongzndmyrgingas read Ongendmyrgingas*.

KEMP MALONE.

BALTIMORE, U.S.A.

#### A NOTE ON A HITHERTO UNPRINTED SPEECH BY ANDREW MARVELL

M. Pierre Legouis, in his valuable study of Marvell, gives a careful account of the poet's speeches in the House of Commons. The diarist Milward, he remarks, is our sole authority for the fact that Marvell spoke in the House on 14 October 1667.<sup>1</sup> I have recently found a fuller account of this speech in some notes on parliamentary affairs described in the catalogue of Additional Manuscripts at the British Museum as 'apparently collected' by Sir Henry Capel.<sup>2</sup> These notes contain, among other things, two similar diaries in different handwritings of proceedings against Clarendon in the autumn of 1667. The clearer version of the debates reports Marvell's speech as follows:

*Mr Marvell.* The Raising and Destroying of Favourits and Creatures is the sport of Kings, not to be medled with by us/. Kings in the Choice of their Ministers move in a Sphear distinct from us/.

It is said because the people rejoiced at his fall wee must thank the King/. The people allsoo rejoiced at ye Restoration of the Duke of Buckingham the other day obnoxious, Shall wee not thank ye King for that too?/.

Its said wee hate him not, Would any man in this House be willing to have such a vote pass upon him?

Wee are to thank the King for ye matter of his speech This is not in perticular any part of it and comes irregularly before us/.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Andre Marvell, poete, puritain, patriote, 1621-1678*, Oxford, 1928, p. 261, note 146. M. Legouis makes generous acknowledgment of my own share in identifying the references to Milward's diary (Add. MSS. 33,413), an edition of which I hope to have in the press shortly.

<sup>2</sup> Member for Tewkesbury, from which borough he afterwards took his title of Baron. Capel and his brother were both prominent in the attacks on Danby.

<sup>3</sup> Add. MSS. 35,865. f. 10, 10<sup>b</sup>. Marvell followed Maynard and preceded Littleton.

The second version of the same debate adds nothing to Marvell's part but a 'pro' under his name, the other speakers for the most part having been labelled 'pro' or 'con' in the first as well as the second version.<sup>1</sup> This agrees with Milward's statement that 'Mr Marvyn' was amongst those who spoke for Clarendon.

This speech is one of the longest recorded in Marvell's career. Its exact significance is hard to define. It does perhaps show us the direction of Marvell's activities at the time. His satires show his distrust of Clarendon. This speech shows also that he was unwilling to let the group that brought about Clarendon's fall substitute one court faction for another in the ruling of the country. Party politics had not yet the organization of 1675 and later, but a small group, of which Marvell was one, remained constantly in opposition, and was to afford Shaftesbury afterwards a nucleus for the country group to which his personality and the crises of the seventies were to attract so many more prominent parliamentarians.

CAROLINE ROBBINS.

BRYN MAWR, U.S.A.

#### TWO UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF GIAMBATTISTA MARINO.

During his sojourn at the Court of France—1615–23—Giambattista Marino frequently refers in his correspondence to his intention of publishing a selection of his letters, for which he had already chosen a title—*Lettere facete e gravi*.<sup>2</sup> In wishing to give them to the world he was only following a tradition inaugurated by Pietro Aretino in 1534, which, in the intervening period, few Italians with literary pretensions had failed to uphold, to the extent of one volume at least. Marino did not live to carry out his design, and after his death his friends were disappointed not to find among his papers the volume he had so often referred to as being ready for the press. Nevertheless 195 of Marino's letters were shortly afterwards collected with some difficulty by his friend and correspondent Giacomo Scaglia, who published them in two instalments in 1627 and 1628. In 1629 appeared a third volume containing 30 new letters. Some 14 more were unearthed in the nineteenth century, and published in twos and threes in various *Per Nozze*.<sup>3</sup> Finally in 1912 A. Borzelli and F. Nicolini brought out their excellent edition of Marino's *Epistolario*, to which, after extensive researches, they were only able to add three letters hitherto unpublished.<sup>4</sup>

The two printed in this article belonged originally to the Puckering

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS. 35,865. The first version of the proceedings against Clarendon occupies folios 10/24, the second ff. 25/42.

<sup>2</sup> Giambattista Marino, *Epistolario* (Bari, Laterza, 1911–12), I, pp. 277, 285, 291, 301.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 386–92.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 392.

Collection, part of which was given by Sir Henry Puckering to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1691. The remaining portion was sold by Sir Henry's heirs to George Paul, Fellow of Jesus College, in 1713,<sup>1</sup> and the following year, after Paul's death, was purchased by Lord Oxford from the Cambridge antiquary, Thomas Baker, into whose hands it had passed.<sup>2</sup> Both these letters (the one now in Trinity College, the other among the Harleian manuscripts at the British Museum) were originally in the possession of Giacomo Castelvetro, nephew of the famous commentator of the *Poetics* of Aristotle. Giacomo, whose career in England I am at present investigating, was not, as has been conjectured, quietly done away with by the Inquisition of Venice in 1611,<sup>3</sup> but on his release from prison made his way to Chiavenna, and thence by slow stages to Paris, where he spent some months in 1612, returning to England in December after an absence of about eleven years. Except for two visits to Oxford and Cambridge, he passed the short remainder of his life in London and its neighbourhood under the patronage of Sir Henry Puckering's father, Sir Adam Newton, in whose house he probably died in 1616, or soon after. In consequence a number of his books and private papers were absorbed into the Puckering Collection. Castelvetro doubtless made the acquaintance of Marino in 1602-3 when they were both in Venice, and from the tone of the second letter it sounds as though they had been on friendly terms.

The first in date of the two unpublished letters is a copy of one written in 1609 to an unknown Venetian nobleman, and refers to the poet Gaspare Murtola's armed attack upon Marino at Turin in the February of that year.<sup>4</sup> It is contained in a miscellaneous volume entitled *Libretto di varie scritture politiche*,<sup>5</sup> of which only the title-page, table of contents, and some marginal notes and corrections are in Castelvetro's hand, the rest being in that of a copyist. At the foot of the last page Castelvetro has written, using a formula invariably affected by him at the end of any book he copied or caused to be copied for him: 'Fu finito di rivedere a' 27 aprile 1611, che ringratiato ne sia Dio.'

If Marino himself had had a hand in the publication of his *Epistolario* the following would, no doubt, have been included among the 'lettere facete e piacevoli', and probably preferred to two on the same subject published by his editors.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Harley MS. 7007, ff. 3-4.

<sup>2</sup> Harley MS. 3777, ff. 46-80.

<sup>3</sup> S. E. Dimsey, 'Giacopo Castelvetro', *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxiii, p. 431.

<sup>4</sup> Marino, *Epistolario*, ed. cit., i, pp. 66-89; and A. Borzelli, *Storia della Vita e delle Opere di G. B. Marino* (Naples, 1927), pp. 112-21.

<sup>5</sup> Trin. College, Cambridge, MS. R. 3. 42 (unpaged).

<sup>6</sup> *Epistolario*, i, p. 87.

*Lettera del Cavalier Marino scritta ad un nobile Gentiluomo Venetiano*

Clariss<sup>mo</sup> Sig<sup>re</sup> et Padron mio oss<sup>mo</sup>

Scrivo a V.S. Ch<sup>ma</sup> un vomito della sepoltura et un rifiuto della morte, la qual non mi volse, perchè forse al colore giudicò ch' io fossi già morto alla vita, sì come sono all' immortalità. Sono resuscitato per miracolo dal cadiletto, et campato per gran ventura da gli artigli de' Malebranche. Et se non che lo strepito della botta mi stordì in guisa che mi tolse la memoria, saprò ricordarmi di ciò che si fa in quelle parti di là, et darle qualche novela de' Campi Elisi. Un poeta fallito<sup>1</sup> per esser stato scoglionato da ma, non senza qualche ragione, ha voluto disputar meco con bocca di fuoco, et rendermi fischiata per fischiata,<sup>2</sup> facendomi fischiare l' orecchio col gniffe gnaffie di cinque palle in un soffio. Credo che mi voleva far diventare Fenice in un rogo d' altro che d' aromati soavi. Tant' è se sapeva dar ben ben lo spaccio alla polvere, a quest' hora già sarei polvere. Ma buon per me che nè egli era troppo avezzo ad ammazzare altrui, nè io ad essere ammazzato. . . .<sup>3</sup>

Che il furfante cercasse di lacerarmi la fama, si sarebbe potuto patire, ma stracciarci anche un Mantello nuovo di panno spagnuolo, con lasciarvi parecchi buchi, questa è una offesa che non si può perdonare. Se V.S. Ecc<sup>ma</sup> si sarà doluta del pericolo, so che dovrà anche esservi rallegrata dello scampo, il quale è stato così privilegiatamente maraviglioso et sopra naturale,<sup>4</sup> ch' io s' io non havessi la barba mi rassimiglierei ad un' di que' tre fanciulli usciti vivi dalla fornace. Ho voluto farle motto, perchè se alcun de' gli amici dimanderà del fatto mio, possa rispondergli quel che dice Dante di Branca d' Oria

non è morto unquanche,  
E mangia, e bee e dorme e veste panni.<sup>5</sup>

Mando a V.S. una lunga lettera in forma di manifesto,<sup>6</sup> scritta da me in questa mattina. Desidero che la vegga, et la prego a scrivermene il suo parere, ma molto più a serbarmi vivo nella sua gratia, assicurandola ch' io goderò più di vivere nella memoria sua che nella luce del Mondo. Et con questo fine a V.S. Ill<sup>ma</sup> baccio reverentemente le mani.

Di Torino, a dì 22 di marzo 1609.

Di V.S. Ch<sup>ma</sup> Devotiss<sup>ma</sup> serv<sup>re</sup>  
Il Cavalier Marino.

After the 'marinismo' of this letter, which was obviously composed with a view to being passed round and admired, it is somewhat of a relief to turn to the other—an autograph this time—written from Paris seven years later to Giacomo Castelvetro.<sup>7</sup> It has a much more spontaneous ring, and, if written to impress, was at least only intended for the eyes of its recipient. Among the biographical details it contains, one at least has hitherto been unknown, namely that Marino had been for some time considering the possibility of a visit to England. Further evidence of this

<sup>1</sup> Gaspare Murtola, secretary to Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy.

<sup>2</sup> Previous to the assault Marino, who had the lowest opinion of Murtola as a poet, and disliked his presence at the Court of Turin, had made fun of him in a series of 81 burlesque sonnets entitled *Fischiate*. These were passed round freely in manuscript, and later published as *La Murtoliede*, together with Murtola's replies—also in sonnet form—*La Marineide*.

<sup>3</sup> The omission marks are in the original copy.

<sup>4</sup> Marino attributed his escape to the intervention of the Virgin, and of St Maurice, of whose order he was a Knight. He was wearing the cloak of the Order of St Maurice at the time of the attack, and describes in another letter how 'tutta la parte sinistra del mantello nuovo è lacera e forata dalle palle, eccetto la croce che sola vi è rimasta intatta e senza offesa alcuna'. *Epistolario*, I, p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> *Inferno*, xxxiii, 139-40.

<sup>6</sup> Probably the 'Autodifesa' addressed to the Duke of Savoy. Cf. *Epistolario*, I, pp. 69-87.

<sup>7</sup> Harley MS. 7014, ff. 213-14.

is to be found in the rough draft of a letter, written on December 19, 1615 by Castelvetro to a friend in Venice. From it we learn that before Marino left Turin for France earlier in the year, he asked Albertus Morton, then English representative at the Court of Savoy, for a letter of introduction to James I. Morton, however, on his own arrival in London a month or so later, informed Castelvetro that he much regretted having granted the request, since he found that James 'haveva del Marino poco buon concetto, per li titoli oltre ogni misura data al P[apa], et per altre cose scritte nel suo Panegirico di Genova. Sì che, conchiudeva, venendoci non sarebbe quel ben venir nè vedere che allor' si sperava.'<sup>1</sup> To judge from Marino's letter of enquiry to Castelvetro, he was himself very doubtful of a welcome, and his remark about 'i rispetti accennatimi da V.S.' suggest that his correspondent had, in the letter he is answering, given him some hint of the King's attitude.

Molto ill<sup>o</sup> Sig<sup>r</sup> mio osservandissimo,

E tempo ch' io saluti V.S., et a ciò fare mi spinge obbligo di creanza et obbligo d' amore; l' uno mi muove a rispondere alla sua cortese lettera, l' altra a corrispondere a quell' affettione che per sua bontà mi mostra. Ho fatto lunga considerazione intorno a quanto Ella mi scrive, et mi son risoluto di scoprirle confidentemente tutti i penitrali de' miei pensieri con quella schiettezza et libertà che m' insegna l' ingenuità mia, et che mi concede la gentilezza sua. E gran tempo che vive nell' animo mio, non dico desiderio, ma ardore di venire a vedere lo splendore di cotesta Corte, et la grandezza di cotesta Maestà, che (per quanto la fama ne ragiona, et gli scritti ne fanno fede) è il vero ritratto della magnificenza, et l' unico rifugio della virtù in questo secolo ruginoso. Partij d' Italia con l' occasione delle guerre del Piemonte,<sup>2</sup> non senza intenzione di passar costà, ma con mille catene di generosa violenza fin qui ritenuto da questa Corona Christ<sup>ma</sup>, al cui servizio tuttavia mi ritrovo con honoratissime conditioni; et per la sopraggiunta delle presenti rivoluzioni martiali,<sup>3</sup> non mi è stato possibile far alcuna nuova deliberatione di me stesso. Vero è, ch' io non sono così legato ch' almeno per qualche giorni, io non potessi darvi un volo, et sodisfare a questa mia antica curiosità, con clausula (se mi piacesse il paese) di tornarvi poi più comodamente. Ma vaglia a confessare il vero, i rispetti accennatimi da V.S. nella sua mi distornano da sì fatto pensiero; poichè qualsivoglia affronto ch' io ricevessi costì da Sua M<sup>a</sup>, mi sarebbe di grand<sup>ma</sup> mortificatione, oltre infinite conseguenze di danno a molte pretensioni d' interesse che ho in Italia. Del che vo dubitando, non perch' io non confidi nella sua bontà, ma perchè diffido della mia fortuna. Il Papa<sup>4</sup> mi odia a morte, essendogli stato impressa nella mente un' opinione indelibile, che i titoli di quella dedicataria nelle mie *Dicerie*<sup>5</sup> gli sieno stati da me dati ironicamente per burlarlo. Sopra questa particolarità, io non mi son voluto giustificare con Apologie o Difese, ma vo temporeggiando con discostarmi, quanto più posso da Roma, finchè il tempo, o la morte mi faccia sicuro di ritornarvi.<sup>6</sup> Intanto me ne sto qui benissimo veduto et accarezzato da tutti i

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 211-12.

<sup>2</sup> War of Succession of Montferrat. Marino left Turin early in April 1615 and arrived in Paris towards the end of July. Cf. G. Rua, *Poeti della Corte di Carlo Emanuele di Savoia* (Torino, 1899), pp. 130-1.

<sup>3</sup> Troubles in France ending in the Treaty of Loudun (May, 1616).

<sup>4</sup> Paul V.

<sup>5</sup> *Dicerie Sacre*, Torino, 1614, Venetia, 1615 12<sup>vo</sup>. They have a general dedication: 'Alla immortalità di Paolo Quinto', couched in such extravagant language that one can hardly blame the Pope for his suspicion.

<sup>6</sup> Marino did not return to Rome till 1623, after the election of Urban VIII.

Prencipi, onde con tali appoggi mi rido di tutte le altrui persecutioni. Hora non vorrei cadere dalla padella nelle brage, et saltare meno in camicia che in giubbone. Mi ritrovo haver composto un Panegirico in loda di questa Reina della Gran Bretagna;<sup>1</sup> ma non so quel che debba determinarmi di esso. L'ambitione mi tira a venir di persona per presentarlo, ma il sospetto mi ritiene, consigliandomi più tosto a mandarlo. Starò aspettandone il parere di V.S. al qual senz' altro mi atterrò, et in caso ch' io habbia a mandarlo, desidero ch' Ella mi scriva in mano di chi, et se sia meglio a mandarlo stampato, o scritto a penna. Alcuni mi hanno persuasi di dedicarlo a Madama di Dromand;<sup>2</sup> ma non havendo io con cotesta Sig<sup>ra</sup> servitù, nè conoscenza alcuna, non vorrei passare per arrogante. V.S. non manchi di darmi subito distinti avvertimenti del tutto, et quando così le parrà bene, mi avvisi della qualità della suddetta Dama, et de' titoli che le si danno. S' Ella d' altra parte giudica ch' io debba in ogni modo venire, et mi assicura di sinistri accidenti, vedrò d' ottener licenza da questa Ma<sup>està</sup> almeno per un mese, et dar costà una passata; ma mi faccia intendere quando, et di che tempo debbo venire, per ritrovar la Corte in Londra, poi che intendo che il Re dimora fuor della città la maggior parte dell' anno. Intanto mando a V.S. alcuni miei pochi componimenti, et fra essi una Lettera burlesca scritta per piacevolezza ad un certo Frate tanto ben fornito di naso, quanto mal provveduto d' ingegno.<sup>3</sup> Il Caro ne scrisse già una in simil materia,<sup>4</sup> ma questa per la novità de' concetti in tutto differenti è stata stimata capricciosa. Questa notte mi è caduto dalla penna, non so come, l' incluso sonetto a S. M<sup>a</sup>, nè ho tempo di rivederlo; Se non parrà a V.S. degno d' esser veduto, lo stracci. Scrivo al S<sup>r</sup> Cav<sup>re</sup> Alessandrij,<sup>5</sup> con cui priegola di voler supplire a bocca, certificandolo della divotione che porto alle sue tante virtù. Io ho con esso meco forse venti volumi da stampare, opere tutte distinte et finite, tra lequali son tre Poemi grandi. Certo non è poco ch' io fra tanti moti di viaggi, strepiti di Corte, et agitationi di diverse disgratie habbia scritto tanto. Spero che per inventione et per istile non saranno stimate cose ordinarie.

V.S. scusi il carattere cattivo, et le sue cancellature, perchè scrivo in fretta per mancamento di tempo, et le bacio caramente le mani.

Di Parigi, a dì 2 di Marzo 1616.

Di V.S. m<sup>to</sup> illo

Aff<sup>mo</sup> Serv<sup>re</sup>

Il Cav<sup>re</sup> Marino.

V.S. potrà consegnar le lettere al Conte Francesco di Scarnafiso,<sup>6</sup> o vero raccomandarle alla posta.

Al Sig<sup>r</sup> Giacomo Castelvetro.

Endorsed in Castelvetro's hand, with note: 'Risposto a' 21 di detto.'

Below this is written in the hand of Thomas Baker: 'Bought of Mr Paul's landlady.'

<sup>1</sup> This was no doubt the 18-stanza poem in praise of Anne of Denmark to be found among the *Poesie Diverse* printed at the end of all the early editions of the *Lettere del Car. Marino*.

<sup>2</sup> Jane Drummond, chief Lady of the Queen's Bedchamber.

<sup>3</sup> *Al Padre Naso del Cavalier Marino*, Abram Pacardo (Parigi, 1626), reprinted *Epistolario*, ed. cit., II, pp. 85-93.

<sup>4</sup> Annibal Caro's famous letter of April 10, 1538, beginning 'Nasutissimo M. Giovan Francesco'. *Delle Lettere familiari del Commendatore Annibal Caro* (Venetia, MDLXXIV), p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> 'Il Cavalier Alessandrij' is almost certainly the Scottish poet, Sir William Alexander, who after acting as tutor to Prince Henry at Holyrood followed James I to England after his accession. The very year Marino wrote this letter there appeared in London the third edition of Alexander's *Monarchical Tragedies*, to which Marino contributed a laudatory sonnet in Italian, inscribed: 'Al potentissimo Re della Gran Bretagna' (cf. *The Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander*, ed. by Kastner and Charlton, Scottish Text Soc., 1921, vol. I, p. 13). It seems probable that this is the sonnet to which Marino here refers.

<sup>6</sup> Ambassador to England from the Court of Savoy.

Unfortunately Castelvetro's reply has not been preserved, but it was probably discouraging, for there is no evidence that Marino ever crossed the Channel, although his influence undoubtedly did.<sup>1</sup>

K. T. BUTLER.

CAMBRIDGE.

SOME ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY  
SPANISH NOVELS

1. *Diana, Duchess of Mantua: or the Persecuted lover*. A romance. Written by R. C. Gent. 1679. London. The dedication is signed by Rowland Carleton. What is most certainly another edition is noted in the Term Catalogue, *The Italian Princess, or Love's Persecutions*. A new Romance, written by Row. Carleton, Gent. 1681.

This novel is partly translated from *Auroras de Diana*, by Pedro de Castro y Anaya, Madrid, 1631. From this source are taken the stories of Alexander and Cynthia, and Felicius and Narcissa. Carleton adds to these the stories of Diana and Frederick, and Astolfo and Roselinda. The plots and minor incidents, when taken from the Spanish, are copied exactly, and the same names are kept for all the characters with the one exception that Febo becomes Felicius in the English version. A simplification in style is also to be noted. The work by Carleton is much less ornate and the poems intercalated in the Spanish novel are omitted.

2. *Modern novels*. London. 1692. Printed for R. Bentley. Volume 6 contains, *D. Henriquez de Castro or the Conquest of the Indies*. A Spanish novel. Translated out of Spanish by a person of honour.

This is an adaptation of *Historia tragicómica de Don Henrique de Castro*, by Francisco Loubaysin de Lamarca, Paris, 1617. Considerable alterations are made in the story by the translator, 'I have also retrenched all the Wars of Italy. . . . The Adventures of John Becaio, which I took out of another Spanish Book, altho' of a low Stile, may divert the Reader by their Variety'. The author of the original work was French but wrote almost exclusively in Spanish, 'j'écris mieux en espagnol qu'en ma propre langue'.

3. *Novellas españolas, or moral and entertaining Novels*. Translated from the Original Spanish by a Lady. Never before published in English or French. London. 1747.

The first of the six novels is the opening story from the collection, *Fiestas del jardín*, by Castillo Solórzano, Valencia, 1634. The second and third are *La vuelta del ruiseñor* and *Los hermanos parecidos* from the same collection. The fifth is *Al cabo de los años mil* from *Para todos*, by Pérez

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, III, 1, VI, 462; x, 378

de Montalván, Madrid, 1630, and the sixth is a translation of *Los primeros amantes*, from *Sucesos y prodigios de amor*, by Pérez de Montalván, Madrid, 1624.

J. A. BOURNE.

CAMBRIDGE.

‘ISINE STEINA’

A line of Otfrid (Erdmann-Schröder, 1934, p. 12, line 70):

zi núzze grébit man ouh thár      ér intí kúphar,  
ioh bi thía meina      *isine steina*

has hitherto met with no adequate explanation. Paul’s suggestion (*Beitr.* xii, 551), *isin* < \**isrin*, i.e., ‘ferreus’, therefore ‘nuggets of iron’, is most unconvincing, particularly as this would be a mere pointless repetition of *er* in the previous line; and why then should the statement need to be fortified with *bi thía meina*? Erdmann and Piper (the latter quoting Wackernagel, *Elsäss. Newjahrsbl.* f. 1847, p. 226) both offer the meaning ‘Eissteine, d.i. Krystalle’, but make no further comment.

A clue to the real meaning is to be found in *Merigarto*, ll. 73 ff.:

niuuna daz dâ ni skînit sunna:      si darbint dero wunna.  
fon dru uuirt daz *is* dâ      *zi christallan sô herta*,  
sô man daz fiur dâr ubera machot,      unzi diu christalla irgluot.  
dâ mite machint si iro ezzan      unte heizzint iro gadam.

The most plausible interpretation of *isine steina* would be ‘quartz’. Quartz was known to the ancients as *κρύσταλλος* (ice); the fact that quartz is colourless and transparent seems to have led them to the belief that it actually was ice that had remained in the soil and hardened into rocky crystals. The two passages quoted would seem to be examples of the same confused idea of the nature of quartz; in the lines from *Merigarto* it is easy to see how it arose, as in an extremely cold climate (Islant!) there would be more justification for confounding quartz with ice. The sense of the second passage would then be: ‘The sun does not shine there; it is so cold there always that the ice turns to rock, to hard crystals, which they dig up (or gather up), and upon them they make fires....’ Quartz would have made an excellent material for primitive fireplaces on account of its cleanliness and durability: it would also retain the heat well.

Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkmäler*, p. 349, does not explain the difficulty in *Merigarto*, but refers without comment to a passage in Notker (Heinzel-Scherer, *Notkers Psalmen*, Strassburg, 1876, p. 293). In his comment on Psalm 147, v. 17, Notker writes, ‘...er sentit sinen christallum also stucche protis: solih christallo uuas Paulus. er uuas, also man christallum cihet, uzir ise ce sterne irhartet....’. It is probable that this is another example of the same idea.

T. D. JONES.

CAMBRIDGE.

## REVIEWS

*A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of University College, London.* By DOROTHY K. COVENEY. Printed for University of London, University College. 1935. xii+121 pp. 7 plates.

Dr Coveney, in preparing this catalogue, has rendered double service. She has prepared a catalogue of the small but well-selected collection of manuscripts in the Library of her own College and paid tribute to the memory of her teacher, the late Professor Pribsch, one of the most devoted and inspiring of the teachers of palaeography in our modern universities.

The manuscripts have come to the College in two ways. Some have come in the chance way that gifts of this kind do come to any academic institution, from the generosity of former members or friends. Among these we may note a number of manuscripts of early mathematical treatises which came to the College from the library of the late Professor Graves, the earliest being a Latin one of the fourteenth century, containing various tracts by Johannes de Sacrobosco. Other manuscripts are associated with the name of Professor Key, one of the best known of its early Professors of Latin, or have come to it through the Moccatta Library of the Jewish Historical Society, now deposited in the College. The chief interest of the collection lies, however, in the small but well-chosen teaching collection of manuscripts, mainly Latin, German and English, which came to the College largely under the direct inspiration of Professor Pribsch himself, but with the cordial and effective support of other members, notably Professor R. W. Chambers, who was at one time Librarian of the College, and Dr Walter Seton, sometime Secretary of the College, well known for his wide range of scholarly interests. Some of these manuscripts were secured by direct purchase, to the extent that the very limited means of the College Library allow. Most came to the College through the generous interest of such well-known patrons of the arts as the late Lord Curzon, Lord Cromer and Mr Oppenheimer.

The earliest Latin manuscript is a fragment of an uncial manuscript, a summary of certain chapters of the Gospel of St Mark—a beautiful piece of writing. Among the English manuscripts, the most interesting are fragments of a fifteenth-century manuscript of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, purchased from the Philipps collection, and a sixteenth-century manuscript of Bellenden's *Boece*. The German manuscripts include a thirteenth-century fragment of Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm*, a fourteenth-century fragment of *DiETRICHs Ausfahrt*, and a very pleasantly illustrated fifteenth-century *Gebetbuch*. The German collection is much the finest, partly through the influence of Professor Pribsch himself, partly through the generous interest the University itself has always shown in these studies.

The catalogue is beautifully illustrated with seven facsimile plates,

and is edited with all the scholarly care one expects from a pupil of Professor Pribsch.

ALLEN MAWER.

LONDON.

*Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources.* Prepared by J. H. BAXTER and CHARLES JOHNSON, with the assistance of PHYLLIS ABRAHAMS. London: Milford, Oxford University Press. 1934. xiii + 466 pp. 10s. 6d.

It is now many years since a new dictionary of Mediaeval Latin was projected, and now at last a scheme has been adopted which in the hands of a committee appointed by the British Academy promises to fulfil its purpose admirably. The present volume is only a preparation for what is to come: a cocktail—or, rather, a glass of excellent sherry—before a future banquet. Large though it is, it contains only a summary list of words from British and Irish documents before and after the Conquest, and was designed partly as an aid to present contributors, and partly in the hope of interesting other students in the progress of the dictionary, 'and enlisting their help in the collection of further material and in the elucidation of individual words'.

The words included are those which were not used in Classical Latin, or were used with different meanings. Originally, pre-Conquest and post-Conquest sources were to have been dealt with separately; but both are drawn upon for this volume, though it is pointed out that the pre-Conquest collections are at present much more nearly complete than those for the later period. Many words occur in a number of variant forms, and cross-references, though not complete, are usually supplied. Meanings of words and phrases are indicated as briefly as possible, and the editors do not often have recourse to the phrase 'meaning unknown', and do not often qualify a given sense by 'perhaps' or 'probably'—qualifications which will presumably disappear for the most part when further material from this country and from abroad is available. When possible, the earliest and latest known dates of a word are recorded for each form and sense, though naturally many forms have only one reference each. Half of each page is left blank for additions.

The immense interest and value of the list even to a mere student of words is perhaps to be measured by the furious anxiety for references to sources and for examples of actual usage which are constantly experienced in studying the pages. It is much to be hoped that etymological details (as well as references) will be included in the later volumes. The collection gives hints of fascinating possibilities in this direction. A by no means careful count showed, for instance, very nearly four hundred words of English and Anglo-Scandinavian origin, the dates and meanings of which should be of importance in the history of English. Many of these are legal terms: *atha*, *blodwita*, *brigbote*, *burlawa*, *chyricbota*, *ciricsocna*, *danageldum*, *dempstor*, *facnus*, *fichtwita*, *flemanfremiha*, *frithborga*, *hustengum*, *hutibannum*, *morgagifa*, *qwideles*, etc. Others are agricultural (*acra*, *bedripa*, *bertona*, *bondacra*, *bridilbittum*, *cheseclathum*,

*crofta*, *cufalda*, *daywerka*, *draya*, *hreaccroppum*, *oxboun*, *penyhennus*, *swarmum apium*, etc.); names of plants, animals, birds, fishes (*barleka*, *benetha*, *bever*, *broccus*, *crabba*, *crana*, *cresso aquaticus*, *feldefarus*, *flundera*, *marsum*, *sprottus*, *welkus*, *wodcokkus*, etc.); of social classes, offices, etc. (*adelingus*, *barmannus*, *butsecarla*, *ceorlus*, *clafwarda*, *horswarda*, *smere-mangestra*, etc.); of buildings, etc. (*botha*, *qualstowa*, *raftera*); of household and other objects (*cista*, *clapera*, *cloca*, *cota*, *gurthwebbum*, *led-nayla*, *slyngrope*, etc.). Hybrids are not uncommon, e.g., *Engleseria* 'Englishry' (1187), *forisfangium*, *geldabile*, *gromettus*, *murdrator*, *nortpars*, *stodardus*, *sudpars*, *walnut*, *waterbaillia*, etc.

The dates given for loan-words in this country from sources other than French sometimes antedate those hitherto recorded on the evidence of documents in the vernacular. Such are *almanach*, 1267 (*O.E.D.* c. 1391); *carvanna*, 'caravan', c. 1192 (*O.E.D.* 1599); *corduanarius*, c. 1175 (*O.E.D.* c. 1440, in *Prompt. Parv.*); *marabotinus*, 'maravedi' (Arab. *Murabitin*), c. 1192. Early examples of other words are also found, e.g., *escewinga*, c. 1155, *escavingor*, 1205, 'scavenger' (*O.E.D.* 1503); *chopio*, 'I chop', 1261 (*O.E.D.* *chop*, 1362); *peta*, 'peat', 1159 and *petamora*, 'peat-moor', c. 1240. The compound *cheseclothum* is quoted from 1347; the *O.E.D.* has *cheese-cloth* only from 1741. Two compounds not in *O.E.D.* are *blauhornum* = blow-horn, 'hunting-horn', c. 1114, and *bar-*, *beremannus* = 'wine-porter', 1234.

But for lack of space one could linger over individual words and senses, such as the use of *nomannia* for 'waste land, no-man's-land', 1366 (*O.E.D.* has *nomanneslond* from a Latin document of 1320); of *gymnasium* for 'fyrd, military service' (eleventh century); of *invultuatio*, 'bewitching a person by injuring his image' (c. 1114); of *lineus draperus*, 'linen draper', as early as 1192; of the solemn *opus plumarium* for 'feather-stitch' (c. 793); and, nearer the other end of the period covered, *horologium excitatorium* for 'alarm-clock' (1537).

The book, as one might expect, is very clearly and carefully printed, and the price is remarkably low.

MARY S. SERJEANTSON.

LONDON.

*An Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle*. Edited from the Manuscripts with Introduction and Glossary by EWALD ZETTL. London: Published for the Early English Text Society by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. Original Series, No. 196. 1935. cxxxvi+163 pp. 20s.

Among his *Ancient English Metrical Romances*, Joseph Ritson included a curious poem of a little over a thousand lines in rhymed octosyllabic couplets, which he found in British Museum Royal MS. 12 C XII, and which he entitled 'A Chronicle of England', since it tells the story of our island from the coming of Brutus and Corineus from Troy to the death of Piers Gaveston. It appears as 'The Short Metrical Chronicle of England' in Wells's *Manual*. A lively and interesting pseudo-historical

composition, it was intended for an uncritical audience. More space is devoted to the wrestling match between Corineus and the legendary giant Gogmagog or Geomagog than to the whole of Arthur's life. Dr Ewald Zetzl has now published a complete edition of this work after an exhaustive examination of all the eight MSS., of which seven, five complete and two fragmentary, are in English, and one is in Anglo-Norman. These are recensions of a lost original and they show wide variations, for the scribes adapted rather than copied and they may even have written from memory. Therefore Dr Zetzl has felt bound to print his edition in three sections. In Part I the text of British Museum Add. MS. 19,677 is printed entire, numbers in brackets referring to the corresponding lines of the other MSS., and in the footnotes all textual variations are recorded with the exception of orthographical, grammatical or dialectal features, which are relegated to the glossary. In Part II are included all those passages in the other MSS. which are new or which differ substantially from the first text; their relation to that text is denoted both in the footnotes and by a line reference in brackets. The Anglo-Norman prose paraphrase with its heading 'Jei commence le Brute DEngleterre abrege' has been added in full in Part III in order to give the edition completeness.

The original version was intended for recitation and memorizing, and it probably consisted of not more than nine hundred verses. With an aim quite unpretentious, it was by no means without artistic merit. We incline to think that Dr Zetzl, in his Introduction, underestimates the intrinsic worth of these texts, parts of which recall the rugged grace and quick movement of *Havelok*. As to authorship, he reaches no definite conclusions, but he thinks that the writer of the original version was an English priest engaged in teaching. Frankly he admits that he cannot establish with any degree of accuracy the sources drawn upon for this strange history. Geoffrey of Monmouth, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Wace of Jersey and Layamon of Arley were all known, but this author was doubtless well acquainted with the many popular legends of his day.

One feature of this edition calls for special mention: the absence of punctuation. In the metrical texts the only mark employed is the conventional sign denoting the beginning of a new paragraph. This is most desirable, and one would express the hope that this practice may be more generally adopted by editors of medieval poetry. The unpunctuated text is pleasing to the eye and is eminently readable. No two editors have ever yet agreed in their assigning of modern punctuation to an ancient text and the cautious student pays little heed to such marks.

The least satisfactory part of this book is the Glossary, to which more care might have been devoted. It claims to include all the words and variants which appear in the printed texts. 'Destaunce' is glossed as 'distress' without comment, but in A 1996 the meaning is 'discord', 'dissension', and in A 911 'wipouten ani destaunce' is a stereotyped adverb phrase meaning 'indisputably'. 'Stent' in A 695 is explained as 'decision', but thereby the sense of an interesting passage is perverted,

for this word is the aphetic form of O.F. 'estente' and it means 'limit', 'extent'. 'Siching' in A 508 is rendered 'search' instead of 'sighing' (O.E. 'sícung'). 'Ouere' (O.E. 'ofer'), 'seashore', in F 305 ('And riued here at Doevere | þat standes vpon þe sees ouere') is unrecorded.

In the Index of Proper Names, which likewise claims to be complete, the student will look in vain for such interesting and significant forms as 'Stonhange', 'Zernemoupe', 'Zernmoupe', 'Sothereye', 'Southsex' and 'Southamteschyre'.

With pleasure we learn that Dr Zettl is now working on the unique Göttingen MS. of the kindred Chronicle associated with the name of Thomas Bek of Castelford.

SIMEON POTTER.

SOUTHAMPTON.

*Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry.* By KENNETH JACKSON. Cambridge: University Press. 1935. xii+204 pp. 12s. 6d.

This volume is divided into two parts. In Part I, pp. 3-49, Mr Jackson gives an English translation of forty-one Old and Medieval Irish poems, with notes on their sources and on difficult points in the text, and from p. 50 to p. 76 an English translation of ten Medieval Welsh poems with notes. This is the first time a translation of some of the Irish poems has been published, and the other versions are a distinct improvement upon such as have previously appeared. This is particularly true in the case of the Welsh poems.

In Part II Mr Jackson discusses the various classes into which this so-called 'nature poetry' falls, namely hermit poetry, elegy and Fenian poetry, gnomic poetry and seasonal poetry. The special features of each of these types are clearly delineated, and the author is able to draw upon his extensive knowledge of kindred poetry in Classics, Anglo-Saxon, Norse, German and the Romance languages in his endeavour to explain the origin of this mass of Irish and Welsh poetry. In his introductory chapter he rejects the usual adjectives used to describe what is called Celtic nature poetry, such as primitive, objective, or romantic, and suggests the much happier description 'imaginative' in the sense 'vitaly felt and expressed with emotional insight'.

The author naturally points out the 'native' peculiarities which appear in this poetry, but as has already been suggested he is able to show also the general 'human' features which it shares with other literatures. There has been much reaction too between the various types, and the fact that certain features are common to more than one type increases the difficulty of tracing the origin of the different classes. In treating this aspect of the problem Mr Jackson gives evidence of keen critical acumen and ability to present his case fairly and lucidly.

His chapter on problems of Welsh nature poetry is excellent. He examines pretty thoroughly the theory put forward some years ago by Professor Glyn Davies and quite effectively explodes it. It is clear that

the eventual interpretation of this poetry, if it is ever attained, will have to be along the lines tentatively suggested by Mr Jackson.

On p. 161 in a quotation from Old Irish the word *doib* should read *dóib*. On pp. 171 and 177 Mr Jackson quite incorrectly speaks of the 'omission of the substantive verb'.

HENRY LEWIS.

SWANSEA.

*The Survival of Geis in Mediaeval Romance.* By JOHN REVELL REINHARD. Halle: Niemeyer. 1933. 441 pp. 20 M.

The author of this book has done the medievalist a useful service in his careful unravelling of one of the threads that make the tapestry of romance. His purpose has been to show the character of the Celtic *geis*, or tabu, as revealed in early Celtic literature, and how actions and motives which have their springs in these tabus reappear in non-Celtic literature, sometimes with illuminating effect. Dr Reinhard shows, with the help of very full illustration, that *geis* is a prohibition forbidding a person (or tribe) to carry out a certain action, or (more rarely) an obligation which must not be neglected: Cuchulain was forbidden 'to pass a cooking hearth without tasting the food'; the king of Connaught must not sit in autumn on the sepulchral mounds of the wife of Maine; Diarmuid O'Duibhne was under *geis* to pass through any wicket gate; the king of Leinster was under *geis* 'to travel the road of Duibhlinn on Monday' or 'to ride on a dirty black-heeled horse across Mag Maistean'. Written evidence for such prohibitions or *geasa* can be traced, rather doubtfully, as far back as the middle of the fifth century, but the ultimate origin of the custom is presumably far earlier. Personal *geasa*, whether restrictions or obligations, may be self-assumed or imposed by another. Some certainly depend, like many primitive tabus, on considerations of prudence, social convenience or expedience, on revenge or other understandable motives, while others which appear in Celtic records have lost whatever intelligibility they may once have possessed, and seem mere freaks of malice, arrogance or eccentricity.

The impossibility of breaking a *geis*, or the fact of breaking a *geis*, forms the motivation of many a Celtic story, sometimes giving the tale a twist into tragedy, and though the literary use of *geasa* may sometimes appear forced and mechanical, they may be extremely effective. Dr Reinhard has collected a vast amount of material in the shape of Irish poems and tales on which to base his definitions. He classifies the *geasa* in different ways: those on persons, places or things, on times, those having reference to speaking, eating, marriage, war and peace, and so forth. This (perhaps) necessitates a considerable amount of repetition, and the whole work is a little unwieldy. Some of the stories might have been summarized more briefly, and some of the sections (for instance the three chapters on The Fairy Mistress) are disproportionately long.

As for the English romances which seem to give evidence of tabus which may be paralleled in Celtic literature, a few are fairly obvious,

such as King Arthur's refusal to eat till all were served or until 'hym devised were Of sum aventurus þyng an uncoupe tale' (as in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, *The Turke and Gowin*, etc.); or the prohibition against speaking in *The Weddyng of Syr Gawen* and in *Sire Degarre*; or the concealment of a name, as in *Ywain and Gawain* and *Lancelot of the Lake*. Self-imposed *geasa* seem to be particularly common in English romances. One may note the obligations assumed by Baldwin in the *Avowyng of Arther*, and the specific vows in *The Erle of Tolous*, *Sir Perceval of Galles*, the *Morte Arthure*. Sometimes, as Dr Reinhard does not fail to point out, the *geis*-motif does not appear where it might be expected—as when Arthur begins to eat without waiting for a preliminary 'marvel' or prospect of 'aventure' (in the *Anturs of Arther* the 'aventure' arrives 'Quen he to sopere was sette, and seruut in his sale').

Though the author may fail to convince all his readers of the importance or even of the existence of *geis* as a motive in certain individual cases, and though he may seem inclined to depart from his main theme (especially in the later chapters), yet gratitude for an interesting volume on an intricate subject is certainly his due, not least for the satisfactory index and excellent bibliography.

MARY S. SERJEANTSON.

LONDON.

*The Play of Antichrist, from the Chester Cycle.* Edited by W. W. GREG. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1935. c+90 pp. 10s.

Students of drama interested in problems of setting, production, and financing of medieval plays will find in this edition of the Antichrist Play from the Chester Cycle nothing new. Others interested in the Antichrist story may regret that Dr Greg dismisses the legend in a compact bibliographical note, into which, however, he unobtrusively inserts the text of the Antichrist passage of the *Liber Methodii* from a thirteenth-century manuscript in his possession. The real purpose of this edition is threefold: first, to determine the values and relationships of the six extant manuscripts; second, to establish a reliable text with full collations; and, third, though one gathers that in the course of the years this has assumed first place in the editor's affections, to give a practical demonstration of his science of textual criticism originally worked out in *The Calculus of Variants*, 1927. At that time Dr Greg protested that he had not constructed his Calculus 'in vacuo out of mere superfluity of naughtiness' but in an attempt to solve the relations of the manuscripts of the Chester plays.

Thus, to understand the methods by which Dr Greg arrives at the conclusions presented in the elaborate Introduction to this new edition, one is perforce driven back on the *Calculus*. It is understandable that the writer was unwilling to repeat at length some of his theories and methods and is content to refer the reader to the relevant passages of his earlier work. But he errs perhaps on the side of under-explanation and under-documentation; so that the layman confronted with sections

headed 'Evidence for xA'WR or F' or 'Evidence for xA'Df or  $\delta$ ' may waste time trying to call from the vasty deep memories of school mathematics, when a timely explanatory footnote or reference to the *Calculus* would introduce him to Dr Greg's private notation and to (in this case) the comparatively painless concept of the 'exclusive common ancestor' xA.

As variations simple, complex, significant, insignificant, are collected, analysed, resolved into factors, and classified, as variational groups are determined, all with the expert care and judgement and insight of a great scholar—and the *Calculus* is clearly no mechanical ready-reckoner for the amateur in textual criticism—certain important conclusions emerge. It becomes clear, for instance, that the relationship of the manuscripts is more complicated than even the editor himself had suspected. The early independent Peniarth manuscript (c. 1500), a prompt copy probably, is found to be not even the remote ancestor of any or all of the five 'literary' cyclic manuscripts (1591–1607) but to be collateral with  $\eta$ , the hypothetical ancestor of the cyclic manuscripts (themselves apparently collateral); and the six extant manuscripts fall into groups deriving successively through a series of hypothetical ancestors from a common archetype  $\alpha$ , which in turn derives directly or indirectly from a hypothetical original  $\omega$ , dating possibly right from 1328, the traditional date for the composition of the Chester plays. Fortunately there is a diagram. Further, by the collection and classification of the individual and inherited errors in the cyclic manuscripts, Dr Greg arrives at a scientific assessment of the value of these manuscripts, and is thus enabled to lay down the principles which he feels should guide future editors of those Chester plays for which no early independent manuscript, such as the Peniarth *Antichrist*, is extant.

Hitherto there has been no final text of the *Antichrist* Play; for the *Early English Text Society* edition, besides other defects, took no account of the Peniarth manuscript, and Professor Manly's text of this manuscript did not call for full collation. Here the text of the Peniarth manuscript is printed parallel with that of the Devonshire manuscript, the oldest of the cyclic texts, and there is a detailed collation of the other extant manuscripts. The deciphering of the Peniarth manuscript has been complicated throughout not only by the activities of a sixteenth-century tamperer but by the less forgivable and more thoroughgoing modern restorations of 'an officious hand', whose surprising identity is divulged. In one considerable passage three successive layers of writing have been detected; and throughout the greater part of the manuscript at least one superimposed layer has created problems of extraordinary difficulty. Scholars can now be grateful for a text embodying the results of Dr Greg's research and may rest secure in his statement that 'no sort of emendation or other editorial impertinence has been admitted'.

ANNA J. MILL.

*Christopher Marlowe in London.* By MARK ECCLES. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1934. vii + 185 pp. \$2.50 and 10s. 6d.

Mr Eccles's work, forming vol. x of *Harvard Studies in English*, is now familiar to Elizabethan students and has been widely recognized as the most important contribution to our knowledge of Marlowe's personal career since the publication of Professor Leslie Hotson's *The Death of Christopher Marlowe*.

It occurred to Mr Eccles that the survey of Marlowe's circle might be with advantage extended to the friends of Thomas Walsingham, among whom was the poet Thomas Watson, who had dedicated to the Chislehurst squire his *Meliboëus* in 1590. The inference that Marlowe, 'as a friend of Thomas Walsingham, would certainly know Thomas Watson', was in itself, I think, over-confident, but it proved to be correct and fruitful. Following this trail Mr Eccles found in the Public Record Office in the Chancery Miscellanea, Bundle 68, file 12, No. 362, and in the Patent Rolls for 32 Elizabeth, part 4, the documents which recount the affray in Hog Lane in September 1588 between William Bradley and Christopher 'Morley', whose place was soon taken by Thomas Watson. The tragic episode and its sequel curiously anticipate what happened in connexion with the death of Marlowe himself in 1593.

But there was one important difference in the two cases. There is no record of Frizer or his associates having been kept in prison before the granting of the pardon. On the other hand, Watson and Marlowe were committed to Newgate on the day of Bradley's death. The only slender clue to these proceedings that had been previously known was the recognizance, summarized by J. C. Jeafferson in *Middlesex County Records*, vol. 1 (1886) of 'Christopher Marley, of London, gentleman', on 1 October 1588, with two sureties, to appear at the next Sessions of Newgate. It was Sidney Lee who first pointed out in 1894 that the Christopher Marley of the recognizance was the dramatist. But Marlovian investigators, while pursuing fruitful researches in the British Museum, the Public Record Office and elsewhere, have hitherto not followed this opening and have neglected the Middlesex Guild Hall as a possible quarry. Here again Mr Eccles has widened the area of inquiry to great advantage. He has been the first to expand and interpret correctly a note on the margin of the recognizance, 'reu' & del' p pclam', i.e. *reueritur et deliberatur per proclamacionem*. This proves that Marlowe kept his pledge and was discharged by the justices.

Moreover, in the same Sessions Roll 284 that begins with the recognizance Eccles found as the last document what he calls 'a sort of matriculation register of the prisoners in Newgate' between 9 September 1589 and 2 October. Among the twenty-six names are 'Thomas Watson nuper de Norton frowlgate in Comitatu Middlesex generosus & Christoferus Marlowe nuper de Eadem yoman'. They were arrested, according to the entry, on 18 September on suspicion of murder, and were committed to Newgate by the Lieutenant of the Tower. There is a discrepancy, as Mr Eccles points out, between this date and 28 September which the

Gaol Delivery of 3 December gives as the day on which William Bradley was killed. The Newgate list is proved to be correct by Mr Eccles's discovery in the registers of St Andrew's Holborn of the date of Bradley's burial, 19 September 1589. The list also reveals the district in which Marlowe was living in the early period of his London residence, the liberty of Norton Folgate in the Shoreditch neighbourhood.

Mr Eccles does not comment on the singular description of Marlowe, a Cambridge Master of Arts, as 'yoman' in the Newgate list, while Watson is called 'generosus', which is also the description of Marlowe in the Gaol Delivery. Was the Lieutenant of the Tower or the Newgate authorities unwilling to concede gentility to a shoemaker's son or to a professional playwright, who was responsible for the presentation of 'the Atheist Tamburlane' upon the public stage? In any case Marlowe had to spend a fortnight in Newgate where the coiner Poole whom he met was (as Mr Eccles has shown in *T.L.S.* 6 September 1934) not Robert Poley but John Poole, brother-in-law of Sir William Stanley. Thus what seemed to be a possible early link with Poley has to be given up; but I think that it should be noted that Richard Baines, the informer, is shown to be speaking not without book in one of his most definite charges against the dramatist.

New light is also thrown on Watson's early travels and law studies on the Continent. And in view of the rumour in 1587 that Marlowe had intended to go to Rheims the extracts from the Douai register in 1576 and 1577 recording Thomas Watson's visits to that seminary are of particular interest.

If Mr Eccles is right, the dramatist late in 1592 rendered a posthumous service to Watson by writing a Latin dedication to the Countess of Pembroke for the poet's *Amintae Gaudia*. The dedication is signed 'C.M.', and in view of the close association that has now been established between the two men 'there is no reason whatever', according to Mr Eccles, 'for impugning the identification with Marlowe'. I think that it is probable, but there are phrases in the dedication that seem to me to raise a difficulty. 'Dia proles, quae iam rudi calamo, spiritus infundis elati furoris, quibus ipse misellus, plus mihi videor praestare posse, quam cruda nostra indoles proferre solet'. Even allowing for the conventional style of Elizabethan dedications I find it hard to fit these terms of lowliest self-depreciation to the pen of the Marlowe of 1592.

Another figure on whom Mr Eccles throws new light, carrying further the researches begun by Dr Leslie Hotson, is Richard Kitchen of Clifford's Inn, one of Marlowe's sureties. His will, dated 29 October [1604], proves his family connexion with Skipton in Yorkshire, the chief residence of the Cliffords, and accounts for his choice of the Inn of Court that bore their name. But what is of more unexpected interest is to find two probable references to him in Henslowe's *Diary* on 9 August 1598. There can be no reasonable doubt that Mr Eccles is right in interpreting 'the attorney Ceachen' and 'Mr Ceatchen' as Henslowe's spellings of Kitchen or 'Kechen' as he signed himself; but there are two other Kitchens of Barnard's Inn who may be 'the attorney'.

On 9 May 1592 'Cristopherus Marle de London generosus' entered into a recognizance of £20 to keep the peace towards Allen Nicholls, constable of Holywell Street, and Nicholas Helliott, subconstable, and to appear at the next General Sessions. In this case we have no details of the affair, and there is no record that 'Marle' appeared at the Sessions. But though there were at the time five other Christopher Marleys in London whom Mr Eccles describes, he shows, as I think, conclusively, that the only 'Marle' in the Holywell Street district and entitled to be called 'generosus' was the dramatist.

Mr Eccles is indeed at his varietal in picking his way through the intricacies and traps of Elizabethan nomenclature. Besides the William Bradley killed by Watson, and his similarly named father, landlord of the Bishop's Inn in Holborn, he gives particulars of seven other William Bradleys. He mentions a Robert Poley, a William Yeomans and a Richard Baines—all to be differentiated from their namesakes in the chronicle of Marlowe and his circle. In some of his deductions from other evidence he has, as I have indicated, shown rather less caution. And in his praiseworthy anxiety to follow every possible clue he sometimes loses his sense of proportion and so crowds his pages with detail that we can scarcely see the wood for the trees. Indeed the title of the volume *Christopher Marlowe in London* needs a good deal of stretching to cover the two chapters that are concerned almost entirely with Thomas Watson. But these are minor drawbacks in a work which will be indispensable to every student of Marlowe, and which presents us with the results of equally indefatigable and fortunate research.

F. S. BOAS.

LONDON.

*Der Sinn des Hamlet.* By LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING. Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer. 1935. viii + 132 pp. 3 M. 40.

Professor Schücking's view of Hamlet as 'ein Melancholiker' is well known and is developed again in the present study. It cannot be doubted that there is much in Hamlet's behaviour—his irritability, his sudden frenzies, his drooping despairs, all the incalculable fluctuations of his mood—that agrees well with the 'melancholy type', and that the type has been at least a *source* for Shakespeare seems certain. But why must one keep a source continually in mind? We know how Shakespeare treats his sources in general. Would it be very daring to suppose that here too, every once in a while, Shakespeare forgot his models and put something into Hamlet that was never in a 'Melancholiker' before? Professor Schücking would find it very unsafe to suppose so. He makes everything fit into the pattern almost too perfectly. Even Hamlet's strange display in the scene of Ophelia's burial is referred to similar outbursts on the part of Hieronimo and Antonio: the 'melancholy man' will tolerate no rivalry in his own special sphere, in 'passion' he must be supreme. So Shakespeare—perhaps as an afterthought, to round off his own study of the type—makes Hamlet resent almost as a personal affront

the conduct of Laertes. The slightest details have their place in the deep-laid plan, and Hamlet sweats too readily ('He's *fat* and scant of breath') because melancholy men in their weakness do so. (Professor Schücking still persists, it may be added, in extracting from the unthinking remark, 'no more like my father Than I to Hercules', evidence that Hamlet has a frail constitution.)

But the problem of the hero is by no means Professor Schücking's sole concern. A large part of the book consists of general commentary, scene by scene; and in these pages, as in the earlier sections on style, on characterization, on construction, interesting suggestions are everywhere to be found. Professor Schücking has the gift of putting in a slightly different light truths which one thought one knew, and of setting the mind working upon them afresh. He has many important observations: upon the use of darkness in the play, upon the psychology of the 'To be', upon the problems of Gertrude's character, upon the difficulties—in which he has specialized—of the last two acts of the drama. I select a comment, out of dozens of the kind, that brings *Hamlet* into curious relation with an art belonging to our time. Professor Schücking reminds us that the dramatic action works up to a crisis—in the scene of the play within the play—that is indicated not so much by words or deeds as by a change of expression on one man's features. It is pleasant to think of the turning-point of *Hamlet* as being marked by (or at least as ideally demanding) a 'close-up'.

A. J. A. WALDOCK.

SYDNEY.

*The Jacobean Drama.* By U. M. ELLIS-FERMOR. London: Methuen. 1936. xii+336 pp. 12s. 6d.

Miss Ellis-Fermor's important book is not intended to be a survey, much less a history, of the Jacobean drama; it is an attempt at an interpretation of the work of some of the major dramatists of the period. It is significant of the recent trend of criticism among a widening circle of students of the great age. For it is based upon the belief that this drama reflects closely, and arose out of, a general state of mind which, in its turn, was in part the product of political uncertainties, among other external causes. The Jacobean drama is thus sharply differentiated from the Elizabethan. This general conception is an extension to the whole body of the drama of what has long and persistently been used as a clue to the development of Shakespeare's mind and art.

Along with this, there is the repercussion upon the critic of much reading and contemplation of modern or contemporary drama, with its studious experimentation and its cultured, self-conscious art. So here we have the Jacobean drama synthesized by a critic who is familiar with recent drama and deeply interested in its spirit and technique, and who is firmly convinced of the spiritual sickness and disillusionment, not only of Shakespeare but also of Jacobean England as a whole.

It is therefore fitting that Miss Ellis-Fermor's book should close with a

final chapter upon 'The Shakespearian Transmutation', in which these principles are once again applied to interpret Shakespeare, and the argument is set forth in an even more extreme form than usual, with the vigour and deep sincerity of conviction. The fashionable modern dislike for Isabella's 'inhuman' virtue is once more set forth; she should have held more 'advanced' views. And it is clearly stated that *Measure for Measure* 'is, in Shakespeare's thought, the very nadir of disgust and cynicism' (p. 263).

It may perhaps be asked whether the need for a synthesis has not forced upon Miss Ellis-Fermor in some measure that choice of dramatists which excludes Heywood and Shirley, for example, but includes Ford and Greville. Indeed, she admits this, in effect, in her Preface. And I think she must have had considerable doubts about including Dekker for one, though the chapter upon him is one of admirable understanding. The chapter upon Beaumont and Fletcher, again, offers obvious difficulties, but it is one of the most penetrating in the book, though one might have thought that *Valentinian* or *The Custom of the Country* deserved more attention in this context.

In general, the book deserves close study, for it is the fruit of the long and intimate familiarity of a strenuous and critical mind with a great subject. One could wish that Miss Ellis-Fermor could have made it easier to accompany her in her thought. But the reader's labours will be rewarded, whether or no he is able to accept the main principles of Miss Ellis-Fermor's interpretation. The Biographical Notes at the end are welcome, making many recent discoveries available in compendious form. And the concluding Book List is a valuable guide and directory to work in Miss Ellis-Fermor's field. It is unfortunate that the spelling *Cataline* for *Catiline* should have been allowed to slip in throughout the book.

C. J. SISSON.

LONDON.

*The Diary of Thomas Crosfield.* Ed. by FREDERICK S. BOAS for the Royal Society of Literature. London: Oxford University Press. 1935. xxix+169 pp. 12s. 6d.

To Dr Boas, and to the Royal Society of Literature and the Richards Fund, we owe it that a very interesting and valuable document is now available for general reading and study, in a pleasing form, at a low price, and with all the necessary information and assistance that Dr Boas' care and ripe scholarship furnish, amply but without overloading, upon the document, the text, and its author and his family.

For my part I regret that it was not possible to print the *Diary* proper, in full. We are left in some doubt concerning the principles on which the selection was made. All that could bear upon the character and thoughts of this interesting Fellow of Queen's College would be of value. The *Diary*, as Dr Boas's pleasing Introduction indicates, is full of the most varied information upon a wide range of matters, College and University

affairs, contemporary history at home and abroad, books, bookselling and printing at Oxford, plays and players, to give a brief selection.

I am struck by the amount of material in the *Diary* of interest to the bibliographer. We have, under 1630, a list of books printed at Oxford by Turner and Lichfield during the last two or three years. We are told that two Fellows of Queen's, Stephenson and Airey, were correctors of the press at Turner's printing house during these years. In particular, we may observe, they were correctors while the *Anatomy of Melancholy* was being printed (p. 38). We are given precise information concerning the cost of printing in more than one place (pp. 12, 29) in relation to the retail cost. There is a remark concerning a Greek fount of type (p. 35) upon which a note might have been of interest. It seems that the famous Savile fount was lent to Cambridge in 1629, not in 1632, as generally stated, when the Cambridge Greek Testament was printed from it. And there is a list of best sellers of 1638 (p. 95), at any rate according to classes, including plays in Latin and English.

Even Dr Boas's knowledge and ingenuity have been tested in the interpretation of the *Diary*, and few could so well have met the need. Rarely indeed has he been baffled, and nothing of real importance remains unexplained. On p. 3, does Crosfield in fact read ἀριθρόν μὲν ὑδῶρ instead of ἀπιστόν? If so, some comment was desirable. The references in the same page to 'friers weed spurrs...skarlett iewell apprehended by Ladyes bath'd in milk' may all be traced in Selden's *Titles of Honor* and other authorities as elements in the ritual of knighthood of the Bath, including the wearing of a gray hermit's habit by the novice the day before the investiture, the ritual bath, and the formal acceptance of the new knight by a lady. The Bath star is a 'skarlett iewell' (see Selden, 1631, pp. 819 ff.; Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, 1652, p. 531; Camden, *Britannia*, 1695, p. clxxx). The bath in milk must have been a refinement on the medieval practice, though there is ample warrant for it in more ancient days. The ceremonies actually took place in February 1625/6, though here recorded on 8 May. Should not the common MS. abbreviation for Christmas be transcribed *xrimas*, not *xpimas*? It derives from χρ, transliterated as xp. Could the performance at Oxford mentioned on p. 79 possibly be, not a puppet show, but a stage play, *The Late Lancashire Witches*, a very popular play?

It is odd to note, three hundred years later, such entries as the following:

Dec. 1627. A grant of some bounty towards distressed professours in Heidelberge.

Dec. 20, 1636. A meeting to be at Culen (Cologne) for ye peace & agreement of all Christendom.

C. J. SISSON.

LONDON.

*Sir William Davenant's Gondibert, its Preface, and Hobbes' Answer, A Study in English Neo-classicism.* By CORNELL MARCH DOWLIN. Philadelphia. 1934. 127 pp.

The long neglect of Sir William Davenant by critics and editors is now being repaired by the labours of American scholars. Dr A. F. Harbage of the University of Pennsylvania recently published a useful biographical and critical study of this significant and important writer. Almost simultaneously there appears a dissertation on *Gondibert* by Dr Cornell March Dowlin of the same University.

In his Foreword Dr Dowlin gives the interesting information that his study is designed as an introduction to a new edition of *Gondibert* based on the quarto, octavo and folio texts. A modern scholarly edition is badly needed, and it is to be hoped that Dr Dowlin may soon be able to produce the first edition, not only of *Gondibert*, but of all Davenant's works, since the folio of 1673.

Dr Dowlin's dissertation consists of five chapters. The first four are devoted mainly to Davenant's celebrated *Preface to Gondibert* and *Hobbes' Answer*. They include an analysis of these important critical documents, and a discussion of the theories contained in them in relation to English and continental influences and also in connexion with Heroic Virtue and the Heroic Play. The last chapter deals with 'The Poem itself; its relation to the Preface; its position in Literature'. Dr Dowlin stresses Davenant's originality. He shows that his obligations to continental, and especially to French criticism, have been exaggerated, and that the roots of much of his theory and practice can be found in English literary traditions that go back to the Elizabethan age. The summary on pp. 70-2 forms a trenchant and well-argued reply to the contention that English neo-classicism is derived from French sources. The parallel drawn by Dr Dowlin between the Heroic Poem and the Heroic Play is valuable, and he makes a convincing though somewhat laboured and long-winded reply to Mr W. S. Clarke's contention that Dryden merely borrowed some critical notions from Davenant, but is chiefly indebted to the French for his own heroic plays.

Dr Dowlin's dissertation may be described as a learned and intelligent essay, though not a graceful or attractive piece of writing. The style is clumsy and slipshod in places, and the whole would be much improved by condensation. The last chapter especially, to the desultory nature of which Dr Dowlin himself alludes in his Foreword, is unsatisfactory in many ways, and it is a pity that it was published in its present form. However, after the dissertation has undergone a thorough revision it ought to provide a valuable introduction to the new edition of *Gondibert*.

V. DE SOLA PINTO.

*The Sources of John Dryden's Comedies.* By NED BLISS ALLEN. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1935. xv+298 pp. \$3.

The latest addition to the valuable series published by the University of Michigan is a solid and useful, though not very inspiring, piece of work. Mr Allen has made a very thorough and painstaking examination of the sources of Dryden's comedies, and he presents the results of his researches with modesty, good sense and sound judgement. He demonstrates clearly that Langbaine was right in his contention that the plots of Dryden's comedies and even much of the dialogue were often borrowed from contemporary French and English books, for the most part romances, and that Scott, Saintsbury and Mr Montague Summers all underestimated his debts to these sources. Particularly striking examples of this borrowing are shown in his use of Mademoiselle de Scudéry's *Ibrahim* and *Le Grand Cyrus* in *The Maiden Queen*, Brémont's *Le Pèlerin* in *The Spanish Friar* and the anonymous *Annals of Love* in *The Assumption*. The book, however, is much more than a mere study of 'sources'. Mr Allen interprets the title of his dissertation generously, and it includes much discussion of the influences that affected Dryden's comedies, their literary quality and their relationship to contemporary drama and life. His general conclusion is sensible and well expressed. It amounts to the contention that Dryden did not take his comedies very seriously and that his 'only consistent principle' was 'a desire to please his audience'. Hence the comedies are a series of brilliant improvisations made to suit the fickle tastes of Restoration audiences. Mr Allen rightly blames previous critics for treating as 'a literary heritage' a series of entertainments which should be read and enjoyed as the work of a supremely clever showman who happened also to be a great man of letters and a most competent interpreter of contemporary taste. If we regard Dryden's comedies in this light, it is absurd to blame him, as Macaulay does, for not being a teacher of morality.

Careful revision might have removed some minor blemishes from Mr Allen's book. His attempt to identify Woodall in *Limberham* as Rochester is unconvincing. The description of Woodall's education as given by Gervase would apply equally well to Wycherley and half-a-dozen other Restoration rakes. If Mr Allen had made himself acquainted with recent published work on Rochester he would have known more about the travels of that nobleman. The editor of the Nonesuch edition of Rochester is Mr Hayward, not 'Mr Heywood'. Davenant's *Siege of Rhodes* is not written in heroic couplets 'throughout'. 'Would-be' is not a happy coinage for the false pretenders to wit in Restoration comedy and the plural 'would-be's', which Mr Allen uses frequently, is intolerable. In a footnote on p. 220 'baronetcy' seems to be a mistake for 'barony'. Finally, the bibliography leaves much to be desired. *Annals of love (The)*... Anon, London, 1672', is a most unsatisfactory description of a very rare book.

V. DE SOLA PINTO.

*The Literary Career of Richard Graves, the author of 'The Spiritual Quixote'.* By CHARLES JARVIS HILL (*Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, vol. XVI, nos. 1-3, October 1934-April 1935).

Professor Hill has done a good piece of work in making out a biography of Graves from scanty and out-of-the-way material; his study fills a gap. He devotes sixty pages to the *magnum opus*; and deals sufficiently with the minor novels, Graves's poems, and in a final chapter with his author's opinions. Appended is a bibliography of the first editions. He has certainly brought Graves to life, as far as that is possible, at the cost of some overpraise, which may be condoned in a special investigator. After all, *The Spiritual Quixote*, at any rate as a novel, is no great shakes, and it is as literature and a work of fiction that he reviews it. But, candidly, it is barely literature, and fiction is at a discount in *The Spiritual Quixote*, which is partly a skit and partly a tract or remonstrance, with incidental sketches of rustic and urban life that justify its being put somewhere below the novels of Fielding and Smollett as an example of realism. Graves called it 'a comic romance'; but his humour did not rise higher than practical joking, travesties of sermons, and derisive portraits of those who preached or listened to them. Many of his incidents fail to hit any recognizable mark; they were probably the veritable recollections alluded to by Graves in his preface, and thus evidence of veracity rather than of realism. This and another point, the frank seriousness of his attack on the excesses of the Methodists, might have been brought out more clearly in such a painstaking study. Graves reasons with those who wanted to put down the movement, but who, as he thought, were going the wrong way to work. He is as severe on the loose conduct of many of the clergy, the poverty and contempt to which many were reduced by the lack of financial organization in the Church, and the general supineness, as on the follies of their antagonists. Professor Hill proves too much or too little in his long contention that Geoffrey Wildgoose was drawn, not from various originals that have been proposed, but from Whitefield himself. Wildgoose is a caricature of such a fanatic as Graves supposed Whitefield to be, just as Don Quixote was a caricature of a spurious knight-errantry. But the caricature was of a general rather than a particular cast. If it had not been, the encounter between Wildgoose and Whitefield *in propria persona* would have fallen rather flat. On what evidence is it asserted that Graves acquired Claverton Manor in 1758? Claverton Manor, as well as the Warleigh Manor also mentioned, has belonged to the Skrines for centuries, and still belongs. 'Combe-Monkton', on p. 9, should be 'Monkton Combe'; 'Lyttleton', on p. 56 and elsewhere, 'Lyttelton'; 'Motieux', p. 46, 'Motteux'; and 'humor' is a queer spelling cheek by jowl with 'humourous'. The adjectives need not have gone to the expense of capitals in the German extracts.

ERNEST A. BAKER.

LONDON.

*George Colman the Elder, Essayist, Dramatist, and Theatrical Manager, 1732-1794.* By EUGENE R. PAGE. New York: Columbia University Press; London: H. Milford. 1935. xi+334 pp. 15s.

George Colman the Elder has several claims to the dignity of a full biography. As the author or adapter of some forty-five dramatic pieces, including *The Jealous Wife* and (with Garrick) *The Clandestine Marriage*, he is one of the more important of those later eighteenth-century dramatists whose reputation has suffered in the past by the disproportionate exaltation of Goldsmith and Sheridan. As manager of the Covent Garden Theatre, 1767-74, and of the summer theatre in the Haymarket, 1777-89, he served his public well. His verse translations of Terence's plays and Horace's *Epistola ad Pisones*, with judicious commentaries, and his enlightened *Critical Reflections on the Old English Dramatic Writers* entitle him to an honourable mention in the history of eighteenth-century scholarship and criticism. Finally, he is no mean essayist.

Mr Page deals ably with these various activities, although, as his purpose is to write a biography of Colman and not a critical study of his works, the latter are described individually as chronology dictates. In the circumstances one would have welcomed a chapter containing both a general estimate of his achievement in the different kinds of literature that he practised and some indication of his undoubted influence on his contemporaries and immediate successors. What Mr Page has attempted, however, is for the most part well done. The biographer of Colman suffers from no lack of material. Both Colman and his son published autobiographies, the son edited his father's letters, other relevant letters exist in plenty, the many contemporary volumes of theatrical reminiscences prove fruitful, and most of the legal documents concerning the Covent Garden Theatre dispute between Harris and Colman are available in the British Museum. From these and other sources Mr Page has reconstructed Colman's private and public life in clear and convincing detail. Particularly good is his full account of Colman's career as a theatrical manager.

Unfortunately Mr Page is not always so well informed. His acquaintance with *The Genius of Nonsense* (1780) is confined to Genest's remarks and newspaper advertisements, although Professor Nicoll lists this unprinted farce as surviving in the Larpent Collection in the Huntington Library. It may perhaps be mentioned for the benefit of any English student interested in this play that a transcript is included by Miss S. M. Lund in an unpublished thesis on Colman (available in the University of London Library), where also Mr Page's biographical material is anticipated. More important is the omission of any mention of Colman's activities as a reviewer, for Dr Nangle, in *The Monthly Review*, First Series (1934), shows that Colman was its chief reviewer of dramatic literature from 1774 until 1785, in which capacity he contributed extensively to the periodical.

F. E. BUDD.

LONDON.

*La Vie Seint Edmund le Rei. Poème Anglo-Norman du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle par Denis Pyramus.* Edited by HILDING KJELLMAN. (Göteborgs Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-Samhälles Handlingar. Femte Följden, Ser. A, Band iv, No. 3.) Göteborg. 1935. Kr. 10.

Historical and religious interest combined to draw attention early to the Life of St Edmund, composed by the poet Denis Pyramus in approaching old age as a make-weight to the frivolous ditties and *serventeis* of his earlier court days. Such interests are not, however, sufficient in themselves to enable editors to deal adequately with mediæval texts, although unfortunately English historians have often thought so, and this, the *fourth* modern edition of the poem, is consequently by no means superfluous, for here for the first time the text is published by a scholar of distinction, fully equipped for his task on the linguistic side.

Herr Kjellman is conversant with the work of his predecessors and has utilised it with discretion; but he has profited most, he tells us, by the 'excellent articles' contributed to the subject by the American scholar Henry E. Haxo,<sup>1</sup> and by the diplomatic edition of the unique manuscript made as early as 1888 by the learned Swedish Professor Axel Erdmann. The present edition contains a 'critical' text of the poem and an exact copy of the diplomatic edition, and these texts are preceded by a full and interesting introduction, historical, metrical and linguistic, and followed by useful critical and elucidatory notes and a good glossary. The linguistic introduction comprises sections on vocabulary and syntax as well as on pronunciation and flexions. In his interesting study of the sea-terms used by the author<sup>2</sup> Herr Kjellman introduces new matter, and succeeds in elucidating the use of the term *luf* in Old French and the words *hallos* and *holgurdines*, found only in this text. The connexion suggested between *hallos* and Provençal *calup*, *galupa*, strengthens the possibility of a connexion between the author and the continental courts of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine.<sup>3</sup>

With the editor's conclusions about the author I am in substantial agreement: Denis Pyramus was clearly 'well acquainted with the principles of French verse as applied on the Continent',<sup>4</sup> and so well versed in the French language<sup>5</sup> that I am inclined to surmise that he had not only sojourned at one of Henry's continental courts, but also earlier at one of the western continental centres of learning. The general character of his linguistic usage, his knowledge of English and, I would add, his neglect to lay claim to continental origin, incline me to agree with Herr Kjellman that, unlike Frère Angier, Denis Pyramus in all probability began life on this side of the Channel. On one or two minor points, however, the evidence alleged hardly seems to me to substantiate the editor's opinions.

The dating of the poem appears to me to be both rather too early and, above all, too precise: 'Pour moi, la *Vie S. Edmund* est toujours une

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Philology*, xii, pp. 345-66, 559-83.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. cxv-cxxi.

<sup>3</sup> P. cxvii. Cf. also Haxo, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-8.

<sup>4</sup> P. xxxix.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. for instance, his almost consistent avoidance of the most obvious Anglo-Normanisms such as the confusion of *ie* and *e* and of the infinitive terminations *-eir* and *-er* (Intro., pp. lxxiv, lxxvii).

œuvre composée ou du moins commencée vers 1170.' Anglo-Norman linguistic traits are too variable and as yet too little determined<sup>1</sup> to be used with such precision, and furthermore, when one is attempting to date the work of an Anglo-Norman poet as much influenced by continental usage as is Denis Pyramus, it is, I am inclined to think, not his conservatism but his occasional licences that offer the most significant clues to his date. With this point in view I would call attention to the following traits which seem to me to indicate in all probability a date rather nearer the end of the century:

(a) The equivalence of *e* and *ei* with *ē*—equivalence attested by the rhymes cited by the editor, pp. lxxiii–lxxv (*preste* : *ceste*, 2947; *fet* : *net*, 661<sup>2</sup>; *dreit* : *veit*, 786; *veir* : *cercher*, 2673), and by that of *ades* : *reis*, 479, inadvertently omitted.

(b) The frequency of the effacement of unstressed *e* in the termination *-eient* (34 examples),<sup>3</sup> and the variety of positions in which the poet allows himself occasional effacement of *ə* elsewhere: after tonic vowel (e.g., *felunie*, *mie*, etc., p. lii); after intertonic vowel (e.g., *afierez*, *salures*, etc., p. liii); before tonic vowel (e.g., *emperour*, *turmentour*, *beneit*, *mesme*, p. xlvii<sup>4</sup>); interconsonantal (e.g., *pelrin*, p. l, *vrai*). Herr Kjellman is inclined to boggle at some of these examples (e.g., *afierez*, etc., *vrai*, *pelrin*),<sup>5</sup> but I think unnecessarily, because all are types that are in evidence relatively early.<sup>6</sup>

The extent to which Denis Pyramus appears to allow himself a clipped pronunciation inclines me also to call in question Herr Kjellman's opinion that he made use of the characteristic Anglo-Norman *cæsura*, i.e., of lines containing at the *cæsura* an *e* feminine, uneffaced before the vowel, but metrically uncounted. The list of lines quoted in support of this view is given on p. xlii. It comprises 24 uncorrected lines, and it is significant that of these no less than thirteen<sup>7</sup> may be read as normal lines, if the unstressed *e* in hiatus contained in one of the words in the line is effaced, and six others regularised by the application of the type of correction admitted by the editor elsewhere.<sup>8</sup> The number of examples remaining appears to me to be too small to justify him in attributing this type of *cæsura* to the poet.<sup>9</sup>

The inclusion of an exact copy of the manuscript allows Herr Kjellman to publish a 'critical' text, in which he tells us his aim has been to give

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French*, pp. 425, 426.

<sup>2</sup> Cited p. lxxii, with a different interpretation.

<sup>3</sup> Haxo, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. below, l. 1264.

<sup>5</sup> For *junes*, cf. below, l. 3039.

<sup>6</sup> I am much less willing to admit the likelihood of effacement, at this date, of *ə* final in interconsonantal position, as suggested by the editor, p. li: e.g., in l. 2370: *li seintim(e) reis e parfurniz*, or l. 3092: *Nusches d'or, bos d'or e aneles*. The first of these lines may be regularised by change of order, the second by omission of *e*; *de sessione* might be replaced by *sessoinis* (cf. 769 and Haxo, p. 173), l. 1666 might be readily corrected by the omission of *sa*, and l. 3253 by the omission of either *bel* or *grant*. For ll. 28, 44, 2833, cf. below.

<sup>7</sup> ll. 757, 1124, 1381, 1598, 1672, 2246, 2387, 2515, 2549, 2689, 2769, 3000, 3178.

<sup>8</sup> ll. 251, 1201, 1301, 1995, 2082, 2564.

<sup>9</sup> For ll. 614, 2332, 2668, cf. below. Is it simply a coincidence that in all the lines for which no obvious correction presents itself the superfluous *e* feminine is preceded by *r*—the consonant after which this sound appears to be especially liable to early effacement?

a text which reproduces 'matériellement' but not 'graphiquement' the work of the poet: a text in which the metre and grammar have been for the most part adjusted, but in which the spelling has been retained unless its too evident lateness disfigures the text too greatly. This proceeding appears to me justified under the circumstances, but it is obviously of the nature of a compromise, and, like all compromises, open to objection on both sides. The metrical corrections introduced are almost always judicious, and sometimes ingenious. Given the principle admitted by the editor, I think I should have gone further than he has ventured, and below I suggest a few more emendations not suggested by him on pp. xlv, xlvi, nor incorporated in his text.

The chief difficulty to his undertaking lies perhaps in the ticklish business of the spelling, so notoriously variable in Anglo-Norman.<sup>1</sup> I should myself have been prepared to leave unchanged the MS. forms *dieus*, *dieu*, although these forms are not used ordinarily in A.-N. MSS.; and I see no reason for changing to *que* the scribal stressed accusative forms *qui*, *ki* in ll. 658, 895, 2585, 3887, or for substituting *cume* for *cum* when the dissyllabic form is not metrically necessary. I should, however, have hesitated about retaining the analogical past participles *enrichiez*, *espoïrez*, *laidez*, *establé*, *choisée*, or the spelling *délé* for *delez* in rhyme in l. 2199.<sup>2</sup> I take it that the treatment of the flexional *s* and *z* of attributive adjectives is deliberately inconsistent.<sup>3</sup>

These—and a few others that might be made—are but small points, and the compromise adopted appears to be in general not only reasonable but also well carried out. Its result is, undoubtedly, a text greatly ameliorated.

There remain, however, a few passages that are obscure, and a few in which I am inclined to question the emendations introduced.

l. 15. The first person *burderai* should be retained. A transitive use of *burder* is unusual, and the sentiment 'Never shall I make sport more' quite appropriate to the context.

ll. 25–33. ll. 27, 28, 31, 33 are metrically defective; l. 30 connects badly with l. 29. Read:

Cel ki Partonopé trova  
e ki les vers fist e rima  
mult *fort*<sup>4</sup> se pena de bien dire—  
si dist il bien de *tel* matire  
cume de fable e de menceonge.  
La matire ressemble souenge,  
kar ceo ne *poist* unkes estre;  
si est il tenu pur bon mestre  
e les *suens* vers sunt mult ames.

'He who composed Partonopeus and wrought and rhymed the lines, strove hard to write well—and so he did on such matter as is fabulous

<sup>1</sup> Pope, *op. cit.*, pp. 455–61.

<sup>2</sup> In l. 1896 the word is inadvertently printed *deleé*. The scribal *ee* is naturally the relatively late A.-N. for *e* (Pope, *op. cit.*, para. 1255).

<sup>3</sup> The spelling is corrected in ll. 490, 770, 1526, 2870, uncorrected in ll. 409, 1549, 2640, 3481.

<sup>4</sup> Here and elsewhere in these corrections italics indicate a correction introduced by me.

or unveracious. The matter is like a dream, for it could not be so; yet he is held to be a good master and his verse is much loved.'

ll. 39-45. ll. 39 and 44 are overlong and the passage runs awkwardly. Read:

E si en est *el* mult loée  
e la rime par tut amée,  
kar mult l'aiment, si l'unt mult cher,  
cunte, barun e chivaler,  
e si en aiment mult l'escrit:  
lire les funt, si unt delit,  
e si les funt sovent reitreire.

The western French form *el* was current in Anglo-Norman, and can surely be accepted here and in ll. 1210, 2936.

l. 134. Read: Qui *el* pais mist vers galerne.

l. 277. The future *desreinerunt* seems indicated.

l. 304. The insertion of *lur* is the emendation that suggests itself, but I would point out that the use of this form as an unstressed pronoun is relatively rare in the manuscript, in which marked preference is shown for the alternative form *les*,<sup>1</sup> current in Anglo-Norman of the later variety.

l. 338. Read: Hors e Henge, son compainun (omitting the second *e*). No third person is mentioned later, and it seems unlikely that the term *compainun* would be applied to the son of Hengest, as the note suggests.

ll. 350-7 run awkwardly as punctuated. I would suggest putting a full stop at the end of l. 354, and continuing:

Pur seürté de cele gent  
e que il sunt de lur parent  
*i vunt* ceste gent descumfite.<sup>2</sup>

l. 400. *Orient* should, I think, be dissyllabic here, and I should admit a like consonantalisation of *i*, unstressed in hiatus, in *diable* in 3654 (as corrected).<sup>3</sup>

l. 614. Read: *eire* e chemine, *main* e seir.

l. 665-6. Read:

Pur ceo le vult Deus a rei prendre  
en sa glorie e seinement rendre.—

l. 758. In a considerable number of lines uncontracted *en le* makes the line overlong and is corrected by the editor, but in this line and in ll. 1030, 2730, 3124, 3879, the MS. spelling *en le* is retained, and in l. 874 the uncontracted form is introduced into the text. In the line in question retention is presumably due to inadvertence, as with *en le* the line is too long, but I am myself very doubtful whether the form may justifiably be ascribed to a poet who handles French as well as Denis Pyramus. I would propose that the four lines mentioned should run as follows: l. 874: En *la* maladie dunt murut; l. 1030: *El* réalme e *el* pais; l. 2730:

<sup>1</sup> *Les*, dative, figures in ll. 160, 461, 969, 971, 1055, 1067, 1332, 1352, 1356, 1611, 1745, 1902, 2220, 2640, 2654, 2655, 3195, 3364, 3399, 3744, 3796, 3945, 3950, 3951, 3952, 3962, 3968, 3978.

<sup>2</sup> The correction in this line is also suggested by Mrs Ravenel.

<sup>3</sup> Pope, *op. cit.*, para. 1134.

*El palais dedesus s'areste*; l. 3879: *Quatre pruz hommes el païs*. Except in l. 2730, in which the correction suggested is doubtful, the amount of correction involved is no greater than that adopted in the text.

ll. 922, 1521. Substitute *mener* for *amener* and *meinent* for *ameinent* (cf. l. 3988, where a like correction is admitted).

l. 937 is doubly suspect: the position of the unstressed pronoun object,<sup>1</sup> and the use of an imperative form *merveil*, appear to me to be most unlikely. In l. 656 the poet permits himself to make use of juxtaposed *ne pas*, and I would tentatively suggest the reading: 'Rei', fet il, 'ne pas m'en merveil'.

l. 1146. Read: *Tant cum li reis i sujournout*.

ll. 1264-5. In both these lines the manuscript has *verai*, and here and in ll. 1889, 3655, where *verament* is used, the editor substitutes the adjective *veire* for *verai*. This appears to me unnecessary. In Anglo-Norman *e* final, in hiatus with the tonic vowel, is slurred, and on the continent the initial *e* of *verai* early shared the same fate, and consequently the feminine adjective early measured one syllable and the adverb three in both forms of speech. The author makes use of both types of reduction (cf. above), but the 'continental' colour of his language might lead one to replace the Anglo-Norman forms *verei*, *verement* by *vraie* and *vraiment*.

l. 1423. Read: *Dunc lur surt un vent de vers tere*.

ll. 1581-8. With the editor I take *aguwe* in l. 1585 as being the feminine adjective (*acuta*) agreeing with *clergie*, but I should give to this word the same meaning 'clerkly learning', 'knowledge', throughout the whole passage, and thus avoid the need of admitting 'a confusion between *clergie* and *clergié*'.

ll. 1646-7. The construction of *error* in these lines, as indicated in the note, is so unusual that I should be inclined to attribute it to the scribe, and read:

Error vus estuet par saver,  
tel eslire e tel choisir

l. 1805. Insert comma after *mestresce*.

l. 1864. Replace full stop by colon, as the next lines give the explanation of l. 1864.

l. 1920. Read: *Ne se pueit d'els ja garder*.

l. 1970. The correction and interpretation of *requist* are excellent, but I take it that the adjectives *lanier*, *malveis* and *requit* are all three opprobrious epithets applied by the king to his sons, and should read: 'Lanier', ceo dit, 'malveis, requit'.

l. 2082. Omit *il*.

l. 2152. Read: *E nes les enfanz alaitanz*.

ll. 2329-32. Read:

A paine aveit ces moz pardiz  
li reis seintime,<sup>2</sup> e parfurniz,  
a paine aveit turné son oil  
li message e passé le soil...—

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lerch, *Hist. frz. Syntax*, iii, pp. 290-3.

<sup>2</sup> Change of order already suggested by Haxo.

ll. 2497-504. The scribe appears to me to have brought confusion into the passage by introducing a new paragraph in the wrong place.<sup>1</sup>  
Read:

Issi otre a souffrir  
Deus a Edmund, son cher martir,  
pur li e son seintime noun  
martire e mort e passün,  
e de sa vie prist amendes.  
El tens del duzime kalendes  
de decembre, ceo dit l'estoire,  
ke Deus le resceut en sa gloire...—

- l. 2549. Read: *deciré*.  
l. 2638. Read: Del seint rei, de lur cher segnur (cf. l. 2816).  
l. 2833. Substitute for *porent*, *poent*, which may, I take it, be monosyllabic.  
l. 2937. I should prefer *à feire*.  
l. 3039. Retain MS. *junes*.<sup>2</sup>  
l. 3092. Omit *e*.  
l. 3208. Omit *en* before *plours*.  
ll. 3691-3. Omit *e* in l. 3693, and punctuate:

E treinerent errantment  
hors de la vile e hors de gent;  
en un ord putel qu'ert parfanz...—

- l. 3700. Read: Pur l'amur de *sun* seint Edmun.

Reviews of texts are bound to lead to much discussion of detail, and this may obscure one's view of the excellence of the whole. I should like therefore to emphasise in conclusion the interest with which I have studied Herr Kjellman's work and my respect for the width of his knowledge, the soundness of his judgment, and the linguistic acumen displayed.

M. K. POPE.

MANCHESTER.

*The Anticlaudian of Alain de Lille*, Prologue, Argument and Nine Books translated, with an Introduction and Notes by WILLIAM HAFNER CORNOG. A Dissertation. Philadelphia. 1935. 192 pp.

*The Shorter Latin Poems of Master Henry of Avranches relating to England*. Edited by JOSIAH COX RUSSELL and JOHN PAUL HEIRONIMUS. (*Studies and Documents*, No. 1, of the Medieval Academy of America.) Cambridge, Mass. 1935. 162 pp. \$2.0.

A study of the *Anticlaudianus* of Master Alan of Lille followed by a literal translation of that work with explanatory notes bears with it the promise of fulfilling a real need. Alan is not only in himself a remarkable figure, a representative of that early blend of humanism and Platonism, ready as well to welcome the new Aristotle, which forms the attractive prelude to the great age of Scholasticism, but he was a poet of genuine gifts. Like Bernard Silvestris, who influenced him greatly, he had read

<sup>1</sup> Suggestion already made by Hervey.

Cf. Intro., pp. lii, liii.

widely in classical literature and had absorbed all the speculations, scientific, philosophic, theological and cosmological which could be collected from the Latin *Timaeus* with its commentary, the pseudo-Apuleius, Macrobius and Boethius.

The elaborate prose of his *De planctu naturae* is his own creation and not a mere reproduction of the routine of the schools. During his own lifetime the humanistic tradition was falling into weaker hands, and a class of professional men of letters appeared. Of these latter, writers such as Mathew of Vendôme, Peter of Riga and Geoffrey of Vinsauf, as well as the authors of the Latin *Comoediae*, were known to the generation of Chaucer and Gower, but Alan survived while others of his contemporaries were forgotten. His *Anticlaudianus* was twice translated into French, as Mr Cornog reminds us, suggesting that Chaucer, whose Latin was only moderately good, may have read that work, at any rate, in translation, though Chaucer refers as well to the *De planctu naturae*, which he must have read in the original.

Mr Cornog's introduction goes over much of the ground already covered in Mr C. M. Hutchings' excellent article in *Romania*, vol. I, 1924, and it can hardly be said that he tells us much that is not known already. He does, however, illustrate Alan's indebtedness to Bernard Silvestris, but he gives us very little help towards a true understanding of the *Anticlaudianus*, and the notes are by no means an adequate or reliable commentary. Thus (to take only one instance) where Alan is obviously speaking of St Laurence and St Vincent, athletes of the faith, Mr Cornog can only conjecture (p. 181) that he is referring to Laurence of Durham and Vincent of Lérins.

But Mr Cornog's translation is, I am sorry to say, the greatest disappointment of all. Not only is it devoid of any literary quality, but again and again it misses the obvious meaning of the original. Mr Cornog's knowledge of Latin was clearly not sufficient to justify his attempt at what would have been in any case a difficult task, and the translation contains so many errors that it is a quite unreliable guide for a beginner who wishes to be helped towards an understanding of the text.

The edition of the *Shorter Latin Poems of Master Henry of Avranches relating to England*, which forms the first volume of a series of Studies and Documents issued by the Medieval Academy of America, will be welcomed by scholars, as it puts within their reach many of the poems of a man whose quality and activities were little known until Mr Russell began to write about him in 1926 (the date of his doctoral dissertation) and in 1928 (*Speculum*, III, 1928). Mr Russell and Mr Heironimus can claim that they are revealing to us as fully as possible the figure of one who was really a 'wandering scholar', a lover of good cheer, a friend of the Muses, quick in temper, often in need of money, writing for patrons of all kinds, royal, papal, monastic and episcopal. Now he is composing a grammatical poem for the sons of King John of England; now versifying the life of St Guthlac for the Abbot of Croyland, or the life of St Francis for Gregory IX; now exercising his trade of versifier, perhaps with the title

of *archpoet*, at the Court of Frederick II; then turning to St Louis to celebrate the Crown of Thorns; and, finally, making his home in England as the friend of his old pupil King Henry and the enemy of Michael of Cornwall, with whom he had a battle of verses.

The poems themselves are of considerable interest, and the editors have expended great care on the text. They generously confess their indebtedness to Mr W. B. Sedgwick, who has, I suppose, few equals as an emendator of medieval texts. The notes and commentary are very valuable, and the whole monograph is a model of its kind.

The editors might perhaps have drawn special attention to the few rhythmical poems of Henry of Avranches, which (I suggest with some diffidence) seem to show the influence of Walter of Châtillon and Philip de Grève. Poem no. 40 on p. 94 should have been arranged so as to exhibit clearly the rhythmical structure and the interesting scheme of rhymes. On p. 139 it is suggested that the Master John of Hoveden who is called *astrologus* in the Lanercost Chronicle is not the same as the author of the *Philomena*. I feel sure that this is a hazardous conjecture and that the saintly 'astrologer' depicted by the Chronicle is the poet of the Passion and the learned author of the *Practica Chilandri*. Hoveden's poems contain many astronomical allusions.

F. J. E. RABY.

HARPENDEN, HERTS.

*The Poems of François Villon*. Translated by LEWIS WHARTON, with an introduction by D. B. WYNDHAM LEWIS. London: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1935. xviii+134 pp. 6s.

The *Modern Language Review* does not generally include reviews of translations, but the case of Villon is perhaps exceptional because a translation of his work requires something more than a gift for reproducing the spirit and expression of the poet; it demands an intimate knowledge of the language and the history of fifteenth-century France and must be judged as much by its scholarship as by its literary merits.

It may have been Mr Wharton's purpose to rouse in the hearts of English-speaking people a new enthusiasm for Villon, and although we are grateful to him for his kind intention, we find it difficult to excuse him for not having learnt his lessons before he set to work. His translation has obviously been prepared in complete ignorance of the work of Longnon, Thuasne and Champion; the only authorities quoted are Mr Geoffroy Atkinson and Mr D. B. Wyndham Lewis; he does not even seem to have realized that he was translating from an edition which contained not only poems which are no longer attributed to Villon, but also a very doubtful text of the *Lais* and the *Testament*.<sup>1</sup>

However doubtful the text may have been, translations of certain words and phrases, such as: *De soy verser chascun se peine* (T. 256) by 'For each can scarcely pour one for himself'; *J'entens* (T. 302) by 'to hear'; *Fors que* (T. 614) by 'for, as...'; *détester* (T. 781) by 'hate';

<sup>1</sup> Our references to the French text are based on Longnon's '3e édition revue par Lucien Foulet' in the *Classiques français du Moyen Âge* (Paris, Champion, 1923).

*enseigne* (T. 1634) by 'instruction', are, to say the least, suspicious. Some words such as *trumillieres*, *tallemouse*, *escharbot*, *greffier criminel*, *benoistier*, *cas criminel*, have simply been left in French, whilst in the following places: T. 724, 762, 872, 988, 1086-93, 1420, 1840-3, 1878-80, 1970, the sense of the original has been completely misunderstood. The translator does not appear to have been happy in dealing either with Middle French or with the French language in its modern form.

Not are his dealings with allusions to people and things more fortunate. Footnotes are thoughtfully supplied on Tantalus, Daedalus and Crassus (pp. 20-1), and we are told (p. 66, n. ii) that 'Sardana seems to have been the child of Villon's imagination', but a discreet silence is maintained on people who owe their existence to the translator's own ignorance, to wit, 'Changon' (L. 141), 'Jacques Thibault' (T. 737), 'that goldsmith gay, Du Bois' (T. 1118), 'Jehan de Pontlieu' (T. 1174), 'Jehan Courault' (T. 1457), 'Colas Tacot' (T. 1955). Such a collection of misnomers could have been avoided by the use of a carefully edited text.

The translation of *Doles* (T. 403) by 'Dolle' brings us to the handling of the proper names in rhyme. One would expect to find a systematic adoption of the modern forms throughout the translation, but Mr Wharton seems to have been unable to make up his mind about the form and the pronunciation of most of them. Sometimes he has used the older spelling and made the rhyme accordingly: *Bourg-la-Royne*, coin (T. 1151); often the rhymes leave much to be desired: *Meun*, one (T. 83), *Boulogne*, moan (L. 53); *Capet* is made to rhyme with 'they' but *Bellet* with 'smelly' (*Ballade des Menus Propos*).

The scansion is no better than the rhyme; proper names are either chopped into more syllables than they are naturally willing to yield or scanned in the French manner (*Je-han*, *Je-hanne*, *Me-un*, *Pierr-e*), lines are eked out with *chevilles* like 'which all men know' and 'so widely known' when they are not sprinkled with that useful monosyllable 'yes' (Old Form 'yea'), beloved of translators of Italian opera libretti.

Although Mr D. B. W. Lewis so sweepingly condemns the 'finicky, tiresome archaisms' of previous translators, he kindly overlooks Mr Wharton's weakness for words like 'trow', 'wis', 'fane', 'wight', 'wot', 'doit' and is not disturbed by 'snows of yore', 'Light of the world that bears sweet weal' or 'beds of cheer' or 'fripperers' or 'tapistreeer'.

Villon's images are often unnecessarily distorted. *Tout en ung tas comme pelotes* (T. 528) becomes 'like an unsightly heap of filthy rags', the *navet* in T. 1897 is transformed into an onion, but the line *Plus becquetiez d'oiseaulx que dez a couldre* remains 'More pecked of birds than fruit on garden wall'—as in the original Swinburne.

Villon's realism is consistently emasculated (T. 820, 921, 1094-1101, 1208, 1611, 1744-53) and his poetry is often adulterated by the addition of large quantities of a special *eau de rose* which gives it the nauseating 'Sonny Boy' flavour of lines like: 'When my skies appeared so grey' (*Ballade de l'Appel*), 'Bright hearted souls, sporting though skies be grey' (*Epistre a ses Amis*) and 'Blue skies I see, though threatening clouds may grow' for *Je ris en pleurs et atens sans espoir*.

We fail to see how, having misunderstood the language, the allusions, the imagery, the versification, the translator can possibly have reproduced what a carefully anonymous 'authority on the subject' calls 'the spirit of the thing', but we do see why Mr D. B. W. Lewis says (p. v) 'it is quite unlikely that Mr Wharton's rendering will be henceforth on every British lip'.

THOMAS WALTON.

BIRMINGHAM.

*Montaigne devant la Postérité.* By PIERRE VILLEY. Paris: Boivin. 1935. xi + 376 pp. 24 fr.

*The Fortunes of Montaigne.* By ALAN M. BOASE. London: Methuen. 1935. xii + 462 pp. 18s.

The concurrence of these two books, of identical intention and similar title, is an event of first-class importance in Montaigne literature. It would not be strictly true to say that they are independent the one of the other; but the dependence is of an unexpected nature. Here it is not the younger scholar who is indebted to the elder—except that all students of Montaigne are immensely indebted to M. Villey, editor of the latest edition of the *Essais* and author of half a dozen incomparable treatises on the essayist—but *vice versa*. The exact measure of this particular obligation will never be known, for the French volume before me lacks the customary compliments and acknowledgments: nothing but a laconic remark by M. Villey's literary executor that the deceased had read Dr Boase's book and found it 'excellent'. And there will be no sequel, no personal preface, for M. Villey, universally respected and lamented, met his death in the dreadful railway accident at Évreux on October 24, 1933. What he has left us is but the first instalment of a comprehensive account of Montaigne's influence. It takes us from 1580 to 1610. Of the subsequent history only two chapters were found ready for publication, so that the main field of the seventeenth century was left open to Dr Boase, who, it may be said at once, covers it completely and with masterly hand. He is indeed well equipped for the task. His learning is impressive, his philosophy adequate, his judgment generally sound. His style is pleasant, although he lacks the Frenchman's grace, brilliance of exposition, lightness of touch, and that gift of portraiture whereby the characters (and especially Pierre Camus and Marie de Gournay) stand before us 'in the round', to the envy and despair of an English artist. Dr Boase's 'lightness' is a thought too colloquial, and when he takes up his pen again, as I expect and trust that he soon will, he should avoid such vulgarisms as 'small-beer', 'a rationalist of sorts', 'sticks up for pagan religion', etc. These are pardonable in a lecture, and may be defended by Montaigne's express preference for a style 'tel sur le papier qu'à la bouche'; but a purist would retort that they should never rise to the lips.

I turn from these trivialities to serious business.

What is the result, as to the early fortunes of Montaigne, which we

gather from these two books? The *Essays* seem to have been received rather coldly on publication (though Montaigne himself was well pleased), not on account of their thought so much as on account of their style and their exhibition of the writer's 'Moi'. But they quickly won favour with the learned for their recovery of ancient wisdom (Justus Lipsius hailing Montaigne as 'Thales Gallicus') and with the vulgar precisely for the 'Moi' and for the 'histoires gaillardes et riches allégations' which they contain. The assumption of ignorance on the part of the writer had at first affronted the scholars, and the open scepticism aroused the fears of the faithful; but French gentry found in Montaigne's portrait of himself the true type of the 'honnête homme', and they were fain to make educational experiment upon their own offspring, following the lines laid down in the *Institution des Enfants*. Early in the seventeenth century the book had become 'Le bréviaire des gentilshommes', and according to Daniel Huet (who like Walter Scott may be trusted when he speaks of things sixty years since), country gentlemen sought distinction from the common 'preneurs de lièvres' by the possession of a Montaigne on the mantel-shelf.

Thus far M. Villey and Dr Boase in unison; after this point the latter drives alone, save for a section on 'L'honnêteté' which is included in M. Villey's final chapter and to which Dr Boase devotes a good deal of space, but not more than it merits. Both writers discuss at length the development of the term and its ethical and social connotation, but neither, so far as I remember, refers to the Latin dictionary, which, s.v. *honestus*, *honestas*, discloses much the same variation as is found in French. Dr Boase at least might provide illustration of the meaning which came to prevail in many a Scottish tombstone of the same date, where the legend runs 'Here lyes an honest man named Hugh Fraser', or whatever it is.

I have no space to follow Dr Boase through his chapters on Marandé, Descartes, Gassendi, La Mothe le Vayer, Marolles, La Rochefoucauld, the brothers Méré, the Academy, Saint-Évremond, etc. He treats Molière at perhaps too full, and La Fontaine at too little length; but it is all solid work and sound.

I have, however, a crow to pick with him over Pascal, here marshalled among the Fideists with whom his pages bristle. Now this I cannot allow. Fideism (horrid word!) is a term of very wide and varied connotation. It occupies 85 columns in Vacant et Mangenot's *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique*. Dr Boase confines himself to a single definition: 'the affirmation that not even the most important dogmas of the Church, such as the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, can be proved. They must be believed by Faith, and furthermore, it is dangerous to try to prove them.' *Aliter* Faith and Reason are contraries which must be kept apart. Now it is certain that most of the men with whom Dr Boase deals kept their Faith and their Reason, as they did their Religion and their Morality, in watertight compartments. But Pascal breaks down the *cloison étanche*. His object in the *Apologie* is to convince the free-thinker that Christianity is not contrary to reason; thus 'Soumission et

usage de la raison en quoi consiste le vrai christianisme' and many similar sayings (Brunschvicg, § 272). There are no doubt passages which have a fideistic ring, e.g., 'Qui blâmera donc les Chrétiens de ne pouvoir rendre raison de leur créance, eux qui professent une religion dont ils ne peuvent rendre raison?'; but it is very difficult, if not impossible, to determine in the *Pensées* when Pascal is speaking for himself, when it is the *libertin* who is speaking, or when Pascal is accepting the man's position, for a moment in order to drive him from it.

Pierre Bayle saw this, and on the phrase which offended the orthodox, 'Par raison vous ne pouvez dire que Dieu est', he remarks, 'Il est clair comme le jour que les paroles de M. Pascal adressées au libertin sont équivalentes à celles-ci: "Vous soutenez que par raison vous ne pouvez dire que Dieu est".' The whole note in the *Dictionnaire critique*, s.v. 'Pascal', is worth pondering. The topic is too large for discussion here, and though I think that Dr Boase is wrong in this particular, I hasten to say that a slight difference of opinion on one point has not at all spoiled the pleasure and I hope the profit which I have derived from a perusal of what I consider one of the most important contributions made to literary history during the past decade.

H. F. STEWART.

CAMBRIDGE.

*The Origins of Jansenism.* By NIGEL ABERCROMBIE. (*Studies in Modern Languages and Literature.*) Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1936. xii+341 pp. 15s. net.

This work is divided into two parts of equal length: I, theological and II, historical (though here also theology 'keeps breaking in'). If any reader wonders how a book so largely theological in character comes to be included in Professor Fiedler's series of 'Studies in Modern Languages and Literature', let him remember the words of Lavissee (whom no one will accuse of clerical bias): 'Négliger les choses religieuses du dix-septième siècle, ou les estimer petitement, c'est ne pas comprendre l'histoire de ce siècle, c'est ne pas le sentir.'

I have dealt elsewhere (*Journal of Theological Studies* for 1936) with the major theological questions at issue, for which, in my opinion, Dr Abercrombie might with advantage have adopted a somewhat different arrangement. Too much space is devoted to matter of common knowledge or easily accessible. I think of the long section on Augustine v. Pelagius. The point of interest here is not primarily what Augustine himself thought and taught, but what men of the seventeenth century thought he did. And there is a wide and regrettable gap between St Thomas and Bannez. Many technical terms are left without sufficient explanation. It is not enough to be master of a subject: you must make it clear to the student.

For the *Modern Language Review* I propose to deal exclusively with the historical section, and here, I am glad to say, there is little fault to find. The exposition is lucid, the facts (or most of them) indisputable. Dr Abercrombie knows his period, he marshals his evidence with skill

and presents a convincing picture. He has the courage to stand up to Sainte-Beuve and challenge the description of the decade 1669-79 as the 'doux automne' of Port Royal. He is in love with Pierre Nicole and awards him a praise which may seem to us excessive but is consonant with the contemporary judgement. I find it difficult to understand how he can describe the passage from the *Hérésie imaginaire* which he quotes on p. 268, 'Cette génération passera', etc., undoubtedly eloquent as it is, as 'perhaps the only beautiful thing in the controversies concerning *Augustinus*'. Has he forgotten Pascal's defence of the persecuted nuns? Again, when he says that there is more wit in Nicole's Latin than in Pascal's French (p. 255), he can hardly hope to win assent. Has he forgotten the passage about Galileo and the turning earth in the eighteenth *Provinciale*, the piece which suggests his comparison?

Leaving literary criticism for historical fact I find a few, a very few questionable statements. De Retz, born in 1614, can hardly be regarded as 'that young man' in 1654 (p. 238). De Barcos's unfortunate phrase in the Introduction to *La fréquente* can hardly be described as 'unimportant' (p. 202). Dr Abercrombie himself elsewhere recognizes its importance (pp. 210, 218, 226, 245). Guez de Balzac cannot justly be dismissed as 'the seventeenth century gossip-writer' (p. 172). Mme de Sévigné, whom Dr Abercrombie allows himself to style 'the Sévigné' (p. 277), following Jules Lemaitre's bad example, was much more than a mere 'mondaine', or even primarily a 'mondaine'. She was a lady of deep and growing religious feeling. Lastly the qualification of Port Royal as 'the Catholic institution which fomented heresy' (p. 313) is almost a *petitio principii*. Port Royal refused to be written down as heretical. The rock upon which it broke was Papal Infallibility, and that was not an article of faith in the seventeenth century.

H. F. STEWART.

CAMBRIDGE.

*Balzac et le Monde Slave: Madame Hanska et l'œuvre balzacienne. Balzac en Pologne.* Par SOPHIE DE KORWIN-PIOTROWSKA. (*Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature Comparée*, Nos. 93, 94.) Paris: Champion. 1933. 519 and 118 pp. 80 frs.

It would be impossible in the space at our disposal to do anything like justice to the richness of the contents of *Balzac et le Monde Slave*, a masterly contribution to Balzac criticism.

The world has here been presented with a magnificent full-length portrait of Madame Hanska in all the glamour of her aristocratic lineage and in a minutely detailed background full of the spirit of the Poland of the first half of the nineteenth century. The documentation is a model of what documentation should be, the way in which the author has overcome difficulties in the securing and sifting of her materials a model of patience and persistence.

If the majority of Mme Hanska's critics have hitherto done her less than justice in the matter of her treatment of the man who became her

husband only a few short months before his death and after long years of wooing, justice to her memory has now at any rate been done in abundant measure—some critics, perhaps, would argue, in too abundant measure. We agree that it was high time the case for Madame Hanska should be stated. If any should feel there has been undue enthusiasm on the part of the advocate, it might be attributed in some degree to the fact of her being of the same sex and the same race as the object of her pleading. She has certainly not laid excessive stress on what Balzac had to suffer, much as we are prepared to agree that his sufferings were not always unmerited. We should, however, have liked to know how the author, as a woman, would have justified the constant postponements of marriage on the part of her heroine, in view of the revelations, notably in the third volume of the *Lettres à l'Étrangère*, of the existence of relations of such extreme intimacy between her and Balzac as to have almost culminated in marriage on one occasion at least in order to avoid a public scandal.

Dr de Korwin-Piotrowska was treading a happier path in the pursuit of the second objective of her thesis, and her examination of the powerful and all-pervading influence of Madame Hanska and of Poland and Polish literature in the evolution of the *Comédie Humaine*, and of the influence that Balzac in turn exerted and still exerts in Poland, is worthy, by virtue of its brilliance and penetration, of a place in the front rank of literary criticism.

*Balzac en Pologne: Essai de Bibliographie*, one of the results of Dr de Korwin-Piotrowska's researches in connexion with her *Balzac et le Monde Slave*, testifies to the intensity of the interest taken in Poland in the work—and life—of Balzac, and the magnitude of the influence that Balzac has exerted in Polish literature.

Balzac bibliographies, even those of the calibre of Mr William Hobart Royce's monumental work, have been almost completely silent so far as Polish criticism is concerned. One great merit of the work under review lies in the fact that under the heading of books and articles written in Polish, and hence available to but few outside the borders of Poland, the compiler has given, in addition to the usual bibliographical details, résumés or extracts translated into French.

The bibliography does not claim to be complete. The most important place has been given to articles dating from Balzac's own lifetime, but the stream has been followed down to present times, when it has swollen to very considerable proportions, thanks in no small degree to the labours of M. Boy-Żeleński.

Among the extracts from Polish critics there is much that would have warmed Balzac's heart, while in the adverse criticism the bitterness and open hostility that had characterized the utterances of the majority of his fellow countrymen are considerably less marked.

An appendix is devoted to items dealing with the question of the relations between Balzac and Madame Hanska. Whatever justification Balzac's sympathizers may have for doubting Dr de Korwin-Piotrowska's impartiality in the handling of this thorny problem in *Balzac et le Monde*

*Slave*, it must be allowed that in the *Bibliographie* there appears to have been a frank attempt to give a wide and impartial review of the opinions of friendly and hostile critics alike.

B. N. PARKER.

LONDON.

*Examen de Valéry.* Par JEAN DE LATOUR. Paris: N.R.F. 1934. 261 pp. 10 francs.

Feeling that in M. de Latour he had a critic worthy of him, M. Valéry, who hates being caught, dissected and studied, was very careful to write the letter which M. Latour uses as foreword to his book, warning the reader that his work cannot possibly be identified with himself, with his most intimate profound and continuous thought: 'il existe en moi une habitude ou une manière d'être qui ne confond jamais ce que j'écris ou que j'ai écrit avec ce que je pense ou ai pensé pour moi et pour mon usage.' Some of us remember having heard M. Valéry explain at the outset of a lecture delivered in London that he did not know, and could not know, whither his thoughts would lead him during the course of his lecture, and that very probably he would be found contradicting himself. The irony or apparent vanity of such a declaration is displeasing to the majority in an English audience, and the attitude has done the author of *Charmes* some harm with the English reading public. That is a pity, because M. Valéry has no desire to shock, and the hesitation in his thought arises from his wish to tell the truth. Most of us withhold from public gaze the most precious part of our thoughts, only we do not say so.

M. de Latour has chosen from among Valéry's work certain texts which appear to him most interesting and most sincere, and he annotates them with that sureness of touch which is the mark of the French adept in the art of introspection. He sees clearly that the Valéry ideal is the outcome of the Mallarmé ideal. 'Mes vers ont le sens qu'on leur prête. Celui que je leur donne ne s'ajuste qu'à moi et n'est opposable à personne. C'est une erreur contraire à la nature de la poésie, et qui lui serait même mortelle, que de prétendre qu'à tout poème correspond un sens véritable, unique et conforme, ou identique à quelque pensée de l'auteur.' Which is a long way from Boileau's 'Ce que l'on conçoit bien s'énonce clairement.' Nowadays the poet is mainly concerned not with what he meant to say but with what he meant to do, and he declares that what he means to do determines what he says. Victor Hugo, for example, in the *Contemplations* undertook to analyse man's natural reactions to the beauty of the world: and he finally arrived at God. Such is by no means Valéry's destination, since he does not admit that Hugo's Omnipotent Being as yet exists. Did he not tell us—very precisely for once—in the little volume *Choses Tues* that our philosophic problems are impurities dependent on our nervous system? M. de Latour, who has the advantage over his reviewer in that he has space for a long and penetrating analysis of Valéry's thought, emphasizes the anti-Christian character of the Valéry method. It was time to show that, because l'Abbé Brémond

had certainly led Valéry's readers astray: with his fallacious theory of pure poetry following a processus analogous to that of prayer, l'Abbé Brémond liked to believe that Valéry would be brought back to the faith of his fathers by his faith in poetry. But M. Teste had said to God 'J'étais dans le néant infiniment pur et tranquille', and was rather annoyed at being disturbed. *Le néant*, that is to say, our inevitable destruction 'si la pensée ne mène à aucun fond véritable' (p. 121). In our selves we can find nothing except the ever perfectible power of our mind. Then it might be worth while to make an Idol of the power? No: in a well-constituted soul there is no room for Idols. M. de Latour is to be congratulated on having induced M. Valéry to write a new page in his work in order to refute the charge of monotony or sterility. Art cannot be entirely methodical, and artistic activity will always maintain its element of chance: 'Jamais un coup de dé n'abolira le hasard.' Wholly admirable also are those passages (p. 201 *et seq.*) in which M. de Latour shows that Valéry's philosophy leads him to a philosophy of applied science. Valéry the son of Cette and Montpellier does come very close to that other son of Montpellier, Auguste Comte, and to that son of Martigues, Charles Maurras. The spiritual and the reasonable remain the masters of the world, so that the method of the Positivists' Supreme Being will finally triumph. And so much the better for everyone.

GLADYS M. TURQUET.

LONDON.

*Three Centuries of French Poetic Theory* (1328-1630). By W. F. PATTERSON. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1935. 2 vols. Vol. I, xvii+978 pp. \$5. Vol. II, vi+523 pp. \$3.50.

Professor Warner Patterson of the University of Michigan has produced a very remarkable book. Its ostensible purpose is to give a critical history of the chief arts of poetry in France from 1328 to 1630. But the book covers much more than that. In the first volume, Part I draws clearly the distinctions between (a) the *Arts de Seconde Rhétorique*, or manuals of versification, which marked the fourteenth, fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth centuries, from Eustace Deschamps' *L'Art de dichter*, 1392, to Gracien du Pont's *L'Art et science de rhétorique métrifiée*, 1539, and (b) the *Arts Poétiques*, covering the whole theory, philosophy and aesthetics of poetry, and the relation of poetry to music, from Peletier, Sebillet's *Art poétique françois*, 1548, through Du Bellay's *Deffence et illustration de la langue Française*, Ronsard, J.-C. Scaliger (who rightly is included) and La Fresnaye's *Art poétique*, even, though incidentally, to Boileau. The treatises studied or referred to number well over one hundred; and the views of the more important critics are analysed in detail, with quotations from each so copious as to give confidence in the author's analysis. That critics are allowed to speak so much for themselves is especially valuable inasmuch as many of their works are inaccessible save in a few highly specialized libraries. Sources are diligently explored, and references to Aristotle and Plato (little known perhaps to

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early critics at first hand, save to such as J.-C. Scaliger), Horace, neo-Platonism, and Italian criticism (including Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia*) are frequent. Even the Venerable Bede is called in as being, according to our author, the first in his *De re metrica* to distinguish between quantitative and accentual verse. Throughout the book the views of writers and critics of to-day are made to contribute their share to the completeness of the work.

But the first volume also contains an elaborate study of the poetry and personality of the poets of the period (whether themselves critics or not) who deserve attention, and the judgments delivered are singularly sober and just. In Part I, Chap. 2 treats of medieval Latin and Provençal poetics, and gives, in the light of the latest research, a sympathetic account of thirteenth-century lyric poetry. The hymns of the Church, the songs of the *Vagantes*, the folk-songs of the countryside are brought into play, and the lyrics cited furnish a delightful little anthology for the period. Chaps. 3 and 4 deal with the fourteenth-century movement, and Villon and his elder contemporaries, and Chaps. 5 and 6, with numerous illustrations of their verse, treat of the *Grands Rhétoriciens* and various transitional figures. Part II, where we reach the *Arts Poétiques*, begins with a discussion of the school of Marot.

We then get on to the Renaissance proper. Here, as is only to be expected, Du Bellay and Ronsard loom large, both as critics and poets, for the author, not content with treating at length the former's famous *Deffence*, has done a useful service in bringing together the considerable mass of criticism to be found in Ronsard's *Abrégé de l'art poétique française* and in various prefaces. It may fairly be claimed for him that he has given, succinctly and without any rhetorical flourish, the fairest and most adequate estimate of these two poets that exists in English, praise without adulation, and admiration safely on this side idolatry. Mr Middleton Murry's unfortunate characterization of Du Bellay as a minor bard, with gifts that 'reduce to only two—the gift of convinced commonplace, and the gift of simple melody', is nailed to the counter. Mercifully Walter Pater's suggestion that 'Du Bellay has almost been the poet of one poem', *Le Vannneur*, escaped Professor Patterson's notice, though he is favourably quoted elsewhere in connexion with Platonism. Our author goes deeper into the personality of Du Bellay and Ronsard as *men*, and into their philosophical development, than English critics, who have been shy of attempting to define, as he has successfully done, their attitude not merely to ecclesiastical religion, but also to what he refers to as 'the religion of the Incarnation'. It is in connexion with them that he goes most fully into the contemporary attitude towards 'inspiration', now so industriously being studied by psychologists, and the doctrine of *fureur poétique*; and he brings out clearly how criticism and poetry reacted upon one another, and how Du Bellay and Ronsard, in particular, modified their critical attitude as they gained experience in the practice of poetry. He does well not to exclude Boileau from his story altogether, for he is able to show that though Boileau was able to add something new, viz. 'a more mnemonic statement of poetic theory

in clear and quotable verse, and... a greater emphasis on reason', yet in much he was anticipated by his predecessors (p. 948, and cf. the summary of Boileau's *Art poétique*, pp. 975-8). The volume concludes with a valuable chapter by way of summary, entitled 'The significance of the *Art Poétique*', with a mass of bibliographical material of modern date on aesthetics, philosophy, and religion, useful in connexion with the summary for scholars with leisure to delve into it.

The second volume needs little more than a statement of its contents to give sufficient indication of its high quality. It begins with lists of the treatises studied or referred to, and the reigns in which they were composed; of other works published in France during the period, but not demanding detailed attention; and, finally, a list, covering 25 pages, of critical works published in Italy mainly during the sixteenth century, with 7 pages of references to modern works useful for further study of Italian critical works. But the bulk of the volume is taken up by an anthology, or rather compendium, so full is it, in illustration of Middle French and Renaissance *genres* of verse. This covers 373 pages and furnishes a veritable treasury of delightful verse; nothing like it is known, to the reviewer at least, in any English publication. But here, of necessity, shorter forms of verse predominate, and epic and the drama can only be represented by a few typical lines. An ample index to both the volumes completes the whole work.

There can be no doubt that Professor Patterson has produced a book that ought to be regarded as indispensable for every students' library, and for all real lovers of French literature; even mature scholars may find in it the necessary refreshment for a sometimes jaded memory. The University of Michigan Press is to be congratulated on having printed the work with such meticulous care, and on having issued it in so substantial a form.

J. G. LEGGE.

OXFORD.

*Études* (France, Allemagne, Italie, Hongrie, Pays Baltiques). By HENRI TRONCHON. (*Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature Comparée*, No. 111.) 240 pp. 36 fr.

Prior to sailing for Rio de Janeiro, in the foundation of whose new Faculty of Arts he has been invited to co-operate by the Brazilian Government, Professor Tronchon has given us a representative range of studies in a variety of European literatures. Of these, three are the fulfilment of the desire to wander down interesting by-ways glimpsed in passing by the author of *La Fortune Intellectuelle de Herder en France* and three the outcome of University missions to Hungary and Esthonia; the remaining two are, respectively, an interesting Strasburg sidelight on Goethe's *Faust* and a remarkable history of *Les Harmonies* of Lamartine.

In 'Pascal Outre-Rhin', after emphasizing the undoubted interest evinced by Herder for the writings and the independent thought of

Pascal—is not a *pensée* of Pascal's inscribed on the frontispiece of the *Ideen*?—the author traces the decline of this interest after 1776, perhaps under the influence of Voltaire, perhaps from a realization that some part of the profound thought of Pascal inevitably escapes the fullness of human comprehension.

Bossuet's religious conception of history allied with the political conception of Vico, amplified and widened by Herder, seemed to Cousin the highest point so far reached in the elaboration of a philosophy of History: the early enthusiasm of Cousin for Herder, his encouragement of Quinet's translation of the *Ideen* are fully discussed in 'Herder et Victor Cousin', but the increasing similarity of the ideas of Cousin and Hegel dwarfed the findings of Herder so that Cousin actually achieved his own conception of a philosophy of History, built up on the findings of previous historians, enriched by the accumulation of fresh knowledge of a later generation. A complementary study, 'De Vico et Montesquieu à Savigny', discovers the French, German and Italian origins of a philosophy of Law. These beginnings and the story of the fortunes of Vico in France from the time of the translation of the *Scienza Nuova* are culled from a large number of periodicals and reviews; the influence of Savigny is stressed via the lectures of Lerminier. Dr Tronchon shows, too, how the system of Laboulaye, deriving from the historical school and reaching the philosophical, eventually converges on the theories of Guizot and abolishes the competition between the philosophy of History and that of Law.

The competence of the author to deal with subjects in a field peculiarly his own was recognized by the Hungarian Government some three years ago. His numerous visits to Hungary and his knowledge of both language and people lend special interest to his summary of Magyar history and contacts with the rest of Europe. Travels, the navigable possibilities of the Danube, the services of Germany as a liaison between Hungary and France, the religious interest aroused by Montalembert in St Elizabeth, the influences of refugees of the Hungarian Revolution, all are considered as contributing factors to growing interest in Hungarian life and literature, really known for the first time round the year 1850. It seems a pity that, in addition, a long study should be devoted to one who is admittedly a mediocre artist, Fekete, son of a Vice-Chancellor of the Empire and a correspondent of Voltaire, the more so, since part of this is a reprint from the *Revue des Études Hongroises*; a supporter in later life of the nationalist movement in favour of Magyar culture, Fekete's own chosen medium was French and what interest there is in this section must lie in Voltaire's criticism of work submitted to him.

The rapid survey of the folklore, mythology, history and literature of Latvia and Esthonia and the national aspirations of the two countries introduce a note of travel akin to the Hungarian studies.

A curiously interesting account of letters of a Westphalian, Grün, domiciled in Strasburg from 1849 to 1904, purporting to be written to an Alsatian lady, form a kind of interlude. The progress of a pen friendship built up on a common enthusiasm for *Faust* is shown from the

letters and from information supplied by the family of the correspondent, at whose identity more than one guess has previously been made.

The style of this varied range of studies of historical and literary interest strikes the balance between the thesis-like terseness of the German studies, with their ample documentation, and the flowing prose of the essay on *Les Harmonies*, which contrives to be, not only an exhaustive study of the poems, but also a valuable appreciation of the poetic and metaphysical development of the poet, with a wealth of detail on the judgements of posterity and of the debt of his successors to the poet of Elvire. When the last word seemed to have been said about Lamartine, this beautiful study, which is itself a poem, makes a real contribution to the understanding of *Les Harmonies*.

MINA J. MOORE.

LIVERPOOL.

*Shakespeare en la Literatura Española.* Por ALFONSO PAR. 2 vols. Madrid, Barcelona. 1935. 12 ptas.

‘En cierto modo, la obra Shakespeariana ha fracasado, exceptuando en Alemania y hasta cierto punto en los países de habla inglesa.’ So Mr Par, with reference to Shakespeare in Latin countries. In view of this statement, the candid reader may ask why he should devote two solid volumes to Shakespeare in one particular Latin country. The answer is to be found partly in the subtitle, ‘Juicios de los literatos españoles, con noticias curiosas sobre algunos de ellos y sobre sucesos literarios famosos,’ which extends the subject beyond the personality of Shakespeare, and partly in Mr Par’s exhaustive knowledge and procedure. In his services to Shakespeare, in bibliography, biography, criticism and translation, he has covered a wider field than any other living Spaniard, and in the subject of the present volumes he has far outstripped his predecessors. As a Catalan he has had, of course, unrivalled opportunities for studying the recent adoption of Shakespeare in Catalonia.

Not only is Mr Par’s matter remarkably complete, but the appropriate chapters are supplemented by long lists of works which have been searched in vain for Shakespeare allusions. In view of his thoroughness, it is noteworthy that he has not been able to trace, even with the resourceful help of Sr Astrana Marín in Madrid, the copy of the first folio taken to Spain, according to a persistent rumour, by the Conde de Gondomar after his embassy in England in James I’s time. He is able to record, however, a case of censorship of Shakespeare in Spain rather more than a century later, though the censor found nothing objectionable, ‘except the suspicion that Shakespeare was a heretic, because he was born in Stratford, one of the provinces infected by heresy in England’. The censor, like Mr Par, did not share the opinion of those Spaniards who appreciate Shakespeare because he was a Catholic.

Mr Par confirms the impression of a fairly general ignorance of Shakespeare in Spain in the seventeenth century, lasting well into the

eighteenth century. The earliest reference to Shakespeare that he has found in print is a second-hand criticism by Francisco Mariano Nifo published in 1764. From then onwards judgements and pronouncements, second-hand and independent, private and official, increase and multiply. These are placed by Mr Par in their historical setting, which gives a value even to those which might otherwise be worthless; and students of literature will find much of original interest in his treatment of the setting, sometimes at length, as in the discussion of the romantic revival.

Mr Par's own conclusions, here briefly summarised, are the best recommendation of his study. The opinions examined have a synthetic as well as an individual value: they reveal the attitude of Spanish literature towards Shakespeare. Both before, during and after the European discovery of Shakespeare in the second third of the eighteenth century, Spain was interested in his works. Even while it was fashionable to abuse Shakespeare in France, Spaniards were expressing independent and favourable opinions concerning him. Later, the first serious translation, apart from the German translations, was made by a Spaniard—Moratín's *Hamlet* of 1798. Even before the romantic revival Spaniards of note had broken a lance in Shakespeare's favour; thereafter comes a long series of studies of considerable value, from Lista to Astrana Marín, which foreign critics have unjustly ignored. Shakespeare became an institution in Spain, in salons and theatres. Besides exercising a general influence on Spanish literature, he determined great works by Trueba y Cossío, Duque de Rivas, Benavente and others. Spain has no mental reservations to make when accepting Shakespeare's plays on her stage. And here Mr Par concludes with the promise of a separate volume devoted to *Shakespearean Representations in Spain*.

An example of Mr Par's Germanic thoroughness is the provision of two indexes—of authors and of subjects. There is scarcely a misprint in these volumes which abound in opportunities on almost every page. And errors are equally rare. An attribution of a *Female Quixote* to Fielding occurs in a footnote, and is probably due to telescoping.

H. THOMAS.

LONDON.

ENRIQUE PIÑEYRO: *The Romantics of Spain*, translated from the Spanish with an Introduction and Bibliography by E. ALLISON PEERS. Liverpool: Institute of Hispanic Studies. 1934. 10s.

M. E. A. Peers, qui consacre son activité depuis de longues années à l'étude du romantisme espagnol, a donné récemment la traduction anglaise du livre de Piñeyro, classique en son temps. On peut éprouver quelque étonnement à voir rééditer cet ouvrage, vieux de trente ans, et dont bien des pages sont périmées. Certes, Piñeyro avait groupé pour la première fois de nombreux renseignements autour des écrivains qu'il a examinés. Mais son travail était inorganique. On sait qu'il se compose de quelques monographies préparées pour être publiées isolément et de notices très sommaires sur des auteurs de deuxième ordre. Donc point d'unité centrale. De plus, les observations générales, les faits historiques dont la

connaissance est indispensable pour avoir une idée nette du Romantisme, tout ce qui aurait pu servir de fil conducteur et de toile de fond, tout cela était éparpillé dans les différents chapitres. Piñeyro, par exemple, avait compris l'importance du problème de l'émigration des écrivains libéraux, vers 1823. Mais cette étude aurait dû être isolée et mise en lumière une fois pour toutes, en parallèle avec ce que l'on devrait appeler les aptitudes originelles et la tradition 'romantique' des Espagnols. Le livre, selon la remarque d'Ernest Mérimée, aurait dû s'appeler 'Los románticos españoles', non point 'El romanticismo español'.<sup>1</sup> D'autre part, le lecteur d'aujourd'hui ne peut s'empêcher de penser, lorsqu'il le consulte, que sur presque tous les chapitres, il existe maintenant des travaux spéciaux, plus érudits et plus conformes à nos exigences scientifiques. A quoi bon dès lors reprendre un ouvrage dont les résultats sont dépassés ou incorporés dans des études plus récentes? D'autant que le Piñeyro ne se recommande pas par une valeur littéraire spéciale.

M. Peers a bien essayé pourtant de moderniser ce livre. Sans parler de la belle présentation matérielle, il a corrigé quelques dates et en a ajouté quelques-unes, ainsi que des notes sommaires. Il a aussi rapproché les deux chapitres 'Dii minores' que Piñeyro avait arbitrairement séparés par l'étude de Donoso Cortés et de Balmés. Il a également modifié l'ordre de présentation de certains 'Dii minores'. Il a, pour ce qui est de la forme, assourdi le ton souvent pompeux et supprimé les développements rhétoriques. Mais, insistons sur ce point, son grand mérite réside dans la bibliographie qu'il ajoute à l'ouvrage, et qui, bien au courant, rendra de précieux services aux étudiants et sera commode aux spécialistes.

En attendant l'Histoire du romantisme espagnol à laquelle travaille M. Peers, un simple fascicule bibliographique nous eût autant satisfait que la réimpression d'un témoignage de la modeste connaissance que l'on avait, aux environs de 1900, du mouvement romantique espagnol.

JEAN SARRAILH.

POITIERS.

*Spanische Protestanten und England.* Von LIESELOTTE LINNHOF. Emsdetten: Lechte. 1934. 92 pp. 3 M.

Dr Lieselotte Linnhoff's book is a straightforward and attractively written account of the principal Spanish Protestants and their influence in England. She begins with a consideration of the change from religious indifference which marked the close of the fifteenth century in Spain. The Catholic Reformation carried out by Cardinal Jiménez, with the support of the monarchs and the best elements of the laity, and his respect for Holy Scripture as instanced by his magnificent Polyglot, open an interesting period in Spanish religious history. The Cardinal was entirely orthodox and reserved his Bible for the use of qualified interpreters. In Juan de Valdés we have no open breach with orthodoxy, though the inner meaning he set on his observances was not that of the orthodox; but competence to interpret Scripture is, with Valdés, no

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. Hisp.* 1904, pp. 260 sq.

longer a prerogative of the theologian, but of every educated and sincere Christian. His influence was felt in England in the persons of his two colleagues, Pietro Martire Vermigli, who held a Chair at Oxford and took part in forming the Anglican liturgy, and Bernardino Ochino. In Spain Valdés's influence was felt by the aristocratic group of Protestants in Valladolid. The Sevillian Protestants had a different origin and were of different metal. They belonged mostly to the Hieronymite convent of San Isidro del Campo, and their activities were more practical and polemical. Of those who fled to England, Cassiodoro de la Reina, Cipriano de Valera, and Antonio del Corro were the most influential. The first and second addressed themselves to the deaf ears of Spanish Catholics, but the third wrote in French or Latin for a non-Spanish audience. The Spanish translation of the Bible, Valera's keen polemics, and Corro's plea for toleration among all Christians were the fruits of their exile. To them one must add Reginaldus Gonsalvus Montanus and his exposure of the Sevillian Inquisition. These authors were esteemed for their attacks on the Papacy and Catholic institutions and dogmas. They were promptly Englished, but it was not until more than a century after Valdés had composed his *Ciento y diez consideraciones* that they found a translator in a kindred soul, Nicholas Farrar, who set up in Little Gidding much the same kind of pious community that Valdés guided in Naples.

Dr Linnhoff's study is estimable not for its novelty—for it adds not much to the existing authorities—but for its admirable proportions and clear, pleasant style. They give warmth and humanity to a tale well worth repeating. The author has made researches in London, and is particularly interesting in the way she draws out the special features of the English translations. She does not appear to have noticed the 'Clásicos Castellanos' edition of the *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón* (in which the book is assigned to Alfonso de Valdés) or the edition of the *Diálogo de la lengua* (in which some light is thrown on Juan de Valdés's political status in Italy) or M. Bataillon's reproduction of the *Diálogo de doctrina cristiana* (Coimbra, 1925), with its excellent introduction. A number of Spanish Erasmian studies might have been mentioned, notably Sr Dámaso Alonso's edition of the Arceiano del Alcor's rendering of Erasmus's *Enchiridion*, again with a valuable preface by Bataillon. A more detailed search through English libraries might also have proved advantageous.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

*Amattoren Uzia*. By M. ARIZTIA. Bayonne: Lasserre. 1934. 73 pp. 5 frs.

It is nearly sixty years since the late Rev. Wentworth Webster published the first edition of his Basque Legends (1877); the volume contained also an essay, in English, on the Basque language by Julien Vinson. Like Mr Webster's legends, those of a charming new collection by Madame Mayi Ariztia hail mostly from the district of Labourd, which indeed is that part of the Basque Provinces best known to foreigners.

The legends are not themselves very original in their subjects. There is little of mistiness or mystery in this sunny land; but the hidden origins of a people 'qui ne date pas' (mysterious as the shrill *irrintzina*, the primitive cry to be heard echoing across the Basque mountains), the age-long traditions, the ancient houses haunted by the ghosts of many ancestors, provide depth and background. Here, as in other countries, there are fairies (*lamiñak*) and one-eyed giants (the *tartaro*), and there is the Wild Man (*Basa Jaun*) to be met with in the solitary places of wood and mountain. Witches and smugglers do not appear in the legends. The atmosphere of the tales is rustic (for indeed the Basque country has no cities); they are often told by farm-servants or shepherds. They have an outspoken directness and combine a primitive ingenuous wonder with satiric touches. They end usually with 'And if it was not so may it be so' or 'And if they lived well they died well'; and the favourite beginning is 'As in the case of many others'. In one of these legends this opening provides occasion for a monarchist manifesto: 'As there are many others in the world (and it would be well that there were one in France now, that things might go well) there was a king . . .' (p. 64).

The reader is at once struck by the number of words which are not Basque. At first sight Basque bristles and crackles with its prehistoric Z's and innumerable A's; and this, and the legend that the Devil could only learn two words of the language in seven years of assiduous study, has frightened many from attempting it. But many of the words prove to be sheep in wolf's clothing: *ichtorioa* is merely our word 'history' (story), *errege* is 'king' (*rex*), *erreposta* 'answer' (*riposte*), *errebolber* 'revolver', *bichkotchak* 'biscuits'. It is not only in the modern importations (*otomobila*, *jandarmak*, *chato*, although *jauregui* also occurs in this volume for 'castle') that one notices the scarcity of genuine Basque words. *Sua* ('fire'), *khea* ('smoke'), *harutzea* ('ashes') are no doubt genuinely Basque; but chimney is *chiminea*. The Basques had no roofs over their heads when their language was formed, and the word for roof is *teilatua* (*teila*, 'tile'). 'Bench' is *alkhia*, but 'chair' is simply the Spanish *cadera*. The Basque language is older than Christianity. Words relating to the Christian religion are obviously imported: *kurutzea* ('cross'), *Meza* ('Mass'), *sainduak* ('saints'), *aldarea* ('altar'), *khoroa* ('choir'), *eliza* ('church'), *Ifernua* ('Hell'). More curious is the fact that the words for the 'Devil' (*Debrua*) and the 'soul' (*arima*) are not genuinely Basque. Nor does Basque know anything of 'kings' and 'queens' (*errege*, *erregina*); the King of Spain is only Lord of Biscay. No easier or pleasanter way of acquiring a smattering of the language could be devised than to read Madame Ariztia's brief collection of legends, in which the Basque text and an exact French translation are printed in parallel columns.

AUBREY F. G. BELL.

MANIQUE DE BAIXO, PORTUGAL.

*Ein mittelostfälisches Gebetbuch.* Im Auszug herausgegeben von ERNST LOFSTEDT. (*Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, N.F., Avd. 1, Bd. xxx, Nr. 5.) Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup. 1935. 144 pp. 5 M. 50.

The Codex Helmstedt 1318 seems originally to have belonged to a nunnery in the diocese of Hildesheim. From there it found its way into the Helmstedt Library, and later, with most of the Helmstedt MSS., it was incorporated in the famous Wolfenbüttel collection. Some of the texts of this MS. have already been published and the editor presents a further selection, confining his attention in the main to such texts as were still written during the fourteenth century. These texts are mainly of philological interest, and some of the linguistic features that call for comment are dealt with on pp. 116–32. The MS. consists of a collection of prose and verse prayers, and is written by thirteen different scribes. We are not told when the collection was presumably put together, nor is there a note on the date of the binding. On the whole, the texts are of little literary interest. An exception must, however, be made for gatherings iv and v, folios 28–43 of the Codex which, judged by the condition of 28 a, must have remained unbound for some time. These folios (they are preceded by a separate palaeographical and grammatical introduction, pp. 29–34, and printed on pp. 35–46) contain a free prose translation by an unidentified Konrad Kremmelinge of the well-known *rosarium* written by the Carthusian Konrad von Haimburg, otherwise Conradus Gemmicensis (i.e., Gaming in Lower Austria where Konrad was prior for a time). Since this prose translation was apparently written in the fourteenth century it provides evidence for an early acquaintance with the *rosarium* in the more northern districts of Germany. The editor is able to point to five further MSS. which contain the Latin text, four in Wolfenbüttel, one in Copenhagen.

Pp. 59–67 contain a poem on the 'Joys' of Mary, pleasantly rhymed but dealing with the subject in the usual traditional manner, except that one of the 'Joys' of Mary is said to be leading the heavenly maidens in a dance (*Vrowe dich, Maria, in deme danse/gheistu to voren mit dime kranse*). In his introduction to the poem (p. 58) the editor remarks: 'Aber diese Freude Marias dürfte eine freie Erfindung des Dichters sein.' This is a little misleading. Dancing as a 'Joy' of Mary may or may not be an invention of the poet, but Mary as the leader of dancing maidens occurs already more than eight centuries earlier in Venantius Fortunatus, and there are some later references (cf. Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland während des Mittelalters*, I, p. 11).

A welcome addition to the book is three pages of facsimiles (pp. 139–41) giving reduced but excellently reproduced photographs of examples of scribes 1–4 and 6–7.

Does the editor wish us to believe that Godehard, bishop of Hildesheim, was born in 960 and died in 1131, or is this miraculous span of life due to a misprint?

F. NORMAN.

LONDON.

*Bürgertum und Bürgerlichkeit bei Goethe.* By GEORG KEFERSTEIN. (*Literatur und Leben*, I. Band.) Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf. 1933. xii+296 pp. Broschiert 8 M.

To judge from the amount that has already been written on Goethe's relation to the bourgeois mode of life, one might expect that nothing new remained to be said about it. Keferstein's work, however, is not concerned exclusively with Goethe himself, but much rather with the comprehension of the bourgeois order of existence and bourgeois values in general. The work centres round Goethe, it is true, but uses him more as a foil, so to speak, as an ever-ready pretext for the illustration and elucidation of the problem. The individual and personal sides of Goethe's life and work are only of interest to the author in so far as they comprise general and typical attitudes, and are thus able to contribute to a definition of the essence of the bourgeois outlook in all its aspects. Having adopted this problematic approach to his subject, Keferstein extends beyond the scope of the customary literary-historical investigation. He tries in particular to render Max Weber's sociological and typological method of investigation applicable to the sphere of literary scholarship. The range of the subject of Keferstein's research is outlined by a simple definition given by Max Weber of 'Bürgertum': 'Wir verstehen unter Bürgertum im ständischen Sinn diejenigen Schichten, die von der Bureaucratie, dem Proletariat, jedenfalls immer von Aussenstehenden, als... Leute von Besitz und Bildung zusammengefasst werden und Unternehmer, Rentner, schliesslich und überhaupt alle Persönlichkeiten, die akademische Bildung und damit einen gewissen ständischen Standard, ein soziales Prestige besitzen.' All the people who appear in Goethe's works and who can be brought under this conception of 'Bürgertum', finally Goethe himself, are put forward by Keferstein for discussion. In his reflections upon what he considers typically 'bürgerlich', upon the 'eigentliche und innere Bürgerlichkeit', Keferstein appends the following definition of Sombart's: '...unter Bürger verstehe ich nicht etwa jeden Bewohner einer Stadt oder jeden Kaufmann und Handwerker, sondern ein eigenartiges Gebilde, das aus diesen äusserlich als Bürger erscheinenden Gruppen sich erst herausentwickelt, einen Menschen von ganz besonderer Seelenbeschaffenheit, für den wir keine bessere Bezeichnung haben als die gewählte, freilich in "..."; er ist ein Bürger, sagen wir heute noch, um einen Typus, nicht einen Stand zu bezeichnen.' Hence for Keferstein 'Bürgertum' and 'Bürgerlichkeit' are not merely historical and actual facts, they are at the same time the expression of a mental attitude, determined by knowledge of the dark irrational forces in life. Confronted by these, the bourgeois man is only able to assert himself and to hold his own by giving them an adequate meaning, or, as Keferstein expresses it, by the 'rationalization of life'. This remains the fundamental idea of the whole book, and it is constantly being demonstrated and proved anew from a great variety of angles.

In two principal sections the author considers all the characters in Goethe's works which stand for the bourgeois outlook and then 'bürgerliches Künstlertum' in Goethe himself. He wishes quite simply to take

up the bourgeois existence where it becomes representative and where it finds literary expression. The poet's genius must not here be simplified into a sociological type or perhaps even deduced entirely from sociological assumptions, but Keferstein thinks on the contrary that the historical modes of life are more decisively influenced and formed by the great personalities of intellectual and literary history than has been admitted up to the present. Hence Keferstein's chief endeavour is directed towards the understanding of 'Bürgertum' and 'Bürgerlichkeit' by intellectual and before all things by ethical standards, and in our special case, as these apply to Goethe's life and work.

A work such as this, aiming at specific and substantial conclusions, easily involves the danger of a certain dogmatism and one-sidedness, but the author is averse to every cheap and over-hasty generalization, and he has fulfilled a most delicate task with a fine power of discrimination and a deep understanding of the great variety of possible modes of life.

K.-W. MAURER.

LONDON.

*Das literarische Publikum des jungen Goethe von 1770 bis zur Übersiedlung nach Weimar.* By ALFRED NOLLAU. (*Literatur und Leben*, Band 5.)

Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachf. 1935. xii+146 pp. Broschiert 5 M.

This piece of research sets itself the task of investigating the public of the young Goethe during the years 1770-5 with the help of the literary-sociological methods, as they have been laid down and pursued by scholars like Schücking, Rothacker, Viëtor and Keferstein. Within this short space of time the author further restricts himself to the reception of *Goetz* and *Werther* and with great care he occupies himself with the analysis of all available judgements, as they appeared in connexion with the publication of these two works. In the way of previous investigations on this subject which the author was able to consult with advantage are Köster's article on 'Goethe und sein Publikum' and the perhaps even more valuable chapter of Viktor Hehn's, 'Goethe und das Publikum', in his otherwise too much neglected book *Gedanken über Goethe*. When it was first published in 1887 it was entirely overlooked by a reading public, for which Scherer's method alone was valid. To the few who recognized its significance immediately belonged Nietzsche. 'Goethe und das Publikum' is a part of that kind of 'tragic' literary history which Nietzsche demanded. It shows how the unbiased reading public at once takes up Goethe's early works with enthusiasm, whereas Lessing and Klopstock haggle over details, Herder vacillates again and again between recognition and petty criticism, and even Frau von Stein lacks any intuition into Goethe's greatness. Schiller's appreciation of Goethe remains for a long time a supreme effort of will by which he tries to penetrate intellectually into a nature foreign to him because of spontaneous growth. Köster has shown what attitude Goethe has taken up as an author towards his reading public: '...so ernst es auch ihm selbst, dem Schaffenden, schon in jungen Tagen um das Wesentliche in der Kunst ist, so steht ihm beim

Publikum doch nicht künstlerisches Verständnis, sei es auch unbewusst gefühlsmässiges obenan, sondern menschliches Verständnis'. According to Nollau this observation may be applied to the young Goethe as a whole. The relation between author and public must not be brought under definite formulae as for instance 'Schaffen in Hinsicht auf das Publikum'. We must allow for the contradictory moods of the author and with the young Goethe especially that evidence should be highly esteemed which shows us how he stands alone and doubts the value of his creations. But Goethe never considered the public during the composition of his works and after the publication it was to the friends and to the 'Herzen des Volkes' that he turned, as the two orders furthest removed from literary dictatorship and rigid rules and which must not be confused with a public or literary publicity. The work should seek out the individual, no matter to what class he belongs. And in the preface to *Werther* he says: 'Ihr könnt seinem Geist und seinem Charakter eure Bewunderung und Liebe nicht versagen.' Nollau draws a distinction as important as it is necessary for his argument between a literary 'Gemeinschaft' and a literary 'Öffentlichkeit'. In the literary 'Gemeinschaft' the poet is held thrall by a magic circle within the bounds of which his work takes shape. The literary 'Öffentlichkeit' only receives and acknowledges, and expresses praise and blame. The literary 'Gemeinschaft' is his creative, the literary 'Öffentlichkeit' on the other hand his sociological background.

In another important chapter of his book Nollau deals with the reception of *Götz* and *Werther* in contemporary criticism. He finds that the customary judgements concerning the *Götz* enthusiasm and the *Werther* fever must be revised. The *Götz* critics are still much too much attached to the traditions of French drama to be able to perceive, even distantly, the essentially German character of this play. He then deals with the *Werther* critics more with regard to the social problems of the criticisms made. Finally the author tries to examine the conception 'Publikum' in its sociological elements. He is consciously on guard against the danger of promoting errors and commonplaces through an indiscriminate application of this term. He again makes a distinction between the literary élite and the literary public and discusses the relation between 'Bildungsbegriff' and 'Geschmacksbegriff'. He ends up with some interesting statements on the reception of *Götz* and *Werther*. The champions of a purely German taste hail *Götz*, while those of French and Greek taste reject it. Much more difficult to determine is the public of *Werther*, because the true comprehension lies here with the individuals and their testimonies remain scarce. Nollau thinks that *Werther* found its natural home in the more liberal minded circles of the nobility and the middle classes, that it afforded a vital experience to youth and that the common man and the scholar had little or no use for it.

In this consistently valuable piece of research the reprints of hitherto unknown *Götz* and *Werther* criticisms which are included in an appendix deserve special mention.

K.-W. MAURER.

LONDON.

*Goethe in Umwelt und Folgezeit, Gesammelte Studien.* Von Dr MARTIN SOMMERFELD. Leiden. A. W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappij N.V. 1935. 283 pp. 5 Fl.

*Jahrbuch des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts Frankfurt am Main, 1932/33.* Herausgegeben von ERNST BEUTLER. Halle: Niemeyer 1935. 380 pp. + 15 illustrations.

*Goethe-Kalender auf das Jahr 1936.* Herausgegeben vom Frankfurter Goethe-Museum. Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Buchhandlung. 1936. 248 pp. + 9 illustrations. 3.50 M.

It is typical of the present political situation in Germany that the work of the former professor of German in the University of Frankfurt has now to be published in Holland, the traditional home of religious and racial tolerance. It is in a sense the author's *vale* to his German academic public, and the taking stock of his position before entering upon his new career at the University of New York. There is, perhaps, for this reason a certain artificiality in the unity which the author claims for the eight studies included in this volume, of which three have already appeared in print. 'Der Geist der Betrachtung' which, according to Goethe, is the chief bequest of every great individual to his own and future generations, is the excuse for stringing together a selection of essays, early and late, in the form of a volume. As far as they have cohesion it is to be found in the reaction of Goethe's contemporaries and of posterity to a number of his works chosen purely arbitrarily.

For this reason it would perhaps have been more logical to start with the general essay, 'Goethe und sein Publikum', which is confessedly an introduction to the larger theme: the relation of society to literature in the eighteenth century. It is, in the reviewer's opinion, the most valuable because it deals primarily with ascertainable facts rather than with subjective theories, and gives a concrete account of the gradual emergence of a bourgeois reading public and of its organisation at the hands of the Weimar Classicists. In another study on the relations of Lenz to *Werthers* Leiden Professor Sommerfeld shows the younger poet obsessed with the hypochondria of Goethe's hero, without like Goethe being capable of rising superior to himself and so escaping the spiritual and mental shipwreck of the historical Jerusalem and of his own fictitious 'Waldbruder' and 'Engländer'. 'Goethes Theatralische Kindheitsliebe' is an attempt to gauge the importance of the popular theatre in Frankfurt for Goethe's early life. It is not quite true, as Professor Sommerfeld alleges, that there is no adequate collection of the passages in Goethe's theoretical writings showing the development of his aesthetic beliefs. Professor I. E. Spingarn made such a useful record in 1921 with his *Goethe's Literary Essays* (Clarendon Press). But 'Der Weg zur Klassik in Goethes Schriften zur Kunst und Literatur' is none the less valuable a survey of his aesthetic development. We are shown Goethe fixed in the traditional theories of pseudo-classicism, until Shakespeare and Herder bring the conviction that genius is more than correctness. For Professor Sommerfeld by no means underestimates, as many Germans are apt to

do, the value of the French schooling which young Goethe and his contemporaries received. And even in the full blast of the 'Sturm und Drang' Goethe insists on the necessity of 'innere Form', which implies that the artist creates, not, indeed, rationally, but by virtue of the indwelling power of the artistic instinct which includes within itself the feeling for form. It was but a short step to the classical conception of style which imparts to a work of art that supreme quality by which it becomes not 'aussernatürlich' but 'übernatürlich'. With this belief that the aesthetic criteria of a work of art are to be found in the object itself, and not in the personality of the artist, we have the definite return to the critical tenets of the Renaissance.

There remains but little space to do justice to the other excellent essays in this volume: an instructive comparison of Goethe's autobiography with Rousseau's *Confessions*, and of poems with their sources and imitations, showing the world of style and treatment intervening; an acute analysis of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, which by its conception of biography as 'geprägte Form, die lebend sich entwickelt', has influenced all later attempts from Jean Paul to Nietzsche; an exhaustive account of the mixed reception accorded to *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* on its publication, betraying how rare was the complete understanding for this most profound Goethean epic. There is in this volume enough and more to satisfy any lover of Goethe, and the style is free from that affectation of philosophical jargon which mars the work of so many a 'Geisteswissenschaftler'.

This is unfortunately not always the case in some of the essays published by Professor Beutler in the latest volume of the 'Freie Deutsche Hochstift'. Max Kommerell, in his lengthy article on 'Das Volkslied und das deutsche Lied', has much that is valuable to say concerning the 'Volkslied' and its fruitfulness for later poets, but he rather spoils it by the preciosity of his language. It is, of course, perfectly true that what attracted Goethe in the 'Volkslied' was the objectivity of outlook and expression which was so congenial to his own nature. But does the following paraphrase make that fact clearer? 'Die Gegenständlichkeit, ebenso sehr Zug des Volkliedes, wie Hang Goethes, hat dazu geführt, dass Goethe sich selbst aus dem lyrischen Gedicht gewissermassen im Wenfall, nicht im Werfall, unterlegte. . . Viele sagen ihr Ich, aber selten so als ob es Sache wäre—und noch seltener ist es wirklich Sache.' Kommerell's conception of the 'Volkslied' is decidedly romantic: for him it is 'Gemeinschaftsdichtung', in the sense that it draws from the common stock of symbolism and formulae current in popular language, and he would seem to believe that its 'Würfe und Sprünge' are deliberate touches of style, rather than lacunae in the tradition. He passes in review one later poet of the nineteenth century after another by this touchstone of objective simplicity.

After the revaluation of Romanticism and then of the Baroque we are now to have an 'Ehrenrettung' of the early eighteenth century, which we have been too ready, it would seem, to condemn for its barren didacticism and utilitarianism. For Dr Böckmann it is really a philological problem,

and it is true that the relation of thought to language was never so actively discussed as in this period of European history. In contrast to the seventeenth-century mania for description and rhetoric, the early eighteenth, with Leibniz as its praeceptor, required that language should be the reflection of reason, as mathematical signs were the arbitrary representation of the values behind them. And nowhere more than in France, as Thomasius agreed, was language combined with intelligence and imagination to produce 'bel esprit'. It was a quality which Le Père Bouhours denied to the Germans, and which it became their chief concern during the next fifty years to acquire. For Wolff and Gottsched, as it was for the English critics, 'Witz' is primarily the faculty of recognizing resemblances between the known and the unknown, between the word and its arbitrary meaning and the idea with which the fancy invests it. It is in this sense that Gottsched can even assign to 'Witz' the meaning of the French 'génie' and so prepare the way for the 'Sturm und Drang'. Thus 'Witz' eventually becomes the formative principle which governs the whole literature of the eighteenth century in Germany ('Das Formprinzip des Witzes in der Frühzeit der deutschen Aufklärung' is the title of this essay) and this explains the popularity and success of genres like the epigram, the fable, satire, and the stress which, in drama and epic, is laid on the ingenious construction of the plot, on which alone the poetic effect depends. It was deliberately that Gottsched's pupils, by the very title of their journal 'Belustigungen des Verstandes und des Witzes', wrote the manifesto as it were, of the new school of German poetry. Dr Böckmann shows how this conception of poetic 'wit' lived on through the 'Sturm und Drang' and the Classical Period to reappear with new vigour in the Romantic 'irony' of Schlegel and Tieck.

'Die realistische Wendung des späten Schillers' by Hermann Gumbel shows the poet hovering uncertainly between the two poles of materialism and idealism, with a definite leaning towards the first. To 'Das Leben ist der Güter Höchstes nicht' there is the flat contradiction of the Ballads with their affirmation of happiness. It is, thinks Gumbel, the longing of the sick man for life which is slipping from him. The longest and weightiest essay in the book, 'Die methodische Grundlage von Goethes Geschichtsforschung', by Julia Gauss, concerns Goethe's alleged dislike and distrust of history: 'Übrigens ist mir alles verhasst' he writes to Schiller, 'was mich bloss belehrt, ohne meine Tätigkeit zu erwecken oder unmittelbar zu beleben'. He was opposed to mere antiquarianism, the pursuit of history for its own sake, but he admitted the importance of the past for the future to build on, and thought that the consciousness of former greatness should spur on the modern world to ever greater efforts. It was in this sense that he considered certain periods in the world's history as unproductive, because of their remoteness from modern thought: e.g., the Chinese, the Egyptian, but not that of the Near East, with its Biblical associations and which, with Hafiz, had inspired him to new song. And like the real child of the eighteenth century that he remained, he drew a line under the Middle Ages, and began modern history with the Reformation and the Renaissance. History like the arts, or like the sciences:

physiology, botany, mineralogy, was but one aspect of the living process of nature, an organic development and growth, and thus a part, and an important part, of that dynamic idealistic philosophy of life which modern Germany claims as Goethe's greatest achievement.

The excuse for including an essay on Stifter in this volume is presumably his often-quoted saying: 'Ich bin zwar kein Goethe, aber einer aus seiner Verwandtschaft'. The growth of Stifter's reputation during the last few years has been due very largely to the propagandist efforts of the Eger Stifter-Gemeinde, and his 'Erdegebundenheit' has caused him to take his rightful place as the chief representative of Sudetendeutschtum. But Stifter is something more than a regionalist poet; his greatest story *Nachsommer*—'dieses adligste Buch in deutscher Dichtung' as the author of this essay, Joachim Müller, calls it—affords proof enough that Stifter and his heroes have discovered that perfect unison of nature and life in which God is revealed to his children.

Otto Kletzl concludes with a discussion of some of Goethe's ideal landscapes, 'Ideale Landschaften des Zeichners Goethe', which he drew about 1810, imaginative drawings of places either recollected in tranquillity, or inspired by passages in his reading, or suggested by the paintings of previous artists. It is a point of topical interest to observe that James Bruce's well-known *Travels to discover the Sources of the Nile* furnished him with the suggestion for an imaginary drawing of Lake Taana which is included among the admirable illustrations which bring this attractive volume to a close.

As compared with the solid meat of the *Jahrbuch* the *Goethe Kalender auf das Jahr 1936* issued under the same authority is very light fare. Kasimir Edschmid discourses pleasantly and instructively upon the city of Ferrara and its court in Tasso's time. An oil painting of Frankfurt by F. W. Hirt, recently acquired by the city, affords Adolf Feulner an opportunity of setting forth his intimate acquaintance with the Frankfurt of Goethe's boyhood and the artistic and social background of the time. Max Kommerell explains, as clearly as his philosophic style allows, the characteristic objectivity of Goethe's lyric poetry with its seizure of the pregnant moments in his life. (It is a complementary study to the larger essay on 'Goethe und das Volkslied'.) Professor Beutler collects once more the historical notices concerning the original Georg Faust, the astrologer, from Helmstadt (near Heidelberg) and provides a most learned and interesting commentary. It was in the Wittenberg circles of Luther that the harmless astrologer was first turned into an impious associate of Satan. Personal notes concerning the relations of the anatomist Loder and the poet Musäus to Goethe and Weimar conclude a most entertaining volume.

L. A. WILLOUGHBY.

LONDON.

*Publications of the English Goethe Society, New Series*, vol. XI. *Papers read before the Society*, 1935. Edited by L. A. WILLOUGHBY. Cambridge: University Press. 1935. 91 pp. 10s. 6d.

Taken together, these papers—‘a small tribute of regard and affection . . . to the memory of Goethe’s great rival and friend’—form an excellent review of the salient features of Schiller’s work.

Professor Willoughby’s stimulating contribution on ‘Schiller in England and Germany’ discusses the survey of ‘Schiller’s prestige in England’ by an American scholar, Professor Ewen, and brings it up to date. While Lewes’ assessment of Schiller as the greatest German poet after Goethe—the fourth phase of opinion traced by Ewen—generally holds good to-day, Schiller’s reputation suffered by constant comparison with Shakespeare, and modern English critics incline to dispute his greatness. The survey of German opinion reveals Schiller as a literary leader; a ‘paragon of virtue’ in the popular estimate; a hero, patriot and national-socialist (!) in times of political crisis. Separate treatment of the two surveys and greater condensation—the digression on Schiller’s godfather is rather long—would have brought out the chief points more clearly. In both countries the fluctuation of opinion shows how much the wish is father to the thought. The author’s final verdict is that present-day humanity is less fitted than ever to benefit by Schiller’s message of spiritual beauty.

The next paper: ‘Present-day tendencies in the German interpretation of Schiller’ is a welcome supplement to this aspect of the preceding one. Professor Smith classifies these tendencies, giving a résumé of works representative of each. There is an aesthetic-ethical, a religious, and a historical interpretation; fourthly, an attempt by Pongs to combine these last two; fifthly, an interpretation which sees the Dionysian force in Schiller as the essential element. Interesting views emerge on the peculiar difficulty which tragic conflict presented to Schiller.

In his well-constructed essay: ‘Schiller und Shaftesbury’, Professor Cassirer gives an admirably clear exposition of an intricate problem. He shows how Schiller reconciled the early influence of Shaftesbury’s teaching on his aesthetic conception with the new direction given to his thought by Kant. Forced now to regard matter and mind as radically different, Schiller overcame this essential dualism in man by his theory of the beautiful, thus ultimately retaining his affinity to Shaftesbury and Plotinus. (The critical reader will now turn back to the paragraph on pp. 12–13.)

The last contribution, ‘A Weimar actor under Goethe and Schiller’, by Dr Hicks, is the most easily digested. As Johann Graff acted for fifty years on the Weimar stage, often under the personal supervision of Goethe and Schiller, his rise to fame coinciding with the first performance of *Wallenstein*, an account of his career involves the history of the production of the plays of the two famous poets. We get an enlightening and entertaining glimpse of Goethe as harassed stage-manager, of Schiller excited by the performance of his dramas, of Weimar society in its role of theatre-goer, and of the standard of acting in the eighteenth century.

The volume concludes with a chronicle of the meetings held during the session 1934-5 and a list of new publications on German literature.

ISABEL McCOURT.

BELFAST.

*Der Todesbegriff bei Rainer Maria Rilke, Hugo von Hofmannsthal und Thomas Mann.* By F. NOLTE. Heidelberg: Lippl. 1934. (Heidelberg Dissertation.) 136 pp.

*Das Todesproblem bei Rainer Maria Rilke.* By J. PETERSEN. Würzburg: Triltsch. 1935. (Frankfurt Dissertation.) viii + 54 pp. 2 M.

*Die Einsamkeit als lyrisches Motiv bei Rainer Maria Rilke.* By H. KIESSLING. (Jenaer Germanistische Forschungen, 28.) Jena: Frommann. 1935. 75 pp. 4 M.

The remarkable flow of books and articles on Rilke during the past year or so, and particularly the striking number of university dissertations, may be due to a number of causes, of which the fact that this year will see the tenth anniversary of Rilke's death is perhaps the least urgent. A deep-seated desire for something of which the provincialization of German literature has deprived them may well be a motive for the immersion of scholars in the world of a poet like Rilke, a form of 'Weltflucht' with which Rilke himself, who regarded Goethe's Italian Journey as a flight into solitude, might have sympathized. A more objective reason is that the outline of his restless life is growing clearer as more biographical material becomes available. The important and deeply interesting volumes of Rilke's letters which the Insel-Verlag is issuing at intervals, and which may be regarded as part of his creative literary production and essential to an understanding of his mind, are tempting scholars to quarry into the veins of ore which they contain; while the memoirs of those who were in close personal contact with him add to our knowledge of one of the three most intriguing German writers of our time. His son-in-law has given us in a little book some badly needed information concerning his early life, the first volume of an important Rilke bibliography has already appeared, and it is no longer quite so necessary as it was to tabulate the dates and addresses at the top of his letters in order to extract such chronological and geographical information as may be necessary for a particular piece of investigation. It looks, too, as though the *Duineser Elegien* will soon rank with the second part of *Faust* as a poetic work whose abstruseness is only equalled by that of the interpretations which it has attracted.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Rainer Maria Rilke auf Capri. Gespräche.* Hrsg. von L. von Schlozer. Dresden: Jess. 1931. Fürstin Marie von Thurn und Taxis-Hohenlohe: *Erinnerungen an Rainer Maria Rilke.* München-Berlin: Oldenbourg. 1933. Katharina Kippenberg: *Rainer Maria Rilke. Ein Beitrag.* Leipzig: Insel-Verlag. 1935. C. Sieber: *René Rilke.* Leipzig: Insel-Verlag. 1932. H. W. Puckett: 'Rilke's Beginnings'. *Germanic Review*, VIII, 2, 1933. F. A. Hünich: *Rilke-Bibliographie. Erster Teil. Das Werk des Lebenden.* Leipzig: Insel-Verlag. 1935. This includes all the publications of Rilke in chronological order, the books about Rilke, and a selection of articles and reviews on the man and his work. It deals with the period up to his death. A second volume, *Das Nachleben im ersten Jahrzehnt*, is promised for the end of 1936.

The gold rush, so to speak, has started. German researchers, hungry for the problems which lie so near the surface of this rich soil, have staked out their claims, and nuggets, or in some cases only dust, are being constantly brought to light. It is already possible to obtain a clear picture of the partitioning of the field, the most profitable sections of which appear to be the following: Influence of France, Russian Experience, Mysticism, Search for God, Conception of Death. The one subject in which German scholars hitherto have apparently taken least interest is Rilke's poetic quality, Rilke as a poet apart from the ideas and problems which enable the plodding literary historian to build up an edifice of clues until he has provided a valuable contribution to the solution of that eternal puzzle, the poet's mind, but has added little to our insight into what inspired the poet to produce immortal poems. Admirable and necessary as this work is, it may soon be something of a task to extricate the poet from the vast accumulation of ideological exegesis under which he is in danger of being buried, and the devotee of Rilke will turn with relief to the poems and the considerable self-interpretation which the letters afford.<sup>1</sup>

The three treatises under review are concerned chiefly with Rilke's personality and outlook. His attitude to death coloured his whole mind and dominated his poetry. His solitude was in itself for him a poetic experience, and was as closely bound up with his conception of death as both were bound up with his lifelong search for God. There is no more fascinating psychological phenomenon in German literature than the mind and emotional make-up of Rainer Maria Rilke. He is essentially German and yet not wholly German. If we had reliable knowledge of his ancestry, it would contribute to our understanding of him both as a man and as a poet. Nadler believes in the alleged Slav blood in his veins, and even believes 'an seine jüdische Mutter, von der erzählt wird'. If this is true then Rilke, as an Austrian with a touch of the Slav and a touch of the Jew, was doomed to melancholy from the womb.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Two valuable studies of French influences on Rilke are: M. Bauer: *Rainer Maria Rilke und Frankreich*. (Sprache und Dichtung, XLIX.) Bern: Haupt. 1931. H. Goertz: *Frankreich und das Erlebnis der Form im Werke Rainer Maria Rilkes*. Stuttgart: Metzler. 1932. Among studies of particular aspects, mostly dissertations, which have appeared during the past two years, may be mentioned: S. Brützer: *Rilkes russische Reisen*. Stallupönen: Klutke. 1934. (Königsberg Dissertation.) E. Kretschmar: *Rilke als Dichter des Seins*. Dresden: Risse-Verlag. 1934. (Dissertation.) E. W. Theissen: *Das Ich bei Rilke und Carossa*. Amsterdam: Swets und Zeitlinger. 1935. (Amsterdam Dissertation.) H.-R. Müller: *Rainer Maria Rilke als Mystiker*. (Furche-Studien, Bd. XI.) Berlin: Furche-Verlag. 1935. H. Hett: *Das Stundenbuch Rainer Maria Rilkes als Ausdruck des Willens zum Leben*. Leipzig: Edelmann. 1935. (Leipzig Dissertation.) E. Neumann: *Die Verschiebung des Erlebnisses 'Wirklichkeit' in mittleren und späteren Dichtungen Rainer Maria Rilkes*. Marburg: Euker. 1935. (Münster Dissertation.) G. Stämpfli: *Die Entwicklung des formalen Bewusstseins in den Gedichten Rainer Maria Rilkes*. Würzburg: Stürtz. 1935. (Erlangen Dissertation.) G. Bäumer: 'Ich kreise um Gott.' Berlin: Herbig. 1935. J. H. Wild: *Rainer Maria Rilke Sein Weg zu Gott*. Zurich: Rascher. 1936. A. Trapp: *R. M. Rilkes Duineser Elegien*. (Giessener Beiträge zur deutschen Philologie, 44.) Giessen: Münchow. 1936. (Giessen Dissertation.)

<sup>2</sup> J. Nadler: *Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Stämme und Landschaften*. Bd. IV. (Page 891.) Regensburg: Habel. 1928. Carl Sieber (*op. cit.*), who shows that Rilke came of peasant ancestry on his father's side, makes no suggestion of Jewish blood in his mother's family.

Nolte, in the introduction to his three separate studies, cogently points out that the contacts which one would expect to exist between the *Neuromantik* of our own times and the Romanticism of an earlier age are limited on the whole to those between *Neuromantik* and Novalis, and that even this relationship is further restricted mainly to their attitudes to and artistic treatment of the idea of death. The problem of death plays such an important, even dominating role in the writings of Rilke, von Hofmannsthal and Thomas Mann (whom Nolte regards as *Neuromantiker*, though there are objections, which he to some extent admits, to classifying them under this term) and there are such strong links connecting their attitude with that of Novalis, that the conclusion of Nolte is justified. There are, of course, also considerable differences of outlook in the case of each of these contemporary writers, but we are here concerned with Rilke only. Rilke comes closest of all modern German writers to Novalis in the mysticism of his conception, though he regarded death as an integral part of life itself, as something which matures within the living person as that person's life develops, whereas Novalis regarded it as a goal where he would achieve the consummation of love. In von Hofmannsthal and Thomas Mann, particularly the latter, the influence of the pessimistic philosophy of Schopenhauer is far more evident than in Rilke—the view of death as annihilation and not, as in the case of Novalis, as something for which to long, since it is the state in which ultimate fulfilment will be found.

For Thomas Mann death has no transcendental significance. It has significance and value only with reference to existence in this world. For Rilke it is, with God, the constant inspiration of his poetry, and we can trace both his search for God and his attitude to death from the vague longing of his earlier lyrics to a clearer idea of what he was striving for. He really was striving for something. Death was for him an intrinsically personal experience and an ethical principle in life. It was not something negative which comes merely to destroy life, but a positive experience for which the whole of life is a preparation and which exerts a fruitful influence on the life which precedes it. As one's death influences one's life, so can one's life influence one's death; and by the way in which we live our life we can ensure that our death will be no less personal to us. Rilke was repelled at the thought of mass experience and mass death. He insists on the value of a personal life and the significance of a personal death, a death which is intimately bound up with the individual himself. The search for God, which is related to, if not coincident with, the preparation for death, is part of the process of enabling 'der grosse Tod, den jeder in sich hat' to come to maturity. Death is therefore an essential element in life, an essential function of life is the preparation for death, which consequently has an ethical or educative value. It must not be thought, however, that Rilke despised life. Those who have talked of his 'Todessehnsucht' have misunderstood his attitude. He shrank from the roughness of life and perhaps his craving for contact with God was of a nature that could only be fulfilled, if at all, in death, but he was striving all the time to penetrate to reality. A recent dissertation even

regards the *Stundenbuch* as an expression of the will to life,<sup>1</sup> and there is undoubtedly truth in this.

Petersen utters the timely warning that there is no system of thought in Rilke's work. Rilke was not a philosopher, but a poet. We might reinforce this warning by suggesting that his thought should not be over-stressed at the expense of his feeling. In one of the *Geschichten vom lieben Gott* he says that religions have hidden God by throwing handfuls of sky over Him. Rilke is himself suffering a similar fate at the hands of commentators.

When Rilke said 'Russland grenzt an Gott', he was giving characteristic expression to the 'Einsamkeit' which he found both in the landscape and the people and in which he found something so profoundly akin to his own spirit. There is much that is timeless in the spirit of Rilke, but there is also much that is rooted in his own age. As Kiessling points out, the general social and philosophical development of Western civilization in recent times has fostered a feeling of spiritual loneliness. The cities have continually increased in size, both as regards superficial area and mass of inhabitants, and have stamped their impress on the age. The closer herding of men has only served to render them more lonely. The sources of Rilke's solitude are therefore to be found in his environment as well as in his own personality. There is a sociological cause as well as a psychological one, though the former has some responsibility for the latter. And Rilke, intensely conscious of his isolation, saw in it the markings of destiny. No one who has read in *Malte Laurids Brigge* the words of Rilke concerning the impression made upon him by the first impact of Paris, or his poems about the large cities in the third part of the *Stundenbuch*, will question the significance of the social aspect. That he was from childhood a spiritual solitary is equally evident from his poetry and from what we know of his life. Was the vast number of letters he wrote, in so many of which he analyses his own moods and emotions, was this outpouring of himself to others a way of rescuing himself from his essential loneliness? He detached himself from his family, frequently changed his habitation, and was unable to take up a profession, though he had numerous friends—astonishingly numerous considering his cult of solitude. Kiessling suggests that Rilke 'rettet sich in den Kultus der Einsamkeit, um sich aus der Qual der Einsamkeit zu befreien'. That is an acute comment, which may help also to explain his extensive correspondence. A critic of Rilke's earlier poetry has said, 'Seine Einsamkeit ist die eines Märchenprinzen, der seine bunten, reichen Träume hütet.'<sup>2</sup> This is superficially true, but it gives a false impression of the psychological depth of Rilke's dreaming. Elements of romantic 'Weltschmerz' there undoubtedly were in Rilke, but his mind and soul were dyed with the colouring of his age. To know him we must understand something of the neuroses that spring from the impact of a bustling, mass-producing civilization on a sensitive nature like that of Rilke.

WILLIAM ROSE.

LONDON.

<sup>1</sup> H. Hett, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> R. H. Heygrodt: *Die Lyrik Rainer Maria Rilkes*. Freiburg i. Br.: Bielefeld. 1921.

## SHORT NOTICES

The fourth volume of *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages* (Kendal: Titus Wilson and Son. 1935. 83 pp. 5s.) contains seven articles and several short notes. One of the most interesting articles is that of Mr L. W. H. Payling on 'Geology and Place-Names in Kesteven', illustrating 'the peculiar nature of geological control over human settlement, village distribution and names'. A large and satisfying geological map is provided, the aesthetic qualities of which Mr Payling ascribes to his colleague, Mr Griffiths, who drew it for him from his rough sketch. That this new approach to the study of place-names is likely to lead to some valuable conclusions is fully demonstrated. Mr A. S. C. Ross writes on the Anglo-Frisian *hi*-pronoun, Mr R. M. Wilson on the Lambeth Homilies, with a new collation. He finds no evidence for the general assumption that they were written in the Middlesex dialect, and decides that their dialect is almost certainly West Midland. Mr A. G. Hooper deals with the 'Dialect and Authorship of the *Awntyrs off Arthure*', and Mr G. Taylor continues his notes on 'Athelston', determining the original dialect of the poem to be North-East Midland. There is also a collation of two MSS. of 'The Pricke of Conscience' by Mr J. Lightbown, and Professor Bruce Dickins deals with two fragments of Early Middle English verse which he recently came upon in the Worcester Chapter Library.

HILDA M. HULME.

To mark the centenary of Walter W. Skeat's birth (21 November 1835) his family have reprinted *An English-Anglo-Saxon Vocabulary* (Centenary Edition limited to 150 copies. Oxford: University Press. 1935. 40 pp. 2s. 6d.), one of the great scholar's rarer publications, which has long been out of print. Skeat compiled this as an Index to Sweet's *History of English Sounds* and to the 'admirable Glossary' (a gracious tribute!) of his *Anglo-Saxon Reader*. It is pleasing to find two of our pioneers in Anglo-Saxon studies thus linked together in a work which the filial piety of the descendants of one of them has once more made attainable.

E. BLACKMAN.

Dr Clara Marburg's slender book on *Mr Pepys and Mr Evelyn* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: H. Milford. 1935. xii+156 pp.) is a contribution to our further knowledge of a long friendship extending over nearly forty years. The student will find the more valuable part of this contribution in the Appendix, in which forty-one unpublished letters are printed from original manuscripts, a finding list is given of Pepys-Evelyn letters advertised in catalogues and at present untraced, and another finding list to letters already published. The Appendix thus provides a useful guide to all letters exchanged by Pepys and Evelyn, so far as they can be traced, and prints a number of letters for the first time.

Evidently a slight rearrangement of the final letters thus printed took place while the book was in the press, for, in the list on p. 85, the page references to the last four letters are incorrect. The transcripts follow the original manuscripts with commendable closeness of reproduction, but not, so far as a check has been attempted, with invariable accuracy. A margin of error has been noted in a check of five letters readily accessible. In line 15 of Letter 38 'doing' should be 'doeing'; and in line 5 of Letter 40 'Affairs' should be 'Affaires'. On p. 144 for 'my Importunitys' read 'any Importunitys'. The word left undeciphered on p. 143 should, quite obviously, be 'secured'.

The earlier part of the book contains a pleasant and attractively written sketch of the relationship of Pepys and Evelyn in their work, their pleasures, their literary and scientific pursuits. This sketch, drawn for the most part from the published diaries and correspondence, illustrates the firmness of a friendship between two men of markedly different character, the one robust and original, the other sensitive and enquiring.

HAROLD WILLIAMS.

This instalment of Mr A. L. Reade's monumental work (*Johnsonian Gleanings*. Part VII. *The Jervis, Porter and other Allied Families*. Privately printed for the Author. 1935) is admittedly 'only a kind of genealogical appendix to Part VI', but is further evidence, if evidence were needed, of the untiring thoroughness of Mr Reade's methods. A key pedigree shows Johnson's various connexions through the Porter family, and Mr Reade has constructed a highly novel map to illustrate the geographical distribution of Johnson's family associations. Jervises, Darells, Porters, and Eboralls are tracked through parish registers, abstracts of wills, and other bodies of evidence with the astonishing industry which all Johnsonians have come to associate with Mr Reade's work.

S. C. ROBERTS.

Miss Mary K. Woodworth's scholarly study, *The Literary Career of Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges* (Oxford: B. Blackwell. 1935. vii+192 pp. 10s. 6d.), is a model of how such things should be done, and is to be commended to all who are interested in Sir Egerton Brydges or in his period. Miss Woodworth has succeeded in getting behind the pride of birth and the extravagant belief in his own genius which are so apt to put off readers who have only a slight acquaintance with him and his work; she is familiar with the whole of his enormous output, and with admirable judgement, without any tendency to exaggerate his merits or any undue elaboration, she selects what is significant and shows what there is of value in his work as poet, novelist, printer, and above all as literary critic—one who, 'possessed of lively appreciation and clear critical perception, . . . awakened his readers to the delights of English literature', and who 'never . . . forgot the charm of good writing'. It is fitting that one whose 'spirited enthusiasm' rediscovered so many forgotten names should be thus restored to his true place in the history of his time.

H. WINIFRED HUSBANDS.

*Quelques Aspects de la Littérature Anglo-normande* (Paris: E. Droz. 1936. 143 pp.) contains three lectures delivered by Professor E. Walberg to the École des Chartes in 1935. As the title indicates, they were never intended to cover the whole field, but to arouse the interest and orientate the study of those who need a working acquaintance with the subject. It is a happy thing that this need has been recognized by the École des Chartes, and that a wider public is now to reap the benefit. English readers must remind themselves that the lectures were addressed to a French audience, hence the insistence on the 'esprit normand' and the preoccupation with the early, and least interesting, period—though no one will grudge this, for it is Professor Walberg's own. Both from the standpoints of English literature and of social history, there is much in the introductory lecture open to argument, but Anglo-Norman will be a controversial subject for a long time to come. Specialists will turn eagerly to the reviews of recent scholarship, and the expression of Professor Walberg's latest opinions, not only on Philippe de Thaon and the *Lives* of Thomas à Becket, but upon the *Quatre Livres des Rois*, the *Adam* and the *Resurrection Play*, Guischart de Beaulieu, Guillaume de Berneville and Thomas's *Tristan*, and to his admirable summing-up of the versification controversy. The book is enriched by a full bibliography. To sum up, Professor Walberg's lectures draw attention to the importance of this field, so often falsely supposed to be of limited appeal.

M. DOMINICA LEGGE.

*In État présent des études sur Villon* (*Études Françaises*, xxxvii. Paris: Les Belles Lettres. 1936. 161 pp. 10 frs.), Professor Cons has made a concise critical survey of all work devoted to the Villon text and to what he calls the 'Image-Villon' from Marot to Siciliano—or, to be more precise, from the author of *Pathelin* to Cons. He deals with Villon studies in France (pp. 5–90), Germany, England and the United States, Spain and Italy (pp. 91–133). The results of Professor Cons's investigations are as follows: (i) 'si les chances d'authenticité se mesurent à la clarté il est certain que nous avons actuellement en 1935 un texte "moyen" de Villon relativement "probable"' (p. 85); (ii) 'pour le biographique... depuis 1913 et P. Champion on n'a guère ajouté de neuf positif' (p. 73); and (iii) consequently, the 'Image-Villon', though no longer seen through the distorting lenses of 'Romantisme' and 'Décadence', is still imperfectly defined and still depends for its presentation too much on the individuality of the critic, too little on established fact.

THOMAS WALTON.

Dr S. Keyser's *Contribution à l'Étude de la fortune littéraire de l'Arioste en France* (Leiden: M. Dubbeldeman. 1933. 225 pp.) is apparently a treatise for the doctorate, and deals particularly with Ariosto's influence on the French drama, on La Fontaine and on Voltaire, though an account is added of translations of his works into French. The first subject appears to be exhaustively treated, and it is interesting to note the various episodes from the *Orlando* adopted by French dramatists at different

periods. The earliest example given is Garnier's *Bradamante*, 1582, and the two latest examples are dated respectively 1754 and 1804. The author brings out clearly that Ariosto's influence was most serious in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the spirit of the age of chivalry still exercised its charm. In the eighteenth century, the age of reason, the tendency was to parody his heroes and heroines. Nor was there any recovery under Romanticism: and yet, if Ariosto was not imitated in the nineteenth century, he was apparently more read than ever, for it was in that century that translations of him were most numerous. The chapter on La Fontaine deals almost entirely with his three *contes* derived from Ariosto, *Joconde* (*Orlando*, canto xxviii), *La Coupe Enchantée* (cantos xlii, xliii) and *Le Petit Chien* (canto xliii). He quotes at length Boileau's discussion of the two versions of the first named, but disputes his conclusion in La Fontaine's favour. He claims that comic relief is La Fontaine's aim to the detriment of Ariosto's aesthetic charm. As regards Voltaire Dr Keyser shows how his early and moderate estimate of Ariosto developed into the wild and extravagant claim, scarcely to be regarded as serious: 'Le Roland Furieux est à la fois l'*Iliade*, l'*Odyssée*, et *Don Quichotte*.' Certainly his *La Pucelle* owes much to borrowings from, or echoes of, the *Roland* of Ariosto. Among translations a single one in verse is singled out as good, that by Marc Monnier. There are a useful bibliography and index.

J. G. LEGGE.

*Die Fabel 'Vom Magen und den Gliedern' in der Weltliteratur*, by Heinrich Gombel (Beihefte zur Z.R.P. 8vo. Halle: Niemeyer. 1934. 207 pp. 10 M. 80), deals with a theme that touches all literatures from China to Portugal, and which ascends in antiquity to the 'Ur-Pañchatantra' and to Egypt thirty centuries ago. In addition to the theme of the conspiracy between the limbs against the stomach, the author deals with other, less elemental, apologues, such as the complaints of the oars against the tiller and the sailors against the helmsman. The *Calila y Dimna* version is connected genealogically with the *Pañchatantra*, but the author does not dogmatize upon the question of the original home of the legend. His interest is primarily in Romance versions, of which he reproduces a large number. There is a large bibliography, but no index.

W. J. ENTWISTLE.

The seventh number of *Anuari de l'Oficina Romànica de lingüística i literatura* (Barcelona: Balmes. 1934. 30 pesetas) contains several interesting articles. F. de B. Moll transcribes phonetically popular songs from Es Llombards (Majorca), which have, apart from their dialectal value, light to throw on syntactical phonetics. Final occlusives are completely assimilated to initial consonants within the same group, and final sibilants are variously treated. H. Kuen's study of the Algherese dialect deals with the vowels. He analyses general Catalan tendencies, and even prolongs certain discussions (AI, AU) into Spain. Margot Sponer commences publication of 156 Galician documents which will

serve as a complement to Menéndez Pidal's *Documentos Lingüísticos de Castilla*. Two are of the tenth century, and that of Rubiales 942 shows intervocalic *l n* still intact. The document is, however, in 'notarial Latin'. C. Tagliavini discusses the etymologies of *banana* (Guinea origin, probably Kônyâgi; but the fruit was known in Andalusia in the twelfth century); It. *banda* = 'rhinoceros'; It. *timballo*, which he explains as a contamination of It. *taballo* and Turkish *dumbelek* (rather than *timpano*). H. Hatzfeld discusses popular elements in the religious style, with special reference to Mistral and Brizeux. G. Hess argues that the Renaissance conception of greatness is basic in La Rochefoucauld's *Maximes*. There are reviews and a Catalan bibliography for 1932-34 by R. Aramon i Serra.

W. J. ENTWISTLE.

Johannes Alt's new book on *Grimmelshausen und der Simplicissimus* (Munich: Beck. 1936. 115 pp. 5.50 R.M.) presents with extraordinary clarity and method the results of a detailed investigation into the problems surrounding the greatest novel of the seventeenth century and the life of its author. The book begins with a general introduction on Grimmelshausen and the Baroque, which is complete in itself; then follows an illuminating chapter on Grimmelshausen's early life, in which the year of his birth is fixed as 1622. The remaining three chapters of this most readable treatise deal with *Simplicissimus*, the history of its composition, its relation to Grimmelshausen's own life, and its artistic structure. Many of Alt's conclusions differ from those of previous workers in this field, e.g., Könnecke and Bechtold. A very useful feature is the résumé given at the end of chapters 3 and 4. The last chapter, in which the artistic structure of the novel is discussed, is somewhat less convincing, the more so, as it would attribute to Grimmelshausen more conscious planning in the lay-out of his work than was probably the case. The diagrams, in which the novel is methodically analysed, are interesting, but when closely looked into they seem to be a kind of straight-jacket into which the novel, with all its discrepancies, is forced, whether it fits in every case or not. An index is sadly lacking, likewise a detailed bibliography.

H. S. M. AMBURGER-STUART.

In the preface of this valuable anthology (*Anthology of the Classical Period of German Literature*. Princeton University Press; Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1934. 406 pp. 13s. 6d.) Mr George Madison Priest reveals his aim. He wishes to inspire the reader with an interest in German and to provide him with an introduction to the classical period of German literature. The meaning of 'classical period' is open to question, and it appears that the author considers it to end before Hölderlin and H. v. Kleist. It must be admitted that as the book is especially meant to excite enthusiasm for German literature, it seems a pity that the latter poets are not included, for they can as poets of the transition hardly fall only within the pale of Romanticism. The peculiar poetic sensibility of Hölderlin would moreover appeal to the English-speaking student, whilst an admirer of Schiller might miss some

of his favourite poems. But we must indeed be thankful for the author's exceptionally happy selections from German poetry and prose. It is particularly gratifying to find that H. Jung, G. C. Lichtenberg, the 'Sturm und Drang', and W. Heinse are well represented in this anthology, and above all Jean Paul, who suggests a parallel to Sterne, and as such should certainly find appreciative understanding here. Even though mere fragments are often given, they are most significant as regards form and content. Whoever has been confronted with the difficult task of producing an anthology, will value Professor G. M. Priest's felicitous taste and tact. It is however to be regretted that Klopstock's ode *Frühlingsfeier* has been presented in so abbreviated a form. The 'notes' betray exactitude and zealous attention to detail. Yet now and then we feel that they might have been expanded or curtailed. Thus the reader who is able to tackle the German text of this book, must be credited with possessing sufficient general culture to render superfluous such elucidations as: Sappho = Greek poetess p. 362, or Pindar p. 362, Säkulum p. 363, Völkerbund p. 364, etc. On the other hand, etymological and linguistic explanations in the case of 'sein' (sind) p. 359, Kutteln p. 270, Fangern p. 390, etc. would perhaps be of help. We wish that the scope of the book had allowed the author to enter into a detailed analysis of style. The production of this beautifully printed volume leaves nothing to be desired.

A. Closs.

Two valuable smaller German dictionaries have recently appeared, one an old friend in a new guise and the other an adaptation to German of a work which has long been popular for another language.

The new Cassell's German Dictionary (*Cassell's German and English Dictionary*. By Karl Breul. Revised and enlarged by J. Heron Lepper and Rudolph Kottenhahn. Part I, German-English. London: Cassell. 1936. 17+813 pp. 6s.) is much more than a mere reprint of Professor Breul's deservedly popular work. While it is true that, to quote the preliminary note, 'the contents of this new edition have been vastly swelled by the inclusion of many terms that have come into use only during the last thirty years', it is not merely a matter of addition, for the book has undergone a very thorough revision, the separate articles have often been largely recast, and where necessary the pruning-knife has been boldly applied. Special attention has been paid to technical terms of to-day, for example, those for motoring and wireless. Good examples of intelligent interpretations can be found under *Konjunktur* and *Biedermeier*. Nor is that hall-mark of the age, the letter-word, ignored. *Flak* is there as well as *NSDAP*. And finally, as in the revised Cassell's French Dictionary, pronunciation is given in the transcription of the International Phonetic Association. Altogether a very serviceable and up-to-date work.

*Der Sprach-Brockhaus* (Deutsches Bildwörterbuch für jedermann. Leipzig: Brockhaus; London: Pitman. 1935. 762 pp. 6s.) is a German equivalent of *Petit Larousse Illustré*. With its 5400 illustrations, and the wealth of varied information it supplies, with its good paper, binding

and type, it is wonderful value for the money, and will form a welcome and entertaining supplement to the library, large or small, of students of German.

H. G. ATKINS.

*Het Woord. Een studie omtrent de grondslag van taal en taalgebruik*, by A. Reichling (Nijmegen: J. J. Berkhout. 1935. xi+460 pp. 4.90 fl.) is a very thorough investigation in the borderline field of philosophy and linguistics, a field of study that has become increasingly important with the modern revolt against the somewhat narrow outlook of the 'Jung-grammatiker' and their followers. During the nineteenth century exact philological science displayed little patience with 'Sprachphilosophie', and Hermann Paul made it very clear in his famous *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* that if anybody was going to philosophize about language it was going to be the philologist. All this has become changed during the last thirty years. The philosophy of language is moving away more and more from objective linguistic material, and is fast developing a formidable literature and a still more formidable technical phraseology of its own. If the mere philologist could not always agree with Wundt, he could at least understand him. But he cannot hope to grapple successfully with the works of Professor Bühler and Professor Cassirer without thorough psychological and philosophical training. Here Dr Reichling will help. He is equally at home with philosophers and linguists, and even his most alarming theoretical speculations are built up on observed linguistic facts. The author is chiefly concerned with an attempt to prove that the 'word' exists in its own right and that it is not the 'grammatical abstraction' assumed by so many philosophers of language. The concept of the 'word' is referred back to an early age, and in the third chapter (pp. 96-148) the thesis is defended that the 'word' exists as a 'word' already in the usage of very young children. This is deduced chiefly from what is known as the 'naming'-stage, and from the behaviour of alphabetic adults. The seventh chapter (pp. 263-318) contains an interesting criticism of Vendryes' 'Morphème-Sémanème'-theory and of the 'reine Zeigwörter' of Professor Bühler. Neither is accepted.

Throughout the book the work of other scholars is taken fully into account, and thus we have here an excellent critical review of the most important modern theories. On pp. 439-45 there appears a 'Lijst van geciteerde publicaties' which is at the same time an almost complete bibliography of linguistic philosophy since 1920.

F. NORMAN.

## NEW PUBLICATIONS

April—June 1936

With the collaboration of Dr MARY S. SERJEANTSON (English),  
A. T. HATTO and F. NORMAN (German)

### GENERAL.

- Bibliographie Balkanique, 1935. Paris, Soc. Gén. d'Imprimerie et d'Édition. 45 fr.
- EPPELSHEIMER, H. W., Handbuch der Weltliteratur, II. Frankfurt, Klostermann. 3 M.
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- HERMAN, K., Die Anfänge der menschlichen Sprache, I. Prague, Taussig und Taussig. Kč. 60.
- JABERG, K., Aspects géographiques du langage. Paris, Droz. 36 fr.
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- RUSU, L., Essai sur la création artistique. Paris, Alcan. 50 fr.
- SARTORIUS, ELLA, Der Traum und das Drama (Wortkunst, N.F. 11). Munich, Hueber. 3 M.
- SCHEIDT, W., Die Sprachoberfläche der Seele, I, 2 (Lebensgesetze des Volkstums, 6/7, 8/9). 2 vols. Hamburg, Hermes. 8 M. 90.
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### Mediaeval Latin.

- BOUARD, M. DE, Une nouvelle Encyclopédie médiévale: Le Compendium Philosophiae. Paris, Boccard. 20 fr.
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- LOFSTEDT, E., *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetherae*. Uppsala, Almqvist och Wiksell; Oxford, Blackwell. 15 fr.
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